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Modern tradition: a member of the Vieljärvi village choir in her costume, based on North Russian and Karelian folk traditions, in her living room. Karelian traditional folk dress gradually disappeared from use during the 1920s–1930s. Photograph from the village of Vieljärvi (Russian: Vedlozero) in the Republic of Karelia, Russian Federation, 1998, by Pekka Hakamies who examines the modernisation of the Soviet Karelian countryside in this issue of *FF Network*.

Strengthening International Activity

by Anna-Leena Siikala
Folklore Fellows Network, Chair

'Keep together', I said a couple of weeks ago to my friends from Iceland, Norway, Ireland and Estonia, who were taking part in a seminar held in Helsinki. I had in mind how the international financial crisis and deepening recession could have an effect on folklorists and hence also on the future of folkloristics. In difficult times it is particularly important to maintain international contacts and use them to form networks and projects to support folklorists in different countries. In addition to the funding channels shared by the Nordic countries there are nowadays other additional sources of finance. The European Science Foundation approves financing for multinational congresses and projects whose participants need not all represent European lands—they could even be from the USA or Asian regions. INTAS also establishes research networks between Europe and Russia.

Now, when patterns of scientific funding in almost all countries are derived from the natural sciences and the approval of funding follows the practices of these fields, things have become difficult within the humanities. We are expected, in the manner of medics, biologists or physicists, to publish our results rapidly in the form of refereed articles rather than broad studies. The greatest conclusions of humanities scholars still, however, see the light of day in monographs, where, in addition to theoretical knowledge, the foundations on which the conclusions are based, the folklore materials, may be published. For this reason Folklore Fellows' Communications and other similar series, which still strive to publish source-based studies, remain important.

We nonetheless need international refereed journals, which are not overly confined to the local culture of their place of publication. The development of online journals for example in the USA, Estonia and Finland has proceeded in this direction. Yet it would be worthwhile for their writers and readers to increase participation among colleagues in their own and neighbouring lands. It is essential to put together not only an editorial board, but also editors from among scholars representing different countries. In an age of email, collaboration is not difficult, even when people live in different quarters of the world. Apart from articles, books and pictures too may easily move from one country to another. Now, when it is asked what the 'great paradigm' of folkloristics is, the sensible choice would be a journal which concentrates on theoretical and methodological questions. Its formation will call for a good knowledge of the theoretical questions of the day, a network of connections stretching across many countries and above all a great eagerness to see the project through into reality. Folklore Fellows' Network is organising, in connection with the International Society for Folk Narrative Research conference in Athens, a discussion event, Challenges for International Publishing in Folklore Studies, where we will be able to discuss new projects in addition to the development of Folklore Fellows' Communications.

Large gatherings such as the conference to be held in Athens in 2009 bring folklorists together from many countries. Alongside these, the organisation of gatherings with smaller forces but which are more lasting in their effects nonetheless remains important. Gatherings like the Seventh Folklore Fellows' Summer School show that the discussions made possible by summer courses and the evenings spent together there give rise to deep connections which indeed may last for years. The last summer school assembled in Karelia, in the *Kalevala* landscape, an area whose Soviet modernisation processes are investigated in this issue by Pekka Hakamies. In addition to the methodological problems which interest folklorists, the landscape led us to talk too of the challenges of field work. The next summer school turns its gaze from the field to the didactic history of folkloristics and to the development of theory in the later nineteenth century. Prof. Seppo Knuuttila from Joensuu University has agreed to act as chairman, and Prof. Pekka Hakamies from Turku University along with Lauri Harvilahti, the director of the folklore archive in Helsinki and a well-known figure from many Folklore Fellows' Summer Schools, as vice-chairmen. The general secretary's duties for the course will be in the hands of Prof. Pertti Anttonen. The summer school will be held in the biological research station of Helsinki University at Lammi in August 2010. This will be the centenary celebration year of Folklore Fellows' Communications. Welcome, then, to the next Folklore Fellows' Summer School!

The Modernisation of the Soviet Karelian Countryside:
The case of Vieljärvi/Vedlozero from the 1920s to the 1960s

by Pekka Hakamies, Professor of Folkloristics
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Russian Karelia became at the turn of the twentieth century in Finland famous as an archaic preserver of the roots of the ancient Finnish cultural tradition, in particular the epic songs of the *Kalevala*. Many Finnish and other travellers collected the old epic tradition and documented the way of life of the Karelians. Russian authorities began to restrict the entry of Finnish travellers to the Russian side of the border at the beginning of the twentieth century, suspecting the Finns were spreading a nationalist ideology among the local people. Somewhat later the First World War and finally the Russian Revolution closed the border to the point that practically all contacts were cut in the early 1920s.

Finnish radical labour leaders, who had fled from Finland in 1918 after the victory of the bourgeois White forces in the Finnish civil war, founded the Finnish Communist Party in Moscow in 1918, and in the early 1920s in Russian Karelia, adjacent to the Finnish border, the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Republic, initially, 'Karelian Workers' Commune', was formed. A new, modern, socialist economy and society had to be built in the republic, which had hitherto been known as the nearby periphery and place of exile in Russia, not too far from the capital St Petersburg. The aim of this article is to investigate how the revolutionary idea was realised in Soviet Karelia, how it changed the way of life of the rural peasants, bearers of the old tradition, and what the fate of various folk traditions during the process of the Soviet modernisation was.

The concept of modernisation

The concept of modernisation can be looked at from two different viewpoints. The first is clearly materialistic and concentrates on economic and social processes. From this perspective, a society based on industry, salaried work and division of labour is modern. Typical for a modern society are democracy, industrialisation, urbanisation, political organisations and rational knowledge, based on science. At a more abstract level modernisation means an increase in the freedom to choose and freedom from the constraints of nature, generated by the development of science and technology. This in turn emphasises the importance of theoretical knowledge in the society.

S. N. Eisenstadt has seen modernisation as a consequence of the revolutions in Europe in the modern era. Revolutions pushed societies to develop new structures and values. New societies brought specialisation, new organisations, liberation from traditions, scientific knowledge, control of nature. Modernisation has been a triumph of rationalism. As a consequence, rational culture, effective economy, civil society and nation states have emerged. (Eisenstadt 1987: 56–8.)

In a similar way Krishan Kumar defines modernisation as industrialisation with all its consequences (Kumar 1988: 3). On the most abstract level modernisation means individualisation, specialisation and abstraction. The individual becomes central in the society instead of the group or family. Modern society is based on the division of labour and the performing of special tasks instead of the natural economy of a pre-modern peasant family. New institutions are based on knowledge and new needs.

The alternative to the view presented briefly above can be characterised as an individual or abstract view. According to Anthony Giddens (1991: 91–113) modern life is free from tradition, based on the free choices of individuals. Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman (1992) have described change, mobility and unpredictability as central to modernity. This has also been called late modernity, in comparison with the early modernity presented above.

In modern society the blind certainty of tradition is superseded by modern mistrust. A modern individual does not totally trust anything and is ready to question everything. The more free and individualised one is, the more one has to negotiate or think over choices in one's lifestyle. However, there is some pressure to make life uniform as a result of capitalist mass production and distribution.

Interestingly, Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim have argued that the socialist countries were not truly modern. Past socialist societies were characterised by security, certainty and the lack of choices. Everything was secured by the state, which gave a meagre but sufficient livelihood. Citizens

had no personal responsibility for decisions or anything else and no personal freedom. Only after the collapse of socialism have former socialist countries been 'caught up in a dramatic plunge into modernity'. (Beck & Beck-Gersheim 1996: 24.)

Soviet modernity

From a certain point of view, socialist society was not modern. Problematic from this perspective is the lack of individual freedom and choices as well as the excessive predictability of life. Nevertheless, Soviet society cannot be considered as traditional. From the very beginning of the Revolution the leaders of the country and its intelligentsia (if it had freedom to act) clearly aspired to a new, modern, society. The whole ideology of the Revolution was against the old society and in favour of constructing something quite new that no one had seen before. Particularly during the 1920s various experimentations were seen in culture and arts. Campaigns to raise the cultural level of the country were organised during the 1920s as well as actions against outdated customs and religion. Industry was actively developed from the late 1920s, and a lot of people moved into salaried work, comparable to capitalist work in some aspects. (See Kangaspuro & Smith 2006 on Soviet modernisation.)

Eisenstadt (1987: 75) considers tradition and socialism as opposing aspects of the modern world, and socialist society and ideology are the ultimate achievements of modernity. Socialism was a product of European modernity and at the same time it tried to give a response to the problems evoked by modernisation. The most severe obstacle for the realisation of modernity were various groups that did not want to abandon tradition, like peasants and supporters of national religion or some regional identity. These ideologies were to be replaced by a uniform class identity. In practice Soviet socialism was forced to accommodate existing traditions, and there are many parallels between the old administration and the new, socialist one, and the leaders of the new society adopted many symbols and traits from the old system.

According to Eric Hobsbawm (1995: 382) the Soviet Union was transformed during the Stalinist era into a state of educated people—an illiterate empire became the modern Soviet Union. Despite all the defects and atrocities the Soviet state offered new perspectives and a transition from darkness to the light of cities and development. It is worth noting that this did not concern the countryside and peasantry, who had to pay the price of the industrialisation anyway. Regarding administration, the Soviet Union became during Stalin's reign an autocracy that totally controlled its subjects. The backward conditions in Russia and its autocratic traditions served as a natural foundation for an orthodox and intolerant society.

