Folklore Fellows'
NETWORK

Folklore Fellows' NETWORK

No. 1 | 2021

Contents

Ships Pass in the Night No More?

Joseph Jacobs, Kaarle Krohn, Possible Pasts and Potential Futures

Frog
University of Helsinki

Winds of cultural change have swept the world, driven by the global pandemic. Among the myriad impacts, it seems only natural that the Folklore Fellow's Summer School was transformed into an online event with participants in time zones across the globe. This breakthrough into the virtual entails a new type of connectivity to which most of us are rapidly becoming acculturated. Geographical distance and national boundaries have historically been significant factors affecting who participates in academic events, which are key sites for the development networks and collaborations. The breakthrough into the virtual holds the promise that these factors are fated to wither away. The implications of this are challenging to grasp, which makes it worthwhile to reflect on a meeting that did not occur, but that might – just might – have had resounding consequences if it had.

Long before the mass-cancelation of flights and border lockdowns, it was not uncommon that someone was unable to attend an event, in which case we missed what they had to say. We do not usually give much thought to the 'might have beens' of such missed encounters, and they receive even less consideration in the history of scholarship. Here, however, I would like to introduce the missed encounter of Joseph Jacobs (1854–1916) and Kaarle Krohn (1863–1933), an encounter which almost took place in London and Oxford at the International Folk-Lore Congress in 1891. The case is interesting because it is an example of a conversation that, had it occurred, could have significantly impacted the history of folkloristics.

The International Folk-Lore Congress was established to create a nexus for the emerging field. Krohn was at the first event in Paris in 1889 but Jacobs was not. However, Jacobs was on the Second Congress's organizing committee and subsequently edited the proceedings. Krohn received funds from the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki (today the University of Helsinki) to attend the event, yet, for reasons unknown, he never made the journey. Surprisingly, he arranged instead for his younger brother Ilmari Krohn to use the funds and speak at the conference (Krohn I. 1851:

175–176). Ilmari Krohn was still a university student at the time and his topic was folk music rather than folktales, making his paper rather tangential to the section in which he spoke and more generally to how folklore was addressed at the Congress (Laitinen 2020: 116–117 and p.c.).[1] As a consequence, he, rather than Kaarle Krohn, presented in the same session with Jacobs (Jacobs & Nutt 1891: xxi), and the encounter that was primed to happen never took place.

Kaarle Krohn's name is of course legendary in folkloristics. He was a driving force in the foundation of the Folklore Fellows with Axel Olrik in 1907 and established an agreement for a devoted international publication series in 1908, which appeared as FF Communications in 1910. This situated Kaarle Krohn at the heart of the international network. He was a staunch advocate and propagator of the so-called Historical-Geographic Method (HGM), which he consistently attributed to his late father, Julius Krohn. Julius Krohn had observed that Finnic epic poetry exhibits a continuum of variation that he interpreted as stadial, reflecting a succession of innovations as the respective epic spread from place to place (1883). At the First Folklore Congress, Kaarle Krohn presented the methodology that had been largely implicit in his father's work, updated with his own list of 'laws' of folklore (1891: 67). Krohn's 'laws' are largely unknown today, but they stand apart from 'laws' being proposed by his contemporaries in that they focus on the form and variation internal to folklore as documented rather than on theories of its derivation from something else or of its historical spread. The methodology and 'laws' specific to the research object were instrumental in validating folkloristics as a distinct 'science' and gaining its institutional recognition. This culminated in the establishment of a professorial position, maintained through the present day, and the model was exported, establishing professorships of '[National] and Comparative Folklore' elsewhere. Krohn's

---
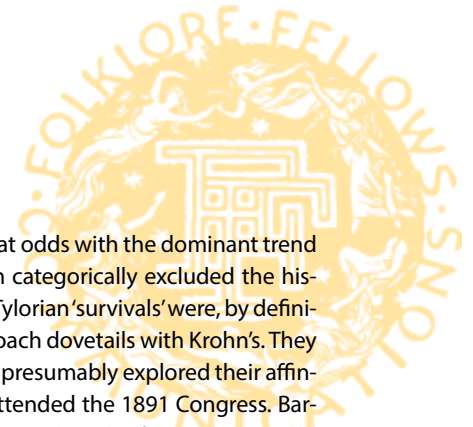
advocation of the methodology and these 'laws' suggests that he was already oriented to establishing folkloristics as an independent discipline in the 1880s.

In the 1880s and 1890s, establishing folklore as a 'science' nowhere received more enthusiastic and energetic discussion than in the British Folk-Lore Society (founded 1878). However, in parallel with the rise of the Folklore Fellows and the HGM during the early twentieth century, British folkloristics went into decline. Richard Dorson (1961: 305) relates this to the failure to gain institutional status for the discipline. This failure can be viewed against the British folklorists' orientation toward disciplinary distinction by emphasizing taxonomies, as in biology, and documentation, while their methods and theories remained bound up with those of anthropology. Sir Edward Burnett Tylor was on the society's first board, and his theory of 'survivals' (1874 [1871]) was embraced by its members, who conceived folklore through that lens. Folklore was viewed as a type of cultural anachronism inherited from an earlier era, ripe for reconstructing myths and rituals of the past. Cross-cultural parallels were approached within a universal paradigm of cultural evolution; they were interpreted as emerging independently, and thus traditions documented in more 'primitive' societies of the colonies could be used to illuminate British folklore 'survivals'. The folklorists' taxonomies were specific to their research object, but their methods remained derivative of, and subordinate to, rather than distinct from, anthropology, while the 'laws' being proposed were bound up with the more general theory of 'survivals'. University politics aside, they did not show that folklore was a research object not already covered by the methods and 'laws' of another 'science'.