The theoretical literature concerning modernity, written in the 1990s from the abstract individualistic viewpoint, does not appear to fit the analysis of the modernisation of Soviet society very well. It can be useful in an analysis of the capitalist Western world and the collapse of the socialist system, but it does not offer tools for the study of the earlier periods of socialism and particularly the Soviet Union. The earlier modernisation studies from the 1970s suit the study of the development of the Soviet Union better, because they emphasise more the rational, industrial character of modernity. Nevertheless, it is good to keep in mind that modernity and tradition were in Soviet reality intertwined in many ways. In practice the leaders of the Soviet Union and its administration in general were many times forced to make various compromises and deviate from their pure ideology. An illustrative example is the unholy alliance of Soviet society and the Communist party with religion and the Russian Orthodox Church during the Second World War.

There were many moves and campaigns in the task of modernising the Soviet Union. One of them was the organisation of general education. 'The first teacher' in some remote, backwards village was a popular figure in literature and film, and it also disclosed the controversies provoked among the conservative rural population by the modern, atheistic education given to their children. A special campaign was organised during the 1920s for the liquidation of illiteracy among adults, the so-called Likbez (*likvidaciia bezgramotnosti*), which could also serve as a means for propagation of modern life and values of socialist society in general (Pipes 1993: 326–7).

The first five-year plan was launched in 1928, and its aim was development of heavy industry and thereby the laying of a foundation for the further industrialisation of the Soviet Union (Service 1997: 175). Because heavy industry was stressed, production of goods for consumption was neglected, and so the material base for a new, modern life was not fully created. The countryside was left aside in this new development. Instead, the peasants had to pay the bill for the industrialisation by producing food for urban workers. This was secured by the collectivisation of agriculture and formation of kolkhozes.

Transformation and changes in general in Soviet society were publicly promulgated by means of the concepts of modernity, and presented as development and modernisation, but in reality the rational argumentation was often superficial and there was no place for any individual decision-making. Even the science itself had to conform to strict, ideological rulings.

'Enlightenment' has been stressed in conjunction with many projects and campaigns—there was even a book publisher with that name. According to Sheila Fitzpatrick (1994) 'meetings' were an essential part of the official picture of the kolkhoz. Ideally, educated, conscious Soviet citizens were making decisions after being well informed about the plans of the Soviet leaders by the mass media and various organisations, exactly as the idea of modernity presupposed. In fact participation was often reluctant, and the decisions were made in advance by the organisers of the meeting. Soviet reality did not correspond to the ideal at all, but the Potemkin settings in the meetings were maintained even during the most horrible terror in the late 1930s.

Modernisation in Soviet Karelia

Soviet Karelia was well suited to the wood industry, thanks to its huge forests. There was some industrial production in Petrozavodsk, the capital of the republic, and some small-scale manufacture. Karelians were the most significant national minority in the republic, their numbers almost equalling the number of Russians in the 1920s. However, Finnish refugees formed the educated 'national' elite and served in administration and as teachers in the village schools. The role of Finns and the Finnish language created controversies and opposition, particularly in the southern part of Soviet Karelia, where local dialects differed significantly from the Finnish language and Karelians were more inclined to use Russian as the language of administration (Kangaspuro 2000: 93–5).

What did the Soviet system mean in practice for the villages of Karelia? Starting from the 1920s primary education became better organised, and scientific research and education started in Petrozavodsk in the 1930s. At the same time, medical care began to be developed, and the patriarchal family structure was gradually weakened and the position of women was improved. Divorce was made easier. The Orthodox church and its priests began to lose their former central position in the village community. During the 1920s the changes were not radical but small, gradual steps. In fact, the 1920s can be characterised as a period of ideological competition. Representatives of the old society—first of all priests, wealthy peasants and in general older generations—tried to maintain the old ideological and social structures, and their former position in the village community. A challenge to them was presented by the local Soviet officials and people connected with the new ideology, like former Red Army soldiers and members of the communist youth organisation. As A. N. Nikitina wrote in her extensive report concerning the religious state of the republic in 1933: struggle against the old traditions is conducted mainly by the poor youth, Komsomol activists and former servants of the Red Army; their adversaries are the old people and the leading stratum of the villages. The ideology of socialism and modern society was propagated by libraries, reading houses, clubs, houses of culture and various cooperative organisations. The propagation of enlightenment included activity directed against outdated and false folk traditions, like soothsayers, who were thought to cheat uneducated people. Nikitina mentions a case in 1930, when a 63-year-old former merchant, Ilia Petrov, was fined for deceiving people by his soothsaying activity. He had cured cattle for a reward.

Later the whole Soviet society, including the countryside, was subjected to abrupt changes that were carried out by administrative decisions at the upper level of the Soviet society, to which ordinary people could only try to adapt. These sharp turns changed everyday life and the basis of the culture and led to results that were not anticipated by the planners of the reforms. People were shaken out of tradition, but the result can in many cases hardly be considered as a triumph of the idea of modernity.

The most shocking measure in the Karelian countryside as well as elsewhere in Soviet Union was the formation of kolkhozes and forcing people to join them. As for instance Sheila Fitzpatrick has stated, the manifest purpose of the collectivisation of agriculture was to modernise the Russian village and to lead it to socialism. Peasants were urged to approve collectivisation through the promise of tractors and other machines for modern, effective production. (Fitzpatrick 1994: 105.) According to Basil Kerblay, the real aim of the collectivisation was easier control of the food production. It was much easier for the Soviet authorities to order the collective farms to deliver certain amounts of their products to the state than to buy or confiscate the same from a huge number of individual farms. (Kerblay 1983: 97.)

A kolkhoz was formally a cooperative enter-

prise, owned by its members, kolkhozniks. Work on a kolkhoz was more like salaried work in comparison with an individual farm based on natural economics, and ideally a kolkhoz should lead to a division of labour and specialised knowledge and tasks and thus to increased productivity. A kolkhoz had to sell a certain amount of its products for a fixed, nominal price to the state, and the surplus formed the salary of the kolkhozniks according to the work days recorded by the kolkhoz director. (Fitzpatrick 1994.) In Karelia the production rate of kolkhozes remained modest, and, according to the recollections of the former workers, the kolkhozniks seldom got any salary in the form of money.

In the kolkhoz the production process was controlled from above. The director of the kolkhoz every year got his orders from the upper level of the administration, how much and which kind of agricultural products the kolkhoz had to deliver to the state. Then he gave orders to various production groups, brigades, for fulfilment of the plan. When joining the kolkhoz every household was obliged to give all means of production to the kolkhoz, which meant most of the fields and cattle, and particularly the horses.

Initially, every village formed its own kolkhoz. In Karelia villages—and as a result kolkhozes—were quite small, and the assumed advantage of the scale was not reached. At the same time with the collectivisation in the early 1930s a fierce campaign against religion was launched in the Soviet Union. Churches were closed and destroyed or put to other uses, and priests were oppressed or arrested. (Fitzpatrick 1994: 204.) For villagers this was often a shock, and in Karelian folklore there are stories about the fates of the destroyers of churches and cemeteries. The collectivisation of agriculture and the anti-religious campaign resulted in a significant weakening of traditional ritual life in the villages. In a kolkhoz people could be forced to work on church holidays, and thus to celebrate Soviet feasts. From the 1930s it was possible to celebrate traditional festivals only in the family circle, perhaps after the work day and with modest entertainment.

Through the introduction of the kolkhoz system Soviet society tried to detach people from their earlier groups and communities and loyalty ties. Actually, life in a kolkhoz was in many ways inferior to the earlier farm life, and signs of modernity were hardly seen in daily life. In the kolkhoz there was more control and less space for individual decision and responsibility. Families were allowed to have a small field of their own and some animals for individual food production, but the families had to pay a tax to the state for it. Some researchers, like Sheila Fitzpatrick (1994), have considered the kolkhoz as another serfdom for peasants in Russia. The internal passport system was created in Soviet Union in the early 1930s in order to prevent uncontrolled movement of people. Kolkhoz people were not given passports, so they became bound to their place of living.

According to the recollections of villagers in Vedlozero people found various ways to escape from the kolkhoz. The best alternatives were to study in town or to work outside the kolkhoz. In extreme cases someone could commit a small crime in order to be put in jail. After release from the camp the former criminal received a passport and was free to choose his place of living. In Karelia logger work often offered an opportunity to earn money, and many kolkhozes were obliged to send annually a quota of people to undertake the forest work.

Mass arrests in 1937–8 intimidated people in Karelia as well as elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Karelia was a critical region in the eyes of the Soviet state security organs due to its border position close to the hostile, bourgeois world. Therefore the measures taken by the NKVD in Karelia were no less sharp than in the inner parts of the Soviet Union. The fear of arrest led to a situation where the young ceased to visit each other, as it could evoke suspicions among the authorities. It was preferable to meet others only in controlled spaces like the village club, library or festivals.

The kolkhoz system had many unintended effects on traditions and the way of life. According to the interviews in Vedlozero, cultivation of flax ceased in the kolkhoz, for instance. The director of the kolkhoz could decide the use of the land resources. The fields of the kolkhoz were needed for production of the cereals according to the state demands, and in the small individual gardens there was no room for flax either. This led to a lack of raw material, which in turn stopped the making of linen fabric and clothes at home.

Various professionals and handworkers like smiths disappeared from the villages during the period of collectivisation. Usually they were classified as ‘kulaks’, wealthy peasants with a supposed anti-Soviet orientation. In the liquidation process a family, defined as kulak by the authorities, lost all its property through confiscation, and the members were often deported and sent to a remote place to harsh conditions. As a result handicraft skills disappeared from villages, and people became more de-

A small, 'non-perspective' village, Kinnermäki (Russian: Kinerma), with its traditional, decorative houses, has been preserved thanks to its close location to the main village of Vieljärvi. At the end of the 1990s there were ten houses and a chapel and three permanent inhabitants. Photograph by Pekka Hakamies, 1998.

pendent on shop supplies. This, in turn, gradually eliminated traditional elements in material culture. (Fitzpatrick 1994: 158–62; Salmi 1970: 215.)

The standard of living decreased during the 1930s after the collectivisation, but, for instance, health care improved. The lack of consumer goods was aggravated by the liquidation of individual entrepreneurs and the inability of the state-owned industry to produce them. In many houses it was necessary to light the rooms with an archaic wooden splint as there was no kerosene for the lamps. After the Second World War the material situation did not improve markedly, because all resources were allocated to the rebuilding of the destroyed country. Old houses were repaired and new, simple barracks were built in logger villages. Significant improvement of life in the Karelian countryside came only in the latter half of the 1950s. (Klement'ev & Kozhanov 1988.)

Another sharp turn in the life of rural people was the 'liquidation of non-perspective villages', started at the end of the 1950s. The aim of this measure was to concentrate people in the main villages to facilitate the means to live a modern life, to bring village life closer to urban life, and to create bigger units of production. (Anokhina & Shmeleva 1964: 343.) The kolkhoz was finally transformed into the sovkhoz, a state enterprise in which peasants worked for a fixed salary. The dream of the kolkhozniks was finally realised: to get the same rights and position as urban workers. They were no longer dependent on the surplus of the kolkhoz and their own households. During the liquidation of non-perspective villages people from the remote, small villages were persuaded to move their houses to the central village, and sometimes coercion was applied. Schools, shops and other institutions of society disappeared from the small villages. As a result people lost their former physical and cultural milieu and social networks. They received instead the various services of modern society. In interviews made during the 1990s people told in varying ways about the kolkhoz and the past in general. I assume that the positive stories are to some extent the result of inertia carried over from the earlier custom of telling foreigners only positive things about Soviet society.

Praasniekka tradition as culture and social structure

Praasniekka (< Russian *prazdnik*, 'feast') was a village feast on the name day of the patron saint of the village church or chapel. In Karelia it was usual that inhabitants of a certain village participated in *praasniekkas* of other villages close to them. Each family had customary houses and hosts in the villages for accommodation, and they received their hosts as guests at their own *praasniekka*. Thus the *praasniekka* institution in a way formed a social network. The *praasniekka* was an important setting for the initiation of relationships leading to marriage. Young people met in the dances, and a marriage proposal could be made almost instantly. This emphasises the social meaning of the *praasniekka* alongside its cultural and religious significance. Principally, the *praasniekka* was a religious feast. There was a service in the church or in the chapel, and in some villages even a pre-Christian sacrifice of an animal was conducted. (Sarmela 1969: 70–85.) Later in the 1920s *praasniekka* feasts acquired traits of a modern festival, as they began to commercialise and have political importance. Nikitina has some reports that animal sacrifices and the common blessing of horses of the village still took place at the *praasniekka* in the 1920s.

There were many reasons why the Soviet authorities disliked the *praasniekka* tradition. The most important reason, according to constant attacks in newspapers during the 1920s, was the disturbance brought by *praasniekka* feasts to productive life. The *praasniekka* spoiled labour discipline, when forest workers went off work without permission for several days in order to participate in the *praasniekka* of their village. In addition, the *praasniekka* was considered by the Soviet authorities as an unnecessary waste of food. *Praasniekka* feasts also maintained social networks not controlled by the Soviet administration, and they spread religious influence, contrary to the Soviet ideology.

During the 1920s people and organisations reacted variously to the competition between the traditional, Christian religion-based ideology and the modern, secular and rational Soviet ideology. *Praasniekkas* were held and sometimes the local bosses participated in them—there is a report of a village chairman and a cooperative director together blessing the horses of the village. In a contrary case the members of a cooperative publicly announced in advance that they would categorically refuse any kind of hospitality during the coming church holiday (Nikitina 1933).

Similarly, in Soviet Karelia during the 1920s to 1930s the most persistent supporters of the tradition like old *praasniekkas* were prosperous peasants, kulaks. In one case a kulak promised extra bread for some poor people as a reward for proper celebration of the *praasniekka*.

Weddings and funerals were social events where it was possible to show off one's own social position and welfare as well as the importance and honour of the deceased person. Therefore the rituals were best performed by the prosperous peasants and they appreciated the customs more than representatives of lower strata in the society or of Soviet ideology. (Nikitina 1933.)

Various Soviet organisations, like the communist youth organisation Komsomol, tried to create modern, ideologically applicable equivalents of the religious feast and rituals. Mentions of 'Red wedding' or 'Komsomol wedding' and 'Komsomol Easter' can be found in administrative documents of the 1920s. Gradually true Soviet feasts and rituals replaced the traditional calendar, and, for instance, the first of May and the memory of the October Revolution were celebrated already in the 1920s. (Materials of the Party Archive, Petrozavodsk.)

Weddings were transformed after the Revolution. Earlier weddings were an important social happening and they lasted several days. Marriage norms changed gradually, and from the beginning of the 1930s, in the strained atmosphere of the society of the time, it became more usual not to officially register the marriage. Thus the spouse and children were not endangered if one of the parents was arrested, as the old interviewees recounted in Vieljärvi in the 1990s. Christian weddings gradually became obsolete, and together with the weakening of the wedding ritual the traditional headdress of a married woman, the *tsäpsä*, went out of use.

There seems also to have been a campaign against the use of the *tsäpsä*. One old informant related that during the 1920s some communists gathered the women of the village Vedlozero and gave a strict order from then on not to wear the *tsäpsä*. This action was probably a part of a larger campaign against outdated and humiliating traits in traditional culture. In Soviet Central Asia women were asked to demonstratively throw their veils in a pile in the central square of the town, after which the pile was burned. There is also information about the hostile attitude of the authorities towards the traditional costume of the Mari women. (Lehtinen 1999: 72–3.)

The kolkhoz had to organise Soviet celebration days like that of the October Revolution, 1 May, Women's Day on 8 March, and later Victory Day and others. Soviet feasts were usually arranged by specialists in cultural work in the club house, whereas the *praasniekka* was always celebrated spontaneously according to the tradition. Religion had revived during and after the Second World War, and in the late 1950s a new campaign was organised against religion, though in a milder form than in the Stalinist era. In connection with the campaign new, secular feasts were again constructed. (Stites 1992: 145.) Some festivals like the 'Russian Birch' were apparently meant to displace an old, Christian feast, in this case Whitsuntide at the beginning of the summer. The Russian Birch was widely celebrated in the Soviet Union, and in Karelia the example was followed. A feast called the 'Karelian Birch' was arranged for the first time in Vedlozero in 1964. It followed the schema of a modern festival and included speeches concerning actual themes in society, some artist performances and finally free pair dancing. (*Kommunist Prionezh'ia* 1964.)

In northern Soviet Karelia, in Vuokkiniemi, close to the border, a new, modern type of feast was organised as a *praasniekka* in the mid-1920s, whereas in Paanajärvi the local *praasniekka* still preserved all the traditional traits. A group of Soviet ethnographers documented both feasts, and in an article

an interesting comparison is made between them. According to the researchers, participation was more enthusiastic in the traditional *praasniekka*. (Zolotarev 1930: 14–15.)

Conclusion

The Soviet leadership strove to create a united, Russian-based general Soviet identity and culture in the USSR through the so-called 'merging of nations' during the Brezhnev era in the 1960s to 1970s. Partially this succeeded: the strict policy and poor material conditions during the Stalinist era eroded much of the earlier Karelian folk culture, and when people attained more freedom and material resources starting from the 1960s many Russian traits and the Russian language dominated people's behaviour. In Vieljärvi village Karelians have preserved their position as the majority ethnos and since 1970 have formed two thirds of the population. Before the Second World War the village was almost entirely Karelian and Russians made only 1.6 per cent of its total number of inhabitants. Nevertheless, Russian language and culture have long prevailed in the village.

The collapse of socialism and the Soviet Union has brought many problems to the Russian periphery and Karelian villages. In culture there has been a certain return to traditional forms, and religion has regained its former position. Under socialism religious practices in the villages were left mainly in the hands of elderly women who still knew the rituals and texts and who had authority in the local community (cf. Heikkinen 2006: 243–5). The author of this article was able to observe in Vieljärvi in the summer of 1994 a burial ceremony, in which young men, who handled the coffin, constantly asked advice from the old women, who sang religious songs and prayers. In general the Karelian language and culture is at the beginning of the third millenium under threat in the Republic of Karelia. The influence of Russian culture and language is ubiquitous, and young people speaking the mother tongue of their grandparents are becoming rarer and rarer, despite the efforts of Karelian enthusiasts in the republic and support from Finland.

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The Textualization of Oral Tradition and Its Modern Contextualization in Finland

by Pertti Anttonen, Professor of Folklore Studies
University of Helsinki

The concept of oral tradition refers to the oral transmission and communication of knowledge, concepts, beliefs and ideas, and especially the formalisation and formulation of these into utterances, reports, practices and representations that foreground elements that favour their oral replication. The formalised verbal products of oral tradition, also known as 'folklore', range from lengthy epic poems, songs, chants and folk narratives to proverbs, slogans and idiomatic phrases. These genres constitute an essential part of human cultural production and its cultural heritage, and the field of folkloristics continues to provide important insights into them cross-culturally. From a wider interdisciplinary perspective, oral tradition provides a conceptual entrance point into the observation, study and theorisation of the transmission and argumentation of ideas, beliefs and practices.