Within British folkloristics, Jacobs was a vocal dissenter to the Tylorian model. He focused instead on folklore's cross-cultural distribution. His paper at the 1891 Congress calls for mapping folktales' variation across Europe, in which he outlines a "geographical method of regarding the diffusion of folktales" (1892: 81) with principles he describes as "Grimm's laws", such as "a Grimm's law that the closer nations are the more stories they have in common" (1892: 82, and cf. 84). His methodology not only resonates with that championed by Krohn; he mentions in a footnote that "much the same method appears to have been advocated by the late Prof. Krohn and his son", though their method was known to him only through an "abridged German translation" (1892: 81n.1), which would have been Kaarle Krohn's dissertation (1888).[2]

Jacobs' approach was at odds with the dominant trend in British folkloristics, which categorically excluded the historical spread of traditions. Tylorian 'survivals' were, by definition, inherited. But his approach dovetails with Krohn's. They would have discovered and presumably explored their affinity of interests had Krohn attended the 1891 Congress. Barring personality conflicts or accidental offense, they would no doubt have kept in touch (in German), and might then have reciprocally impacted one another's work surrounding shared concerns of methodology and the development of 'laws' of folklore. Such conversations might have echoed into the development of the HGM, but far more interesting is that their conversations would likely have led to inducting Jacobs into the Folklore Fellows. This connection could have created awareness of the FF's exportable model for validating folkloristics as a 'science', even if Jacobs never held a significant university position to lobby for its institutional recognition. More generally, establishing a dialogue with the FF might – at least potentially – have created a tether to a rising international discussion that could have helped buoy British folkloristics as the Tylorian platform sank beneath it. But Jacobs, it seems, never contacted Krohn,[3] who, in his turn, appears to have remained unaware of Jacobs' work, like ships passing in the night.

The history of folkloristics is entangled with nationalism, colonialism, ideologies of ownership, exclusion and aligning identities amid changing political concerns. At the same time, it is a history of people with interests, intentions and relations, in which individuals like Jacobs and Krohn could have transformative impacts on the field or steer its trajectory. Krohn's impacts are bound up with the networks that nurtured and supported them, whereas Jacobs' similar views were pitted against those in his local networks. Had that fateful International Folk-Lore Congress taken place in today's milieu of hybrid and virtual events, Krohn would not have needed to withdraw and a dialogue with Jacobs would have been opened. The hypothetical dialogue remains only a springboard for speculation, yet their conversation presents the possibility of having had, for better or worse, a transformative impact on the history of British folkloristics, which, in its turn, would have impacted the field globally. The early HGM is viewed quite critically today, as is the relationship of early British folkloristics with colonialism, yet this remains a missed encounter that could have changed the world of folklore research.

The 2021 FFSS is emblematic of the potential that the changes driven by the pandemic hold to unite us and enable open discussion on a global scale. Such a development is crucial amid current concerns about the asymmetries

---

2   Jacobs could have been directed to this work by Ilmari Krohn at the Congress, but he may equally have drawn inspiration from it earlier.

3   Kaarle Krohn preserved letters and cards that he received, now housed in the archive of the Finnish Literature Society. No correspondence from Jacobs is found in the collection.
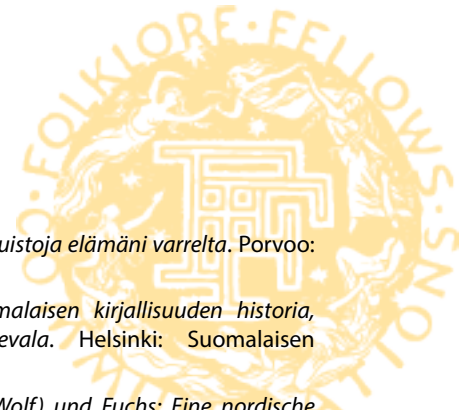
between centers and peripheries, both locally and between the so-called Global North and the Global South. Of course, the case of Jacobs and Krohn might be seen as a missed encounter between an imperial metropole and what Alan Dundes once called "the veritable Mecca of folklore research" (2005: 385), but the metropole can also be viewed as merely the predictable geographical site of the encounter, as Paris had been for the preceding Congress. Jacobs was Australian, from a Jewish family, and Finland was still a property passing between Sweden and Russia, which only gained its independence in the disruptions of the Russian revolution; until then, the Finns were an ethnic and cultural other relative to the respective empire. And, the image of Helsinki as a center rather than a periphery is mainly owing to the agency, energy and strategy of Krohn. Krohn's methodological dogmatism, whatever we may think about the early HGM, was driven to ensure the discipline of folkloristics, as opposed to research on folklore materials, remained unchallenged, and his labours ultimately resulted in establishing a periphery as an enduring center for folklorists. The potential of this possible past is that it could have offered a lifeline for the community at the metropole, even if only through an outsider from the other side of the world. The rise of virtual spaces may enable transformative shifts in the centers and peripheries of folkloristics across the coming decades.

Of course, the potential of movement into virtual venues is not without its caveats. Online events can be more expensive than an onsite conference, and the cost of a hybrid event can be shocking. Utopian visions of the future might get shattered by the resulting participation fees, exchanging geographical for economic factors as limiting participation. Nevertheless, we are entering a new era in which all one needs do is turn on the computer and no historical encounter will be missed owing to physical distance. This situation may have a transformative impact on the international networks formed by folklorists, and the FFSS may become a testament to this.

Works Cited

Dorson, Richard M. 1961. "Folklore Studies in England". *Journal of American Folklore* 74(294): 302–312.

Dundes, Alan. 2005. "Folkloristics in the Twenty-First Century (AFS Invited Presidential Plenary Address, 2004)". *Journal of American Folklore* 118(470): 385–408.

Jacobs, Joseph. 1892. "The Science of Folk-Tales and the Problem of Diffusion". In *The International Folk-Lore Congress 1891: Papers and Transactions*. Ed. Joseph Jacobs & Alfred Nutt. London: David Nutt. Pp. 76–102.