The Academy of Finland presently funds a folkloristic research project entitled 'The Textualisation of Oral Tradition and Its Modern Contextualisation in Finland'. It was launched at the beginning of 2006 and will continue until the end of 2009. The project aims to advance the study of oral tradition by taking up for scrutiny the processes of textualising orality and oral traditions, on the one hand, and the processes in which such textualisations relate to and contextualise with modern meanings given to oral traditions, on the other.

The project participants comprise five persons: Pertti Anttonen, Professor of Folklore Studies at the University of Helsinki, functions as the leader of the project. The other members are PhD students: Kati Heinonen and Jouni Hyvönen are from the University of Helsinki, while Niina Hämäläinen and Pekka Tolonen are from the University of Turku. The project was first administered at the Kalevala Institute in the University of Turku, but it transferred to the Department of Ethnology and History at the University of Jyväskylä in September 2006.

Out of the many contexts in which representations of oral tradition are made meaningful, the project places special importance on the role and impact of nation-building and nationalism. The study of nationalism and the discursive production of nation-state identity have been some of the most inspiring aspects of research into culture in the recent decades. This trend has been influential in both the social sciences and the humanities. Yet, possibly more than any other field, the trend poses a notable challenge to the field of folklore studies, since many of its theoretical and ideological premises emerge from nationalism and especially from the production of national symbolism. Folklorists have been on both the giving and the receiving end of the ongoing scholarly debate.

Within the currently popular constructivist approaches to the historical processes of nation-making, much attention has been given to the politics of time and tradition, that is, the argumentative processes in which the social meaning of the past and especially of cultural descent and heritage is constituted in the present. The American anthropologist Dell Hymes's concept of traditionalisation (Hymes 1975), and the British historian Eric Hobsbawm's concept of the invention of tradition (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983) have been fundamentally important in the development of this perspective. Instead of being 'handed down' by previous generations, as the conventional idea holds, tradition has come to be viewed as an active process of symbolic production of meaning in which people make goal-directed historical links as well as breaks, foreground particular aspects of their knowledge and understanding of the past and background others in order to appropriate a given content of 'tradition' for given argumentative purposes. Instead of being merely received, the past is thus actively and narratively produced.

The present project participates in the international study of oral tradition, folklore and nationalism by taking up for scrutiny two essentially important and inter-related topics, the textualisation of Finnish-language oral tradition and the making of the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*. Yet, instead of following conventional lines of thinking about folklore's symbolic significance as denoting continuity from tradition to modernity, the project sets out to put the historical process of textual formation into a perspective that rests on the theoretical principles of social constructivism.

On the other hand, the project continues the late Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko's pioneering ideas concerning the value of the *Kalevala* epic for folkloristic research. Honko can be credited for lifting the

epic from the marginal position in which it was placed in folklore's modernist source criticism that rested on a categorical distinction between authenticity and inauthenticity. Instead of categorising the *Kalevala* as a Romantic piece of literature or 'fakelore', Honko defined it as a tradition-oriented epic and challenged his folklore colleagues to view and study its textual compilation in the context of other epic traditions in the world and international epic research. Unlike many generations of folklore scholars before him, Honko even valued Elias Lönnrot's semi-literary epic above its folklore sources, and still regarded his perspective as folkloristic.

Project participants: Pertti Anttonen (left), Niina Hämäläinen, Jouni Hyvönen, Kati Heinonen and Pekka Tolonen at the Department of Folklore Studies, University of Helsinki. Photo by Galina Misharina.

Honko justified his turn towards the *Kalevala* theoretically, not ideologically. He viewed Lönnrot's work of epic compilation as a parallel to the oral production of epic poetry, founding this upon a theory of a mental text. According to this theory, an epic singer does not repeat a fixed text from his or her memory, but instead, composes a given unit in performance with the help of an internalised 'prenarrative' (Honko 1998 and 2000). Epic performances are thus realisations of the singers' mental texts and as such represent the range of variation within the epic tradition.

It has been the purpose of the present project to take further steps on the analytical path that Honko outlined and marked. Accordingly, the project has aimed at problematising the concept of textualisation and at examining the ways in which given textualisation practices relate to issues concerning the representations of orality and oral performances. From this perspective, the textualisation of oral traditions directly links with the use value attached to the representations of oral traditions in cultural production and in the writing of Finnish cultural and political history, including the selection and argumentation of national heritage. Consequently, the textualisation of oral tradition contextualises with the production of Finnish modernity.

Textualisation is not a synonym for writing. Instead of signifying the literary expression of human thought and the writing down of mental ideas, textualisation has come to be employed in recent cultural research as a term that denotes the practices and processes of representing orality in written form. The term thus refers to the ways in which oral performances and orally expressed utterances are transformed into literary representations of orality. The key idea here is the act of representation. In practical terms, the act of representation consists of various sorts of editorial decisions and selections, which concern both the intended use of the edited materials and the textualisation practices by which the edited materials are made to reflect and correspond to the oral character of the original performances and presentations.

It follows that in addition to the act of representation and the question of correspondence between the oral and the literary, the term textualisation refers to the processes in which documents of orality, the literary representations of oral performances, receive a new textual quality that can be quite removed from oral presentation. In this quality, the textualised form becomes the standard and the norm, and a specimen of authoritative ethnography. Deposited in the folklore archive and made into a 'folklore text', the literary representation of orality follows an editorial mode and practice, codified by folklorists, that constitutes a genre category of its own in functioning as a model for such representations (Klein 2006). Textualisation is, from this perspective, a form of artefactualisation and authorisation (Bauman & Briggs 2003).

The project strives to place textualisation practices into dialogue with the reception of textualised

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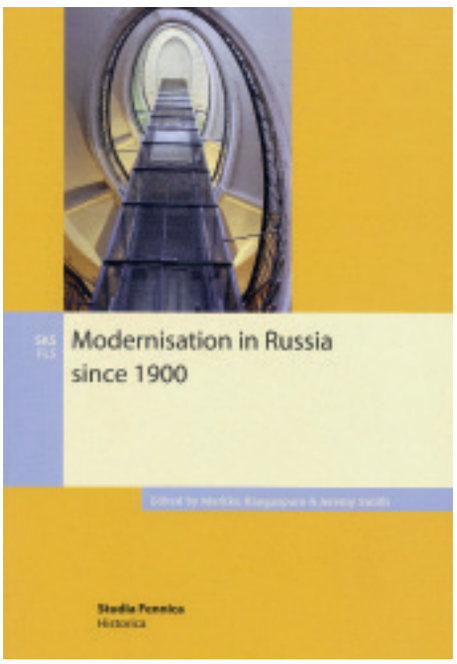
Recent Publications of the Finnish Literature Society



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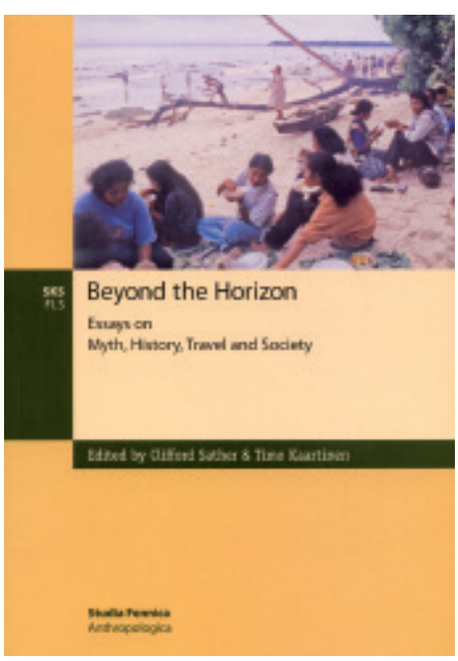
Modernisation in Russia since 1900
Edited by Markku Kangaspuro & Jeremy Smith.
Studia Fennica Historica 12. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2006. 331 pp. ISBN 951-746-854-7. 31 euros.

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

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



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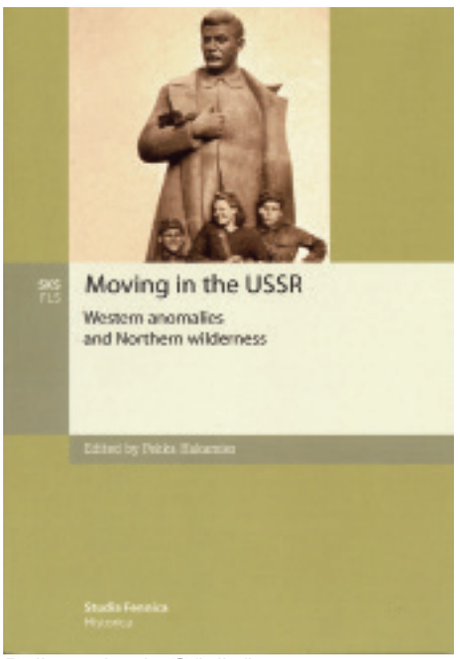
Beyond the Horizon: Essays on Myth, History, Travel and Society
Edited by Clifford Sather & Timo Kaartinen.
Studia Fennica Anthropologica 2. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2008. 240 pp. ISBN 978-951-746-985-2. 29 euros.

Society is never just a localized aggregate of people but exists by virtue on its members' narrative and conceptual awareness of other times and places. In Jukka Siikala's work this idea evolves into a broad ethnographic and theoretical interest in worlds beyond the horizon, in the double sense of 'past' and 'abroad'. This book is a tribute to Jukka Siikala's contributions to anthropology by his colleagues and students and marks his 60th birthday in January 2007. By exploring the near, distant, inward and outward horizons towards which societies project their reality, the authors aim at developing a new, productive language for addressing culture as a way of experiencing and engaging the world.