Jacobs, Joseph, & Alfred Nutt. "Introduction." In *The International Folk-Lore Congress 1891: Papers and Transactions*. Ed. Joseph Jacobs & Alfred Nutt. London: David Nutt. Pp. xiii–xxix.

Krohn, Ilmari. 1951. *Sävelmuistoja elämäni varrelta*. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Krohn, Julius. 1883. *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden historia, ensimäinen osa: Kalevala*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Krohn Kaarle. 1888. *Bär (Wolf) und Fuchs: Eine nordische Tiermärchenkette: Vergleichende Studie*. Helsingfors: Die Finnische Literatur-gesellschaft.

Krohn, Kaarle. 1891. "La méthode de M. Jules Krohn". In *Congrés internationale des traditions populaires, Paris 1889*. Paris: Société d'éditions scientifiques. Pp. 64–68.

Laitinen, Heikki. 2020. "Ilmari Krohnin tie väitöskirjaan". In *Ilmari Krohn: Tutkija, säveltäjä, kosmopoliitti*. Ed. Markus Mantere, Jorma Hannikainen & Anna Krohn. Helsinki: Sibelius-Akatemia. Pp. 109–134.

Tylor, Edward B. 1874 [1871]. *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*, I–II. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

Close Walking

Musings from Goat Mountain

Matthias Egeler
Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich

In this note, I want to propose that sometimes a rather pedestrian approach to storytelling can greatly help us to understand the context of and what is going on in folk narratives. For many such stories, a close reading of the text can be fruitfully supplemented with a corresponding 'close walking' of the locations where the plot of the narrative plays itself out, and this can help to ground our understanding of the stories in the everyday contexts of work and land use that were a given for the people who originally told the tale. I will develop this thought on an Icelandic example, but, especially judging from my experience with Irish literature, I think that it can be applied also in at least some other cultural contexts.

Imagine yourself sitting on the crest of a hill, or more accurately of a rocky bluff. This bluff juts out of a mountainside right above an Icelandic fjord. You are only at a height of about 130 meters above sea level, but your perch directly overlooks the coast, so wide views open up along the coastline as well as to the mountains on the far side of the fjord. These mountains are still speckled with snow, just as there are pockets of snow in the mountain landscape that stretches out behind your back. On one side, your bluff is bounded by near-vertical cliffs that drop towards the valley a hundred metres below you. There, the red-painted roofs of a cluster of farmhouses are nestled at the foot of the mountain. On the other side of your bluff, the trough of a small valley separates it from the mountains that form the upland plateau. This small valley – really little more than an elongated hollow – would make for a good hiding place: there is no view into it from the coast or the coastal road; one can only overlook it either from your bluff or from the even higher mountains beyond it. It is one of those places

View from Goat Mountain towards Heydalsá (Photo © M. Egeler, 2019).

that is so much in the shadow of its surroundings that patches of snow still hold out there; in it, it is windy and bone-chillingly cold. If you let your gaze follow the line of this valley towards the coast, you see a second farm, this one with its roofs painted a light sky-blue.

This view – overlooking the fjord, the two farms with the red and blue roofs, and the half-hidden little valley – is the view that you have from 'Goat Mountain' – Geitafell – on the south coast of Steingrímsfjörður in the Icelandic West-fjords. Goat Mountain forms a prominent outcrop of a rocky ridge that lies diagonally between the two farmsteads of Heydalsá (with the red roofs) and Smáhamrar (with the blue roofs). The reason I was there was a research project on land-scape and storytelling. We know that Icelandic storytelling frequently engages in an intense play with place-names. Icelandic place-names often are objects of wordplay and reinterpreted to form the basis for developing new plot-lines (Þórhallur Vilmundarson & Bjarni Vilhjálmsson 1991: esp. pp. xxx–xli; Egeler 2018a, 2018b, 2021). This made me wonder: does this storytelling not only play with the names of places, but also with their topography?

The stretch of coast between Heydalsá and Smáham-rar is, as so many places in Iceland are, a landscape of sto-ries. One of these stories was written down in 1933 by Guð-mundur Jónsson at Bakki in Tálknafjörður, to be published by Helgi Guðmundsson shortly afterwards (1933–1937: 147–149). It runs as follows (my transl.):

> The Neighbours
>
> Early in the eighteenth century, a man lived at Smáham-rar on Steingrímsfjörður, who was called Bárður; and another, Jón by name, at Heydalsá, which is the next farm further into the fjord from Smáhamrar. They both had knowledge of magic and played various tricks on each other. It was said that mostly Jón started it, but Bárður got his own back. Bárður had a riding horse, one of good quality, the best in that community. Jón at Heydalsá developed a great interest in the horse and often asked Bárður to sell it to him, but Bárður always says no. Once, as on other occasions, Jón asks Bárður for the horse, and Bárður then tells him without any reservation that it would be no use for him to continue with his pestering, because he would not sell the horse, neither to him nor to anybody else; he thought so much of it that he would not part from it. Jón gets angry about that and says in the same moment as he is going away: "It can happen that you will not get more out of it than if you had sold it to me." Bárður does not reply anything to that.
>
> Around the time when the lambs are separated from the ewes, the shepherd from Smáhamrar comes across Bárður's riding horse, dead behind the so-called Goat Mountain (Geitafell), and that is on the ridge towards the farm at Heydalsá. The shepherd tells Bárður of his find. He lets little show at that, but immediately suspects that Jón would be responsible for the death of the horse. The shepherd asks Bárður whether he did not want to skin it. Bárður replied to this question only by saying that he strictly forbade both him and all others in his home from touching the horse.
>
> The following day, the news reached Smáhamrar that all ewes at Heydalsá were missing from the pens.

> People searched for them day after day, and they were found nowhere. In the end, after a week has gone by, they are found behind the above-mentioned Goat Mountain, and they are busy gnawing the last scraps from the bones of Bárður's riding horse. As it could easily be seen, the ewes had eaten its skin and pelt, and all that of it that teeth can grip, and they had now be-come spindly thin and were looking very bad, and they became also useless for all that was left of the summer. – People said that the neighbours never played any tricks on each other again.

In trying to get an angle on this story, the traditional close reading did not get me anywhere, at least not anywhere particularly interesting: it just seemed like a straightfor-ward story told in straightforward language and with a straightforward moral message about good neighbourly coexistence. Even in the wider context of Icelandic litera-ture, it does not particularly stand out, except maybe for its comparatively amiable ending. In a medieval Icelandic saga, the incident of the dead horse would have marked the beginning of a feud which would have left everybody dead, innocent bystanders included. Readers of *Egils saga* may remember how much bloodshed could come from a slightly rough ballgame, let alone genuine aggression. By comparison, the neighbours of "The Neighbours" are good neighbours indeed.

Some other hints about a possible approach to read-ing "The Neighbours" can be found in local writing. In 1985, Gísli Jónatansson discussed the story in the regional year-book *Strandapósturinn* ('The Strandir Post') in an account of abandoned farmsteads in the area (1985: 125). Gísli farmed at nearby Naustavík, a farmstead only a few hundred metres from Heydalsá that today is itself abandoned. He thus was a neighbour of "The Neighbours" and deeply familiar with the locality. In his article, a summary of the story is prompted by the ruins of a former seasonal mountain farm in the valley above Heydalsá and its name Bárðarsel ('Bárður's shieling'): this name could be taken to refer to the Bárður who has the last laugh in "The Neighbours". Thus, since Gísli takes his cue for summarizing the story from a place-name, his text illustrates a point made by Einar Ólafur Sveinsson already in 1940: stories about place-names are told when the place-name is discussed or when the place to which it belongs is seen (Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 2003 [1940]: 67). Contrary to an often-repeated stereotype, however, this does not mean that the reality of the place and its name is taken to be proof of the truth of the story. After summarizing the folktale, Gísli pointedly concludes (1985: 125): *Svona er nú þjóðsagan og trúi þeir sem vilja* ('Thus now is the folktale, and believe it who will'). Reading Gísli's summary, one is left with the distinct impression that stories are about places, not about truth, and believing a word of them is strictly optional.

Yet the spatial aspect implied by the association with a place-name is exactly where things get interesting. Gísli does not retell the story as a historical tradition but as part of the chain of associations evoked by a place, and this
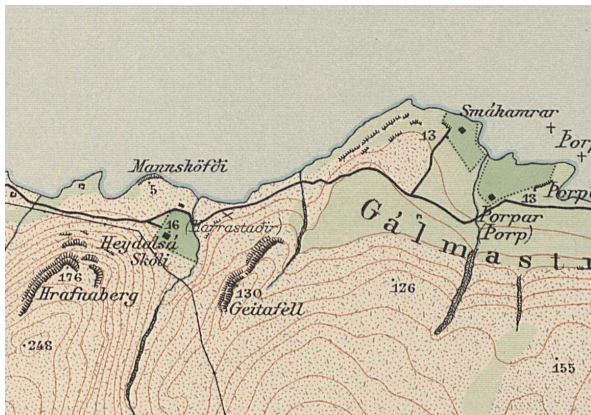
Map 1: The story landscape of "The Neighbours" in the early twentieth century: Heydalsá, Smáhamrar, and Goat Mountain (Geitafell) on the fjord of Steingrímsfjörður in the Strandir district of Iceland. The sheep would have gnawed the horse carcass within a couple of dozen metres from where the elevation of Geitafell is marked ("130"). Geitafell may be the only point from which one can see both Heydalsá and Smáhamrar, as well as the hollow of the horse carcass. Section of *General-stabens Topografiske Kort, sheet Tröllatunga – 33 Óspakseyri N.V.* (drawn 1912, published 1914), based on the digitized copy of the Icelandic National and University Library (Landsbóka-safn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn), used with permission (Jökull Sævarsson, 03/05/2019).

geographically-focused approach to the story tallies with the geographical specificity of the story itself: the tale of "The Neighbours" exactly locates where its plot unfolds. In fact, the story contains more place-names than names of people. So, judging from both its own focus on places and from its local reception, the story of "The Neighbours" seems to have been viewed very much as a story about places.

This thought suggested to me the rather pedestrian method of going to these places and just see what happens: one could say, to supplement a close reading with a 'close walking'. This is how we ended up on top of Goat Mountain. The coastal road that connects Heydalsá and Smáhamrar today follows virtually the same course as it did in the 1910s, when the Danish General Staff produced the first detailed maps of Iceland (Map 1). If one follows this road, and thus walks the connecting line between the two farms as it already was when the story was recorded in 1933, one learns exactly – nothing much. As the crow flies, Heydalsá and Smáhamrar are less than 3 km apart, but there are no interesting lines of sight, as the ridge of which Goat Mountain forms a part blocks the view between the farms. Given how common intervisibility between farms is in the open landscape of Iceland with its absence of higher vegetation, this is an unusual situation for neighbouring farms; but whether one can correlate the lack of a line of sight with the inability of the two neighbours to see eye to eye? I am hesitant to go that far.

Yet a properly 'close' walking of the story would have to cover not only the farms of the two cantankerous neighbours, but also the more outlying locations of the tale, and

this means: Goat Mountain. Even this location actually is not that far out of the way. Seen from Heydalsá, Goat Mountain is a bluff overlooking the farm, the valley of Heydalur, and the coast, and it does not require any particular effort to reach. Going there is not mountaineering, but indeed just a walk. Yet what one meets at the end of this walk, on top of Goat Mountain, is again Einar Ólafur Sveinsson. As mentioned above, already decades ago Einar observed about Icelandic place-lore that such "stories come to life when the place-names come under discussion or when one sees the places" (2003 [1940]: 67). At the top of Goat Mountain, the story of "The Neighbours" becomes very lively indeed. As one walks up to the top of the bluff, the ridge between Heydalsá and Smáhamrar stops being a visual obstruction but rather begins facilitating wide views in both directions: while from a point of view down at the coast the two farms are visually isolated from each other, up at Goat Mountain both of them can be seen at the same time. It may even be that Goat Mountain is the *only* place from which one has a view of both the red roofs of Heydalsá and the blue ones of Smáhamrar. So what better place to tell a story involving the two farms? And not only that, but from Goat Mountain one also has a view into the little valley where the carcass of the riding horse was found by the shepherd and devoured by the sheep. Goat Mountain combines all the places of the story into one single vista.