'The volume as a whole demonstrates anthropological practice as not merely a search for difference but as one which investigates the interiority of cultures. . . All the articles deal with central anthropological issues and carry them further into matters of highly relevant contemporary discussion.' (Bruce Kapferer)

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



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

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

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

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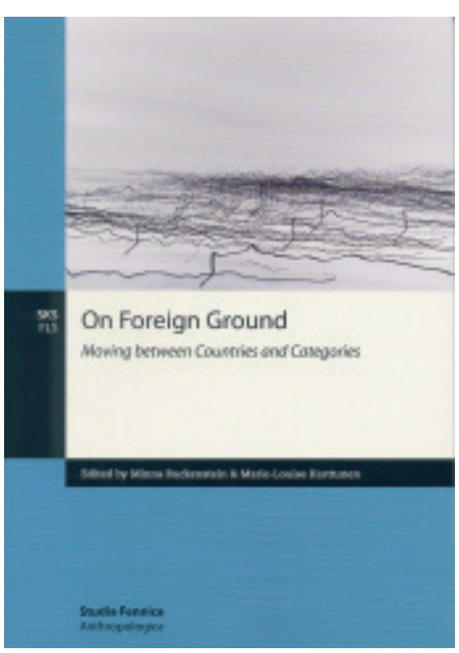
On Foreign Ground: Moving between Countries and Categories
Edited by Minna Ruckenstein & Marie-Louise Karttunen.
Studia Fennica Anthropologica 1. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007. 209 pp. ISBN 978-951-746-914-2. 29 euros.



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

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representations. Reception here means the production of meaning in the various discursive arenas in which the textualised and published works have been appropriated in Finnish society. Reception does not, however, merely comprise evaluations and interpretations made after the text has been finished. It is also present in the textualisation process as anticipations and horizons of expectation. With this insight in mind, the project directs its attention both to the textualisation of *Kalevala* epic and other oral poetry materials, and to the contemporary ideological and theoretical discourses in which this textual production takes place. Accordingly, the project aims at contextualising textual production in the ideological roles and positions given to the representations of oral tradition in society, especially in the construction of national culture and the production of modernity. The premises for the project's study of tradition within discourses on modernity are outlined in Pertti Anttonen's book *Tradition through Modernity* (2005).

In accordance with the points of departure presented above, Jouni Hyvönen and Niina Hämäläinen are studying, within the project, how Elias Lönnrot textualised oral poetry to make up the *Kalevala* epic. Hyvönen focuses on Lönnrot's intensive epos-making project during 1828–35, as this was the period when Lönnrot developed his ideas and concrete practices concerning epic production. Hyvönen's study is targeted at the development of Lönnrot's textualising strategies in the charm episodes of the *Old Kalevala* (1835), contextualising Lönnrot's textualisation practices and publication strategies with contemporary scholarly conventions, conceptions of the text and textual representation, research traditions of mythology and folklore, as well as the philological, text-critical and literary-historical perspectives on romantic epos theories. Previous *Kalevala* research has over-stressed the epic's connections to literature and generated a view according to which the epic was Lönnrot's personal literary creation. This, according to Hyvönen, over-simplifies Lönnrot's aims and working strategies, as he also wanted to fulfil the needs of a scientific anthology and an encyclopedic representation of traditional oral poetry and mythology.

Niina Hämäläinen started out in the project by studying the textualisation of the Kullervo poems in Lönnrot's *Kalevala* epic, but she has expanded her focus to the Aino poems as well, in order to analyse emotional spaces and ideas of family as Lönnrot's articulative interpretations. The concept of articulation derives from Stuart Hall and refers to the process of creating connections when seeking the unity of different discourses (Hall 1996, Slack 1996). When examining Lönnrot's articulative role in the textualisation of the lyrical poems, Hämäläinen concentrates on three main topics: lyric, emotion and family. Accordingly, she discusses the link between the romantic view of lyric and emotion and the social interest in the family and its role in Finnish society, and how these influenced Lönnrot in the compiling of the *Kalevala*, especially the songs of Aino and Kullervo. Lönnrot's epic textualisation is thus contextualised with contemporary social and cultural aspirations and his participation in public debates concerning family, marriage, gender relations, motherhood and child-rearing.

Kati Heinonen is studying for her doctoral dissertation the interaction of form and meaning in Ingrian *Kalevala*-metric poetry. Unlike the nationalised epic studied by Hyvönen and Hämäläinen, Heinonen's study materials are regionally specific, deriving from early twentieth-century collections made by the composer of opera and classical music, Armas Launis, in western Ingria, south of the Gulf of Finland and east of Estonia. Heinonen's research focuses on the mainly Izhorian villages of Soikkola and Narvusi, her main corpus consisting of the manuscripts and phonograms recorded by Launis in Soikkola, Narvusi and Hevaa in 1905, and the recordings from Narvusi in 1938 made by the folklorists Lauri and Aili Laiho. Drawing on ethnopoetic and ethnomusicological theories on oral poetry, performance theory and the classical studies of the *Kalevala* metre, Heinonen's main questions are as follows: How was the traditional oral poetry sung in the villages and what is the relationship of collected texts to the sung forms of poetry? What kinds of non-textual alternatives did the singers have to convey meanings and how were these used in performances? The examination of the performative aspects of poems via previously little-studied recordings will illuminate the textualising processes of and the meanings produced by both singers and collectors.

Pekka Tolonen is presently working as assistant at the Department of Comparative Religion at the University of Turku, but he is continuing his dissertation work in the project by conducting textual analysis of a historiographical work, *Chronicon universale anonymi Laudunensis*, written in the 1220s. His major focus is on the stories of lay religiosity, heresy and sanctity. Tolonen's work falls in the field of historical anthropology and the history of mentalities, and therefore fits in very well with the theoretical basis and interest of the project. Historical anthropology is also a framework in Pertti Anttonen's

ethnopoetic research into nineteenth-century West-Ingrian wedding rituals and ritual texts.

In addition to providing funding for the four doctoral students, the project sponsored by the Academy of Finland offers an inspiring environment for scholarly exchange and commentary, which may also involve experts invited to participate at the project meetings. Meetings take place approximately every second month, and they normally last up to six hours. In August 2008 the project organised a public seminar on the poetics of the everyday (*Arjen poetiikka*) jointly with the Finnish Literature Society, and another seminar for 2009 is in the planning stage. The project's web pages are available at www.helsinki.fi/folkloristiikka/Anttonen/etusivu.htm.

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Reviews

Oral Epic and Its Afterlife in the Classroom

Edige: A Karakalpak Heroic Epic as performed by Jumabay Bazarov. Edited and translated by Karl Reichl. FF Communications 293. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 2007. 498 pp. + CD. ISBN 978-951-41-1012-2 (hard), 978-951-41-1013-9 (soft).

Karl Reichl's edition, study, and translation of *Edige* is a handsome new addition to the prestigious series FFC. No other publication venue carries such cachet—one must resort to German *ehrwürdig* for an adequate adjective—and no other would have been fitting for Reichl's thorough and original book. *Edige* is an oral epic telling a story of, very broadly, exile and return:

> A boy, Edige, with a half-supernatural ancestry, growing up unrecognized at a khan's court, so distinguishes himself that the khan comes to fear him; the fourteen-year-old hero is banished, leaving behind a pregnant wife; after a journey he arrives at the stronghold of another ruler, establishes himself there by the heroic feat of rescuing the ruler's daughter from a giant, and marries the girl; eventually the son of Edige's first marriage seeks and finds his father; father and son return and kill the khan; in some tellings the sequel to this climax—a kind of coda with more content variation than the core of the narrative—includes an estrangement of father and son and how it was overcome. But before the son, Nuradin, begins his father-quest, his life till age fourteen must be narrated: similarly calumniated at court, he accomplishes a mission intended as fatal and escapes from the murderous court with supernatural help.

The exile-and-return story pattern is thus complicated by a second 'move' mirroring the first, but the pattern itself and many motifs may remind a Western reader of medieval romances such as *King Horn*, and Edige's supernatural ancestry incorporates famous international motifs. The telling of the story as oral epic and the verbal tissue of those tellings will also seem somewhat familiar to Western 'graduates' of the oral-formulaic school. Yet this material is also radically alien and, with Reichl's extensive help, can transport us to a richly different oral–literary world where history and mythic forms mutually assimilate to a driving, yet leisurely, style of verse-and-prose—or prosimetrical—narrative. Possibly the West once supported an oral culture more like this of Central Asia—a comparison Reichl earlier explored in a brilliant book, *Singing the Past: Turkic and Medieval Heroic Poetry* (Cornell UP, 2000), and in many articles—but my dominant reaction at reading Reichl's *Edige* was of being touched by an exhilarating alterity.

This impression was shared by my students—for in September 2008 *Edige* comprised a week's assignment to a seminar of ten Harvard undergraduates studying 'the history and theory of folklore methodology' with me for a term. The present 'review', or better 'appreciation', is that of a general reader and teacher, not of an expert on matters Central Asian. In particular I am interested in the pedagogical applicability of *Edige* to my on-going teaching needs.