In a way which is almost untypical for an Icelandic story, no single place-name is coined in "The Neighbours". In contrast to many other Icelandic tales, this is not a place-name story. But how all its places fall together into a single

Heydalsá

Smáhamrar

The hollow behind Goat Mountain

360°-view from Goat Mountain: the hollow behind Goat Mountain, Heydalsá, the fjord of Steingrímsfjörður, Smáhamrar, and the hollow behind Goat Mountain again (Photo © M. Egeler, 2019).

landscape prospect if seen from Goat Mountain strongly suggests that it nevertheless is a place story in the strictest sense: a narrative that is inextricably bound up with a specific patch of ground and the lay of the land at that patch. Sitting on top of Goat Mountain and seeing, for the first (and only) time, all the places of the story together within one turn of the head, it is hard to avoid a feeling that this story is tailored specifically to Goat Mountain and its surroundings.

An obvious counter-argument would be that Goat Mountain is too out of the way to be a place from which people would look at stories. But then – is it? There are hey meadows directly at its foot, and, more importantly, even the story itself names the context in which this bluff would have been visited: after the riding horse has died in the hollow behind Goat Mountain, it is found by the shepherd of one of the farms, and after the ewes have gone missing, they are found there by the shepherds of the other farm. Goat Mountain may be named for goats rather than sheep, but the story itself depicts it as closely integrated into the workflow of sheep husbandry and a place where shepherds would go fairly regularly. It might also be worthwhile remembering that the story of "The Neighbours" is only partly about humans: on one level it treats the quarrel of the two neighbours, but on another it focuses entirely on the consequences of this quarrel for their livestock. It is a story about animal husbandry, and thus it seems to make eminent sense that it can be taken in at one glance at a place connected with this animal husbandry.

A 'close walking' of the story seems to allow us an unexpected glimpse of the *Sitz im Leben* of the tale as one that has its place in a landscape of livestock production, and in one of the specific places that are visited as part of the workflow of this economy. It thus provides contextual information that was self-evident for the people about whose farms this story was told, but which has not entered the text. It also seems to suggest that the story was composed around a view from a specific place. Maybe this hints that this story was experienced when this specific place was visited, lending everyday chores the glamour of magic-realist fantasy. There are stories, it seems, for which a 'close walking' of their places is the way to go if one wants to gain a deeper understanding of what is going on in the narratives.

There is a huge literature on walking, with various different foci. There are the literary works, like Theodor Fontane's *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg* ('Walks through the March of Brandenburg', 1862–1882), W. G. Sebald's *Die Ringe des Saturn* ('The Rings of Saturn', 1995), or of course the poetry of William Wordsworth (cf. Gaillet-De Chezelles 2010). There is literary criticism that itself takes on a literary form, like Robert Macfarlane's *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot* (2012). There is literary activism like Rebecca Solnit's *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (2001) that voices social criticism through the lens of the history and social frameworks of forms of walking. There are attempts to theorize literary texts about walking in such a way as to adapt their insights as critical terms for scholarly analysis, like John Wylie's and Pippa Marland's discussions of Tim Robinson's idea of the "good step" (or the "adequate step", as Robinson himself also calls it), i.e. a step that would be aware of all the connotations of the piece of land that it is covering (Wylie 2012; Marland 2015; Robinson 2008 [1985]: 19-20). Ecocritical discussions, furthermore, have addressed the relevance of walking for understanding, writing about, and directly grappling with environmental

Goat Mountain (background) and the farm of Heydalsá, which to this day is a working farm that breeds horses (Photo © M. Egeler, 2019).

Looking towards Smáhamrar from Goat Mountain (Photo © M. Egeler, 2019).

issues (Borthwick et al. 2020). From an anthropological perspective, Tim Ingold has emphasized the paradigmatic role of walking for central cultural practices like painting, reading, and writing, and the importance of paths for creating places (Spencer & Ingold 2020: 210–211; Ingold 2010; Ingold 1993: 167; cf. Moor 2016).

Looking from Goat Mountain at the story about "The Neighbours" suggests a way of relating walking and storytelling that is rather less ambitious, but that can nonetheless help to elucidate stories in unexpected ways. In a manner of speaking, a 'close walking' of a story really is nothing more than a 'close reading' with the help of one's feet. While we rarely theorize what exactly we mean by 'close reading', Jonathan Culler has highlighted three central aspects. These core aspects of close reading include a slowing down of the reading praxis, reminiscent of the old adage that 'philology is the art of reading slowly'; a close attention to detail; and an estrangement of the reading, a *Verfremdungseffekt* or alienation effect that can give the text a different optic and thus can make aspects become visible which otherwise might easily have been missed (Culler 2010: 23-24). In a way, a 'close walking' is an enactment of the slowing down of the reading praxis by spending hours on walking a story that can be read in two minutes. This forces an attention to details in both the story and its setting that would otherwise have been missed, and in doing so creates an effect of alienation that may easily lead to a new reading of the story. In the case of "The Neighbours", a 'close walking' of the story highlights

a point in space from which the whole story seems to hang together, which in turn tells us something about its *Sitz im Leben* – the social context in which the story was actualised – in animal husbandry. It shows that a story that at first seemed like a simple didactic tale about community life at the same time is also a story deeply rooted in working the land – including Goat Mountain – and rearing animals. Thus, it helps us to appreciate the close interlacing of storytelling and everyday work that is such a common aspect of folk storytelling, and to ground our reading of the tale in the everyday experience of the people who first told it.