Pedagogical appeal is enhanced by the book's CD, which contains a very good video (about eight minutes) of the Karakalpak bard Jumabay-jïraw singing and playing the two-stringed bowed fiddle, the *qobïz*, from a performance in 1993 as well as ten audio files keyed to various passages, both prose and verse and giving a good sense of the spectrum of Jumabay's performance styles. As a Mac user (and not a technologically gifted one), I had some difficulty here; the video immediately worked with Mac's QuickTime, but I had to borrow a Windows machine to listen to the audio files:

the downloadable application that enables Macs to read Windows Media Audio eluded me. The video, however, evoked for me memory of having met (if one can 'meet' when no language is shared) and heard the singer in 1996 at a conference given by Karl Reichl near Bonn, and the video and audio files give a good impression of Jumabay-jïraw as a vigorous epic singer in his prime. Reichl has, however, done much beyond furnishing his book with a CD to keep a *reader* aware of the *oral performance* behind the text: both text and translation are punctuated by black-and-white 'stills' of Jumabay in the course of this performance, and Reichl has developed ways of indicating the instrumental interludes (a quarter note for a brief one, two or more for longer ones), in addition to broad transcriptions of the substantial preludes played before new verse sections. One can follow these signs exactly in the audio and video files for the selected portions of the text. Reichl does not use typographic features (such as capitals, larger and smaller fonts, or expressive distribution of printed lines and spaces across the page) in the manner of the earlier ethnopoetics scholars in their efforts to indicate aspects of voice (loudness, emotion, trailing-off, etc.), and in my opinion he has hit upon the best compromise yet found between the conflicting demands of a *readerly* text and the 'being-there' of bonafide performance.

This respect for text, performance, and users of the book is evident in the volume's basic structure: Introduction (about 160 pages, comprising nine chapters), Text, Translation, Textual Notes, Commentary, Bibliography, Glossary, and CD. The text edited and translated by Reichl was, of course, collected by him from Jumabay-jïraw Bazarov, born 1927, died 2006. (A *jïraw,* we learn, is precisely 'singer' from a base noun for 'song' plus an agent suffix, but it is borne as a title.) Reichl began working with the singer in 1981 and last visited him in 2003; the version edited here was tape-recorded and video-taped in September 1993. The Karakalpak text, as edited, runs to a little over 100 pages or about 27,600 words. But Reichl has also analyzed an earlier, dictated performance of Jumabay's, which came to about 39,400 words, and the comparative observations on these two complete performances by the same singer productively inform parts of the introductory chapters and of the textual notes and commentary. The Textual Notes (pp. 432–55) are written in an admirably clear style, but the subject matter here—for example, etymologies—is properly the domain of the Turkologically competent reader. Still, Reichl's system of section and line numbers, together with asterisks by words discussed in the apparatus, does make it possible for even the 'linguistically-challenged' reader to follow in detail.

The Commentary (pp. 456–78) focuses more on style and substance than on the philology of individual words and will be useful to comparatists whether or not they control a Turkic language; we find, for example, comparison of the traditional opening lines across the Karakalpak versions (all quotations accompanied by translations) and the same lines repeated within the version edited. But the Commentary's notes also illuminate all kinds of passages small and large and sometimes reach to the Turkic tradition as a whole. Here is an example: '**XV.126**: in Turkic epics the hero generally marries young, which is only natural, given the early development of his heroic qualities'; Reichl continues with some chronological improbabilities precipitated by having a fourteen-year-old hero and concludes: 'Needless to say, this reasoning does not trouble the singer,—just as similar inconsistencies troubled neither Homer nor Shakespeare' (p. 468). The English of Reichl's translation (pp. 281–431) and of the book as a whole is flawless and expressive. The volume closes with a very useful glossary of terms (e.g., '*peri*: a fairy (from Persian *parī*)'; many items of material culture are illustrated by pictures. My further comments will be directed chiefly to the book-length Introduction.

One of the most distinctive features of Reichl's scholarship in this book is that he has augmented highly professional fieldwork with lucid 'archival' work. (I employ the word in the contemporary usage with reference to the printed record as well as to real 'archives': Reichl exhausts both.) In the case of the Karakalpak versions of *Edige*, for example, Reichl accounts for all twelve known recordings (chap. 4, pp. 51–72), giving the reader an (oral-)literary-historical context for Jumabay's performances, in addition to the immediate performance contexts demanded by the best practices in current folklore / oral-literature scholarship. Further archival context is supplied by chap. 3 with its full account of the epic about Edige in four other Turkic-language traditions, the Noghay, Kazakh, Tatar, and Bashkir (pp. 32–50), with a survey of the editions and translations of the epic, special forms of the story, and performance customs.

One difference between *Edige* and romances embodying the 'Aryan expulsion-and-return formula' (in Alfred Nutt's phrasing from 1881) is that the eponymous hero of *Edige* is a well-established historical personage. The 'khan', unnamed in my

plot summary above, is Tokhtamysh (d. 1395), the last khan of the Golden Horde; the neighboring 'ruler' is Timur or Tamerlan (d. 1405). Edige himself (d. 1419) was a commander and ruled after Tokhtamysh's death, but as emir, not khan. Reichl's chap. 2 (pp. 22–31) on 'the Edige of history' gives a brief, informative account of the historical backgrounds of the characters, reaching back as far as Genghis Khan (d. 1227) and succinctly filling in the blanks in our understanding—in my case, large blanks—of Central Asian history in the High and Late Middle Ages. In the end, however, this historical background, so necessary for one's confidence in reading the oral literature of Turkic peoples, is only very distantly connected with the literature itself, at least to judge by *Edige*. Reichl comments in more nuanced fashion:

> Despite the historicity of the main protagonists of the epic, their character and deeds in the epic poems diverge significantly from what we can deduce from the historical record. It cannot be doubted that both plot and characterization are based on historical events and historical figures; however the first recorded epics are separated from the 'arms and men' of which they sing by about five hundred years. Whenever the first epic about Edige might have been composed, there must have been a long chain of transmission from that epic to the poems we still have today. . . . But a case can be made for the argument that the very first poetic record of the deeds of Edige will have been significantly different from a contemporary historiographic record, such as a Russian chronicle or an Arabic or Persian work of historiography. (pp. 30–1)

These thoughts on history and poetry are introduced and generously framed by an elegant introductory essay (pp. 15–21).

Reichl does not speculate—except in the carefully controlled form we meet in chap. 6—on what that imagined first Edige epic might have been like, but he does explore, as thoroughly (I believe) as anyone has ever done, what can be known about the long chain of transmission. Chap. 5 on transmission discusses 'the influence of training', partly by establishing a genealogy of singers from Jumabay back to Nurabulla (d. 1927) and beyond and partly by examining, through close textual comparisons, consistencies across the Karakalpak versions. The influence of teachers is the most important element making for textual stability. In some traditions (notably Uzbek) singers were freer, for example in the employment of type-scenes, but in Karakalpak: 'Traditionally a singer learned the art of performing epics from another singer . . . It has to be underlined that the singer learned epics, individual poems with a specific plot and a specific lexical and poetic patterning. It is these epics the teacher performed and the pupil imitated' (p. 95). Chap. 5 opens, however, with a fascinating discussion of versions of the Edige story generated in an unfamiliar context of literature written for public reading, a borderland between orality and literacy. Reichl concludes that, while one Kazakh epic is actually a version of such a *qissa* or (written) tale, such influence is 'slight if not nil' (p. 80) in Karakalpak performances.

The next four chapters—on origins (6), poetic structure (7), textualization (8), and music (9)—were considered the heart of Reichl's book by my students. While they enjoyed the story in Reichl's very readable translation, it was these four sections that especially interested them in the context of our course. And, indeed, these sections do connect the project as a whole most specifically to current international folkloristics. In 'Origins' Reichl begins by comparing recent literary-theoretical ideas of 'text' with the situation of oral literature, ending with an endorsement of Lauri Honko's ideas of 'mental text', further compared with the linguistic concepts of 'phoneme' and 'allophone'. This leads to an exploration of the hierarchy of 'versions' and to comparison with (manuscript) stemmata. The 'singers' schools' provide grounding for one stratum of versions, and in some cases it seems permissible to speak of language/ethnic versions; but the inadequacy of collections undercuts the certainty of, for example, a Karakalpak version. Nevertheless, the most widespread elements of the epic across all traditions can be hypothesized for pre-1800 versions, and two figures, a saint and a singer, probably belonged to the 'origin' of the epic, perhaps in the early fifteenth century. Despite his disclaimers, Reichl is, in my opinion, very successful in this chapter in conveying a folklore/literary theory rooted in a diachronic reality.

Chapter 7 'Poetic Structure' includes Karakalpak metrics and the different performance modes manifested in Jumabay's *Edige* (four modes for verse passages and several less strictly definable ones for prose passages, which often contain verse or verse-like sections [p. 136]). Reichl's descriptive analysis of the emic segmentation of such narratives, of the traditionality of scenes (or 'themes'), and of the artist's emphasis on scenes ends with a striking critical insight:

> It is the focus on vividly represented scenes rather than an evenly balanced narration that characterizes the epic . . . [examples] . . . There is a certain intensity, at times even verging on coarseness, about the way the tale is

> presented. There is also the ebb and flow of telling and singing, of telling with a natural voice and singing with a strained voice . . . Some of this intensity and of these varying rhythms will, it is hoped, stay recognizable in the edited and translated text. (p. 133)

In addition to these strictly 'structural' concerns, the chapter offers an excellent concise discussion of the assimilation of *Edige*'s historical characters to international myth and folktale patterns (pp. 118–24).