References

Borthwick, David, Pippa Marland & Anna Stenning (eds.). 2020. *Walking, Landscape and Environment.* London: Routledge.

Culler, Jonathan. 2010. "The Closeness of Close Reading". *ADE Bulletin* 149: 20–25.

Egeler, Matthias. 2018a. *Atlantic Outlooks on Being at Home: Gaelic Place-Lore and the Construction of a Sense of Place in Medieval Iceland.* FF Communications 314. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia (Academia Scientiarum Fennica).

Egeler, Matthias. 2018b. "The Narrative Uses of Toponyms in *Harðar saga*". NORDEUROPA*forum* 2018: 80–101. Available at: https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/handle/18452/20300 (accessed 18 Nov 2021).

Egeler, Matthias. 2021. "An Ethnography of an Imaginary Road: Fear, Death, and Storytelling in the Icelandic Westfjords". *Folklore* 132: 115–139.

Einar Ólafur Sveinsson. 2003 [1940]. *The Folk-Stories of Iceland*. Revised Einar G. Pétursson. Trans. Benedikt Benedikz. Ed. Anthony Faulkes. Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series 16. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London.

Fontane, Theodor. 1862–1882. *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg*. 4 vols. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz.

Gaillet-De Chezelles, Florence. 2010. "Wordsworth, a Wandering Poet: Walking and Poetic Creation". *Études Anglaises* 63(1): 18–33.

Gísli Jónatansson. 1985. "Gömul eyðibýli og sel í Tungusveit". *Strandapósturinn* 19: 123–129.

Helgi Guðmundsson. 1933–1937. *Vestfirzkar sagnir, 1. bindi*. Reykjavík: Bókaverslun Guðmundar Gamalíelssonar.

Ingold, Tim. 1993. "The Temporality of the Landscape". *World Archaeology* 25: 152–174.

Ingold, Tim. 2010. "Ways of Mind-Walking: Reading, Writing, Painting". *Visual Studies* 25(1): 15–23.

Macfarlane, Robert. 2012. *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot*. [London]: Hamish Hamilton (Penguin).

Marland, Pippa. 2015. "The 'Good Step' and Dwelling in Tim Robinson's *Stones of Aran*: The Advent of 'Psycho-Archipelagraphy'". *Ecozon@* 6(1): 7–24. Available at: https://ecozona.eu/article/view/635/682 (accessed 18 Nov 2021).

Moor, Robert. 2016. *On Trails: An Exploration*. New York – London – Toronto – Sydney – New Delhi: Simon & Schuster.

Robinson, Tim. 2008 [1985]. *Stones of Aran: Pilgrimage*. Introduction by Robert Macfarlane. London: Faber & Faber.

Sebald, W. G. 2012 [1995]. *Die Ringe des Saturn: Eine englische Wallfahrt*. 12th edn. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer.

Solnit, Rebecca. 2014 [2001]. *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*. London: Granta.

Spencer, Antonia, & Tim Ingold. 2020. "Ecocriticism and 'Thinking with Writing': An Interview with Tim Ingold". *Ecozon@: European Journal of Literature, Culture and Environment* 11(2): 208–215, https://DOI.ORG/10.37536/ECOZONA.2020.11.2.3666.

Þórhallur Vilmundarson & Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. 1991. *Harðar saga; Bárðar saga; Þorskfirðinga saga; Flóamanna saga; Þórarins þáttr Nefjólfssonar; Þorsteins þáttr uxafóts; Egils þáttr Síðu-Hallssonar; Orms þáttr Stórólfssonar; Þorsteins þáttr tjaldstæðings; Þorsteins þáttr forvitna; Bergbúa þáttr; Kumlbúa þáttr; Stjörnu-Odda draumr*. Íslenzk fornrit 13. Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag.

Wylie, John. 2012. "Dwelling and Displacement: Tim Robinson and the Questions of Landscape". *Cultural Geographies* 19(3): 365–383.

Types of Mongolian Folktale and Database Construction

S. Tsetsenmunkh
Northwest Minzu University

There has been for some time an urgent need to compile a comprehensive and representative index of Mongolian folktale types that takes into account previous research in the field done both locally and internationally. The present article introduces an effort to fill in the gap to a certain extent. The classification principles of the types of the Indo-European folktale are not always compatible with those of Mongolian folktales, yet it was possible to draw on standard indices in the field, especially on relevant works of a more practical kind. These were adapted to the needs of the project Types of Mongolian Folktale and Motif Index which is, to date, the most comprehensive and representative of its kind. This article describes both theoretical and practical considerations taken into account while doing pertinent research to complete the project, as well as the database itself. The work on the database is at its final stage and its Chinese version is available for the user in the country. However, to open it for the outside user it is necessary to get an official confirmation from the authorities. Efforts in this direction have been taken and hopefully soon the database may be accessed by anyone interested from anywhere.

Figure 1. Network program main interface

The study of the types of folktales began in the second half of the nineteenth century and resulted in the development of a number of standard theoretical and operational systems by the early twentieth century. The most famous of these was *The Types of the Folktale* by Finnish folklorist Antti Aarne (1867–1925), published in German in 1910, the American folklorist Stith Thompson (1885–1976) then revised the index twice in 1928 and 1961, and the German folklorist Hans-Jörg Uther revised it into a three-volume compendium in 2004. The Aarne-Thompson tale type index for classifying folktales, commonly known as the AT (or AaTh) or ATU system, is the greatest contribution of the Finnish Historical-Geographic School to folklore studies. The ATU index is recognized as a convenient tool for folklorists interested in searching and retrieving folktales of the same type from any part of the world. Similar to surveys like 'Fauna of the World' or 'Flora of the World', this tool is of important practical value for both micro and macro studies.