Transition from performance to text was a problem already somewhat familiar to my students from studies such as Elizabeth Fine's *The Folklore Text: From Performance to Print* (Indiana UP, 1994), but Reichl's chap. 8 (pp. 142–62) engages that subject with a subtlety and completeness we had not encountered in such American predecessors. Reichl's more complex treatment of textualization seems partly due to complexities of language, dialect, idiolect, and orthographic representations, and partly to the limitations of the expected Western audiences of the book. In any case, my students had no easy time with the linguistic details despite Reichl's absolute clarity of explanation. At the end of the linguistically dense section, however, he asks 'How much of all this . . . should be reflected in the edited text?' (p. 151) and launches an illuminating, largely nontechnical discussion of the theoretical and practical questions involved. Chapter 9 on music comprises technical analysis of Jumabay's four melodies (compared with many more in the practice of older singers) and describes the remarkable variety he achieves through variations of tune-realization and performance modes; the chapter's conclusion rises to a wonderful synthesis on the aesthetic structure of sung narrative (pp. 177–8).

As a whole Reichl's book is a splendid scholarly achievement. It was not intended for the kind of basic pedagogical use I put it to, but the experiment was successful. My students were exposed to a most impressive model of the interaction of fieldwork, classic archival scholarship, and theory. I do not delude myself that this exposure will produce anyone with Reichl's amazing language capacity or breadth of learning, but I believe my students have profited by, among other things, the encounter with painstaking technical work as the necessary basis for theory and broad cultural mediation.

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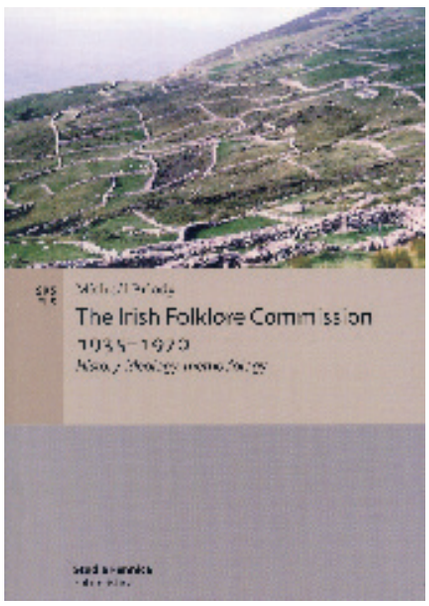
The Irish Folklore Commission, a Man and a Vision

Mícheál Briody: *The Irish Folklore Commission 1935–1970. History, ideology, methodology.* Studia Fennica Folkloristica 17. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007. ISBN 978-951-746-947-0.

On 2 April 1935 the founding meeting of the Irish Folklore Commission was held in Dublin. None of the people present could guess that the Commission would work for 35 years (instead of the targeted five) before it came to an end and its collections were relocated to University College, Dublin. During those 35 years the Commission faced several challenges: it had financial difficulties, and more than once it was considered that it would be merged with some other institution; its workers made significant personal sacrifices in order to fulfil the work programmes. But it also achieved remarkable results. The collections of the Irish Folklore Commission include records of Irish verbal art, oral literature, folk music, song and dance, children's folklore, belief and custom, material culture, maritime traditions, healing and healers, and traditional foodways. Today, as a part of the Folklore Department in University College, Dublin, the 'UCD Delargy Centre for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection' includes three million pages of manuscripts, thousands of hours of audio recordings, approximately 70,000 photographs and drawings, and a unique collection of paintings. In addition, its library includes 50,000 items.

Mícheál Briody's *The Irish Folklore Commission 1935–1970. History, ideology, methodology* studies the history, establishment and working of the Commission, and its relocation to University College, Dublin. According to Briody the study is not only the Commission's (deconstructive) history but also a handbook and a tool for other researchers interested in the Commission. Briody probes the different aspects of the Commission and its work with an impressive clarity and in a detailed, profound and critical manner. In particular the collecting methods, the programmes and the individual workers and their effects on the Commission's work receive special attention. The Commission's work is studied both from the organisational and individual points of view, which makes the study particularly interesting. The central character in the study is the founder of the Commission, indigenous, uncompromising tradition-collector and researcher, Séamus Ó Duilearga (1899–1980).



Briody's research materials include published sources and a large number of primary sources, which have not been utilised in research before. They include, for example, the documents relating to the Commission of the Departments of Finance, Education and the Taoiseach (i.e. Prime Minister). Briody did not have access to the files of the Irish Folklore Commission as such, nor to most of Séamus Ó Duilearga's private papers. However, he has managed to access hundreds of letters written by Ó Duilearga and his colleagues by studying correspondence of several Nordic and North-American folklorists and ethnologists. In addition, Briody uses the material brought in by questionnaires and interviews of the Commission's workers done by himself. The interviews provide unique material as most of the Commission's workers had passed away by the dawn of the twenty-first century. Briody also brings up some ethical questions concerning the use of the research material, as he discusses openly some of the personal conflicts that arose between the Commission's workers. According Briody the conflicts must be discussed in order to understand the Commission's work.

The study starts with the description of the cultural, political and ideological contexts which preceded the founding of the Irish Folklore Commission. The most significant factors were the early attempts to save and revive the Gaelic language and tradition, partly nostalgic Irish cultural nationalism that arose in the early decades of the twentieth century, and the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922. Especially the Gaelic League, which was founded in 1893, and the cultural and political movements which it initiated, crucially influenced the beginning of the systematic collecting of Irish folklore in the late 1920s. In these fruitful contexts the Folklore of Ireland Society was founded in 1927, and it is considered as the direct predecessor of the Irish Folklore Commission.

After the introductory contextualisation Briody leads the reader chronologically from Ó Duilearga's early years as a student (at the turn of the 1920s), to the founding of the Commission in 1935, the establishment of its working methods, through its most active years in the 1940s to 1960s, and finally to the relocating of the Commission to University College, Dublin, in 1971. The text revolves around Séamus Ó Duilearga's personal history: his ambitious visions, working to keep the Commission running and to save Irish folklore from disappearing, his most active years in the Commission, conflicts, and finally deteriorating health and giving up the Commission. Other workers of the Commission are also discussed, for example the workers of the Head Office, such as ethnologist Caoimhín Ó Danachair and Séan Ó Súilleabháin. Every now and again glimpses are afforded of Ó Duilearga's European colleagues, such as Carl von Sydow and Martti Haavio, and remarks are found on the visits to the tradition archives in Sweden, Estonia and Finland.

Briody has skilfully interwoven the personal story of Ó Duilearga and the analytical and critical study of the Commission's collecting programs, methods, and tasks of the individual workers. In the Commission worked the Head Office staff (including the director Ó Duilearga), office workers (typists, secretaries and collection archivists) and field workers. Ó Duilearga focused mainly on organising the work programmes, hiring and guiding workers, lecturing at home and abroad, aking care of public relations and maintaining contacts with his foreign colleagues through visits and correspondence. Ó Duilearga's ambitious visions, international contacts and hard work were crucial to the founding and operation of the Commission, but they were also one source of the conflicts which gradually started to interfere in the Commission's work. He devoted himself fully to the task of organising and maintaining the Commission's work, even at the cost his own health. He was stubborn and wanted to do things in his own way, which complicated the co-operation, for example, with University College, Dublin. He expected similar unconditional devotion from the other workers as well. Many of them, both in the archive and in the field, were overloaded

with work and had to make major sacrifices in order to fulfil the goals set by the collection and work programmes. However, the Commission could not offer compensation for the individual sacrifices—it could hardly even pay regular salaries. This was one of the reasons for the tension in the Commission from the 1950s onwards.

The full-time and part-time collectors did the majority of the collecting in the field, and Briody describes the work of collectors and methods in detail. During the most active years the Commission had nine full-time collectors, but it usually had from five to six. The collectors were for the most part regular people, for example young teachers temporarily out of work. The prerequisite for the collector's job was an ability to speak and write Gaelic. For most of the 1950s and 1960s, part-time collectors also worked in the Commission. Their numbers were a few hundred each year, and they collected approximately 40 per cent of the Commission's collections. In addition, the Commission organised a scheme to gather in folklore collected by schoolchildren aged between 11 and 14. During the school year 1937–8 the scheme produced a collection of 1128 bound books and 40,000 notebooks from such areas, which were not covered by the full-time collectors.

For the sound recordings the collectors first used only poorly portable Ediphone-recorders, each weighing approximately 25 kg. The devices engraved the recording onto a wax cylinder. (Briody offers interesting examples of the use of the Ediphone and its transportation through the Irish countryside by bicycle.) The Ediphone was not ideal for recording music, thus a pen and paper still remained useful tools for writing it down. Later the collectors started to use aluminium disks for recordings, and in 1957 magnetic tape recorders. In addition to these pieces of equipment, collectors had notebooks, a camera and a map on which they marked the collection areas. The use of a map also reflects ideas behind the collecting of folklore at the time: once an area had been collected from, it need not to be returned to. The collectors travelled in the field mainly without cars and lived sometimes in harsh conditions for a lengthy period of time. Because of the demanding fieldwork conditions, there were no women among the full-time collectors.

The Commission also used questionnaires. For this method a correspondent network was established, and it mostly consisted of teachers. The questionnaires were sent out both in English and in Gaelic. Thematically they were either general questionnaires targeted at the whole of Ireland, or locally specified questionnaires. The questionnaires were still actively sent out in the early 1940s, but during the next decade their use diminished. A lot of material was collected by means of the questionnaires, but the method also had some weaknesses. It failed partly because of disagreements over its aims and purpose within the Commission. Also the questionnaires added significantly to the workload of the office workers, who were overloaded already, and thus they did not seem an effective work method.