However, the AT index has not been perfect. One of its serious limitations is that, despite several revisions and expansions, folktales of some important countries and regions remain underrepresented or entirely absent, such as, for instance, Chinese folktales. In addition, it was long clear that the AT classification system needed to be further elaborated (see also Uther 2004). Particular issues such as the scope and boundaries of folktales, the classification of the types of folktales, the order of folktale types, and so forth, continue to need further research and clarification. These and other shortcomings notwithstanding, the ATU system remains a comprehensive reference; and its scientific relevance in facilitating studies of folktales of the world is undisputed, as is its practical value, both of which are well recognized by scholars around the globe (Shouhua 2002: 8–9).

Importantly, the 1930s saw a breakthrough in the studies of the types of Chinese folktales by folklorists in China. The early achievements were the *Types of Chinese Folktale* (1931) by the well-known scholar Zhong Jingwen and *Typen Chinesischer Märchen* (1937) by German scholar Wolfram Eberhard. These were followed by a number of important works, including *A Type Index of Chinese Folktales* by the Chinese-American scholar Ding Naitong (1986), *An Integrated Type Index of Chinese Folktales*, in two volumes, compiled by Jin Ronghua, from Taiwan (2000–2002), *Research on the*

Types of Chinese Folktale by the famous scholar Liu Shouhua, and *Research on the Types of Ancient Chinese Folktale* by Qi Lianxiu (2007). These publications indicate that a big step has been made in the research of the types of Chinese folktales, and not only in terms of their local variety and specific character but also in terms of the expanded scope and the academic relevance of such studies. Obviously, there is still much to be done along this line and a more comprehensive and innovative index of Chinese folktale types should be expected.

Perspectives on these traditions have great relevance for studies of Mongolian folktales as a part of the world folklore heritage. It appears that some tale types are unique to ancient Mongolian society, while others are of a more universal character. Notably, 1979 saw a pioneering work in the field, when the Hungarian scholar László Lörincz published his *Mongolische Märchentypen* (1979), a type index of Mongolian folktales. This work summarized 443 types found in 1,500 stories, supplementing them with their brief story line and pertinent data, such as references to the sources. As the only type index of Mongolian folktales that has been produced so far, Lörincz's index merits additional consideration here.

Lörincz's index comprises three parts: Part 1 includes basic types of Mongolian folktales; Part 2 deals with the types listed in the AT classification system; and Part 3 discusses the types of folktales that are not included in the AT index. Most importantly, Mongolian folktales are considered by Lörincz as a relatively independent subject, while the work offers a summary of the key characteristics of the Mongolian folktale. It should also be added that the 443 folktale types catalogued in the index cover the majority of popular Mongolian stories. Furthermore, the index discusses not only the diverse types of stories but includes illustrations of different elements (items) in Mongolian folktales.

However, the work is not free of shortcomings. First, the index was chiefly based on the material collected by Lörincz among Buryats and Kalmyks in Russia, and only some of it in Mongolia where an international team of researchers of Mongolian folk literature was active in the 1960s and 1970s. Second, the 1,500 stories covered in the index are still only a small portion of the material that is available today, while variants of many of Lörincz's types have not been documented outside of his survey, and thus, the accuracy of the research is somewhat uncertain. Third, the information on primary sources does not appear to be sufficiently complete, hence, it cannot always serve its purpose as a useful tool for further research.

As the first type index of Mongolian folktales, it is illustrative of the folklorist's pioneering spirit and enthusiasm. Clearly, this first classification of the folktale types in accordance with the characteristics of Mongolian folktales has not lost its value as a great reference work even today.

Unfortunately, this important publication (originally written in Hungarian and then translated into German) has not been translated into Chinese so far, and thus has remained largely unknown to scholars in China.

Mongolians and Mongolian Folktales

The Mongolians today live mainly in China, Russia, and Mongolia, diverse groups of the people separated by vast distances. The geographical factor, thus, makes it much more difficult for them to maintain and develop their cultural unity. In this general context and in the particular field under discussion, there is an urgent need for a collective effort on the part of folklorists and researchers of Mongolian studies. This will finally enable a breakthrough in the systematic research and in-depth investigation of the types of Mongolian folktales and make it possible to arrive at a comprehensive macro study of the folktale in all its possible variety and richness. This study will require a creative integration of methods of macro and micro research to promote the further expansion of Mongolian folktale studies' scope and relevance.

The Mongolians have a history of their own, as well as a distinguished culture. An important part of their cultural heritage, Mongolian folklore serves as the foundation for Mongolian literature, playing a never-diminishing role in the imaginative, artistic, and spiritual life of the people. The last century saw remarkable achievements in the studies of Mongolian folklore both at home and abroad. Scholars from different countries have published numerous monographs devoted to Mongolian folk literature; and, in particular, the Mongolian folktale has attracted the attention of the international academic community. However, despite many achievements in the field, there is an obvious lack of a type index of Mongolian folktales, which should be compiled following the recognized international practice to cover all folktale material available. It appears that the research of Mongolian folk literature is suffering from the lack of such a fundamental work, and the development of disciplines related to Mongolian folktale studies in China is hindered as well. The urgency of such a work is still greater in the context of international research, where it would facilitate a better understanding of the Mongolian folktale and help further integrate these traditions into the world's folktale system for the purpose of further research within broader frameworks.

The analysis and study of folktale types is an approach commonly used in international academic circles, and it is of equal relevance for the researchers of folktales within China. There is an urgent need in the field for a compilation of a scientific, comprehensive, and representative type index of the stories that can provide a broad platform for folktale research. Such an index will lay a solid foundation for comparative studies of the types of folktales of several

related ethnic groups. The project Types of the Mongolian Folktale and Database Construction proposed by the present author is the first of its kind to look into folktale types of different Mongolian groups residing in different regions. When compiled, the type index will serve as the basis for the design and collection of a database to promote the analysis of Mongolian folktale types, according to the internationally recognized ATU classification method. This will be a broad platform for research in the field, especially in terms of comparative studies of the Mongolian folktale with folktales of different ethnic groups around the world. Its far-reaching significance for Mongolian folktale research is self-evident, while, as a foundational reference work, such an index will be an invaluable contribution to the current efforts to protect intangible cultural heritage.