Gradually during the 1950s and the 1960s the disagreements over the Commission's tasks, use of the collections and salaries became acute. Some of the Commission's workers criticised Ó Duilearga, because he was not interested in organising teaching in University College, Dublin, even though he had a professorship there. His organisational abilities and leadership were also criticised. Furthermore, Ó Duilearga was not willing to publish research articles even though the Commission was expected to publish. Finally in 1955 he set a rule that all the research articles intended for publishing had to be approved personally by him, and the archive collections could be used for research purposes only on his permission. The decisions caused even further friction within the Commission. Because of the internal conflicts the workers felt constant insecurity and doubt. During the 1960s it was clear that the Commission's work was gradually waning. Its workers were already old and Ó Duilearga's health was deteriorating. Thus Ó Duilearga suggested that the Commission should be relocated to the Folklore Department of University College, Dublin. The relocation of the Commission finally took place in 1971.

Throughout the study Briody evaluates the Commission's work and methods analytically and contextualises them within contemporary folkloristic discussions and the conceptions of collectible folklore. Typical for its time, the Commission did not, for example, collect urban or contemporary traditions. In its programmes the idea of tradition was firmly connected with the Gaelic, agrarian population and old tradition on the verge of disappearing. Also the tradition performed by women was a minority in the collection programmes: of the 40,000 informants only 6000 were women. Similar was the situation with the English-speaking population in the poor rural areas. According to Briody there was variation in the quality of the collected materials. The collectors sometimes made only rough notes in the field and only later completed the text, which had its effects on the form and the contents. Also

the narrators could perform self-censoring as they knew the importance of the 'national task' of collecting. In the early phase of its work the Commission could afford to reject the collections of poor quality, but when the number of the collectors declined from the 1940s onwards, it could no longer be so selective. Furthermore, the Commission did not have enough workers for organising and analysing the material, which also caused difficulties.

Despite the many conflicts and difficulties, the Irish Folklore Commission was a remarkable institution and one of the pioneers in the systematic collecting of folklore—even though Briody assumes that many contemporary researchers do not recognise the Commission and its influence for present-day collecting. According to Briody, Ó Duilearga was one of the pioneers of contextual studies in folkloristics. An essential part of the Commission's work was that the collectors kept systematic field diaries. They wrote down information of the narrators (name, age, place of birth, biographical notes, personality traits), and of the use of tradition and the collecting situation. The most active years of collecting occurred between the 1930s and 1950s. Elsewhere in Europe at this time the interest in contexts was not yet so systematic, even though there had been some individual collectors who kept field diaries (such as C. A. Gottlund in the 1830s to 1840s, and in Estonia the collectors kept field diaries). In 1970 the field diaries included altogether 59,000 pages, and they were collected in the archive as individually bound manuscripts. The field diaries are significant as they provide contextual information and widen and deepen the research analyses of the main tradition collections.

Mícheál Briody's research is exceptionally interesting to read. It is an analytical study not only of the Irish Folklore Commission, its history and work, but also of one man's visions and life-long work. The study provides important information of which everyone using the materials of the Commission should be aware. Furthermore, throughout the study Briody raises interesting research questions worth further study. It is rare for a history of an institution and of a single man so intimately intertwined to be presented so carefully and in such a superbly readable manner as in this study. Briody's study will surely find eager readers among archive workers and researchers using archive materials.

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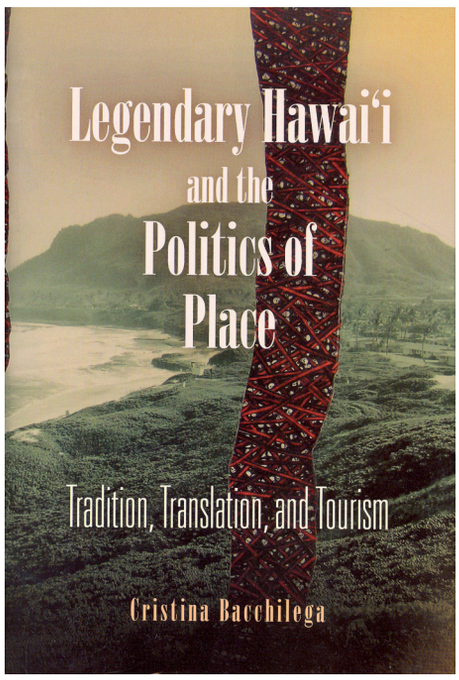
Legends of Hawai'i and Legendary Hawai'i

Cristina Bacchilega: *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place. Tradition, Translation, and Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. ISBN 978-0812239751.

The South Pacific, especially Polynesia, has been an alluring place for European imagination since the first explorers described the beauty of the islands and the charm of the inhabitants and their culture. In his classic study, *European Vision and the South Pacific: A Study in the History of Ideas*, Bernard Smith (1960) laid the ground for the analysis of the specific role of the Pacific for the formation of a European philosophy of history and culture. He paid special attention to the ways of seeing the landscape and in his research he was well ahead of his time, as his *Place, Taste and Tradition: A Study of Australian Art since 1788* (1945) demonstrates. Christina Bacchilega continues this honourable tradition with modern theoretical sophistication in her analysis of the process of the creation of legendary Hawai'i. The history of Hawai'i illuminates in a dramatic way the colonially introduced disjuncture of place and tradition, which enables Bacchilega to highlight the difference between legendary Hawai'i and 'storied place'. From being a Hawai'ian kingdom the islands became a settler colony; the native population diminished and constitutes at present less than 10 per cent of the total population. The dominant outsider discourse created the abstract and experientially void space of Hawai'i.

Bacchilega's material is interesting. A considerable amount of published Hawai'ian folklore material of varied quality exists: she makes little use of this, but begins her actual analysis with a recent photographic publication by Anne Kapualani Landgraf (1994). Landgraf's pictures present us, alongside the dramatic depictions of the islands' natural beauty, with a conscious counter-discourse. The pictures derive their meaning from the accompanied *mo'olelo*, narratives, which fill them with human intentions and make it impossible to look at them as just landscapes. They become places redolent with layers of significance. There is no human activity in the pictures—the landscape seems to be empty—and thus they do not open themselves to outsiders as images of imagined Hawai'i. They do not open up as they do for those who have a relationship with the *mo'olelo*.

Legendary Hawai'i functions as a complete contrast to the storied places depicted by Landgraf.



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The production of legendary Hawai'i was intensified and took a specific path after the annexation of the islands in 1898. The generalised Polynesia was turned into an American tourist destination with an aura of folklore. Bacchilega pays detailed attention to Thomas G. Thrum's and William Drake Westerwelt's extensive publications of translated 'folktales'. The translation of the materials, supported with paratextual materials, transforms them into timeless and placeless 'relics of the life of early Hawaiians' (p. 102). The reframing of Hawai'ian materials creates a new kind of connection with the landscape and the folklore becomes like a colouring of nature and thus silences the Hawai'ian voices which created the original narratives. Though Bacchilega finds in Emma Nakuina's tourist brochure of 1904 an autoethnographic voice resisting the general trend of translated materials in highlighting the nature of indigenous experience of places, the colonisers and settlers along with tourists have the last word.

In Bacchilega's treatment, present-day multicultural Hawai'i makes extensive use of Hawai'ian folklore in the form of modern ghost stories. In these, the Hawai'ian beliefs are 'dislocated or assimilated into an umbrella of supernaturalism, where the relationship to land as *'āina*, for instance, has no particular currency' (p. 157). Thus the indigenous epistemology and cosmology are again replaced by new ways of understanding the relationship between specific places and events that characterise them.

Bacchilega outlines her project and expertise carefully, and recognises her position as a 'newcomer'. Her insights are based on a wide range of textual materials, complemented with classroom experiences describing the students' reactions and comments on materials under study. In her Introduction she states that her ambition is 'to pursue the possibilities of reflexive folklore and literature studies as relevant to a specific contested politics of place and tradition' and limits her main ethnographic focus to the production of 'legendary Hawai'i', which, after all, was an external process. Although she pays very little attention to the major structural changes brought by the colonial annexation, her analysis makes a major contribution to the understanding of the historical fates of Hawai'ian oral traditions. It provides brilliant insights into the relationship between oral traditions, landscape, place and the ways traditions are invented.

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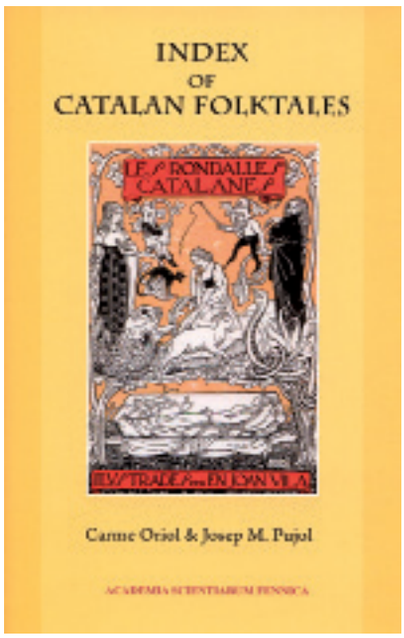
A New Volume in the FF Communications



FFC 294. Carme Oriol & Josep M. Pujol,
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Hard, 35 euros Soft, 30 euros

The Catalan language is spoken over a large area covering some 70 000 km^2 divided among four states (Andorra, Spain, France and Italy), with a total population of 13.5 million inhabitants. Catalan culture has a large body of literature dating from the medieval period to the present day as well as a rich and extensive tradition of folklore studies beginning in 1853 and continuing without interruption ever since. Catalan folktales were ignored by the *Types of the Folktale* until the second edition (1961), which included only references to the collection published by Joan Amades (1950). The present *Index of Catalan Folktales* brings together the work of some seventy collectors working along 150 years and for the first time gives a faithful and complete image of the Catalan contribution to the world's folklore heritage.

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