Building the Taxonomy

To compile an index of folktale types and motifs is a taxing endeavour, owing to the immense abundance of material to be processed. Originally spread by word of mouth and often transformed in the process of transmission, the stories would vary greatly, so the task of identifying their types is not easy. In our classification, we proceed from what has already been achieved in the standard type indices, but at the same time we were not inhibited to make additions and changes when these were necessary. The complexity of Mongolian folktales, characterized by complicated storylines and diverse motifs, makes the task especially challenging. A number of techniques and principles have been used in the project to cope with this situation. These may be briefly described as follows.

Type indices specific for different regions have been compiled to serve as the basis for the *Type Index of Mongolian Folktale*, a comprehensive survey of the stories covering different regions. This has allowed presenting an objective picture of the ways that Mongolian folktales spread in different regions of the world. Also, as far as possible, an accurate description of the basic characteristics of different types of the folktale is given. In its general premises, this work was based on the ATU classification method. In practical terms, Thompson's *Types of the Folk-Tale* (1973) was of special relevance; Naitong's *Type Index of Chinese Folktales* (1986) and Ronghua's *Integrated Type Index of Chinese Folktales* (2000–2002) were used as additional references. Thus, the stories are divided into two categories: types included in the ATU system and types that are not. Granted that the classification system for European folktales is not always suitable in the case of Mongolian folktales, this has been adapted to arrive at the classification system specifically designed for the latter, often by carrying out similar practices. First of all, the types of the Mongolian folktale in the ATU classification system were borrowed and then renamed. The types that were absent from this index were then examined closely

within a new classification and coding system, referred to as the 'SM classification system'. This was constructed on the basis of the characteristics of the Mongolian folktale, which makes it easier for use.

Notably, myths and legends are included into the list of stories, understood, in a broader sense, as 'folktales'. The folktales in the index, therefore, comprise fantasy tales, life stories, folk fables, folk jokes, myths, and legends. All possible variants of the stories were collected and then examined via a meticulous comparison between variants to identify their similarities and differences. This allowed the identification of motifs and types of stories with clarifications of their basic structures, subsequent composition of their summaries, analysis of the core motif of a particular type, and highlighting of the basic pattern of a given story. Every type was named, according to their characteristics, and supplemented with the data on the sources; and finally, a map was drawn to show the distribution of the common types of Mongolian folktales in different regions of the world, with every type bearing its mark.

The core motif of each tale type is described. It should be noted in this connection that it is accepted in the project that a motif is the basic element of a story, while the plot of a story often results from organic combinations of several motifs. This interpretation is based on previous research, which argues that:

The permutation and combination of a series of comparatively fixed motifs constitute the plot of a work. A change of the motifs and a new permutation and combination of them can constitute a new work and even change its genre. A motif is the smallest unit of narration for such narrative genres of folk literary works as folktale, myth, legend, and epic. As for comparative studies, a motif is more international than a plot (Wanchuan 2008: 7).

Therefore, it was thought relevant to add a detailed *Index of Core Motifs* to the classification of the story types. In this part of the project we draw on Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (1932–1936, revised 1955–1958), with necessary additions and changes made in terms of coding, classification, description, and arrangement of the stories in question. The coding of motifs follows the logical principle 'from general to specific'. The first code is the general motif and the following codes stand for the motifs related to specific texts. To make it more visible, a decimal point is used to show the corresponding level of the classification. For instance, the following example illustrates three levels of motifs in the index:

B120 Intelligent animal

    B120.1 Intelligent fox

        B120.1.1 Fox trying to steal things from others by faking death

The general practice for names of types was to adopt those used in the ATU classification. Of relevance was also the principle of identifying the characteristics of a given ethnic group to aid readers in their searches. The codes and names of the story types are thus given in accordance with Aarne-Thompson-Uther's *Types of the Folktale*, Naitong's *Type Index of Chinese Folktales* (1986), and Ronghua's *Integrated Type Index of Chinese Folktales* (2002–2002), and appear in English, Chinese, and Mongolian in brackets under every type; this is intended for the convenience of researchers to facilitate their search and comparative analysis of the material.

The Database

Drawing on the sources mentioned above, as well as taking advantage of the powerful, convenient formats, and mass storage potentialities of computer technologies, we have designed and constructed a type-analysis database, the most comprehensive to date, which is compatible with such languages as English, Chinese and Mongolian. This resulted from the digital processing of the Mongolian folktale data, including its classification, input, sorting, markup, analysis, and retrieval, which finally made it possible to share these resources. Notably, the concepts and methods for the design of the database were as follows:

To differentiate between dynamic and static information, Mongolian folktales are divided into four interlinked objects – i.e. tables – of the database. These appear under titles, such as *story information*, *story type*, *story motif*, and *story plot*; because they are linked with ID numbers, the parameters can be transmitted between different tables. The static information mentioned above refers to the information contained in a given story, which includes its attributes, such as its name, language, distribution area, etc. The dynamic information refers to the results acquired through analysis rather than that included in the story, and thus linked to the subjective judgments of an examiner, preoccupied with the analysis of a motif, type, or other parameters.

To make these aspects of the database clearer it is necessary to discuss some details. For instance, the table of story information is constituted of 16 fields, including the ID of the story, its name, etc. The table of story type comprises 8 fields, such as the ID of the story, its sequence number, and motif. And the table of a story plot is made up of 4 fields, including the ID of the story, the story plot, the plot structure, etc. Major operations of the relational data model include those of 'inquiry', 'insert', 'delete', and 'update data'. These operations should meet the condition of the integrity constraint of the relations. The relation integrity is constituted of entity integrity, referential integrity, and user-defined integrity. The links between these tables should be seen as the greatest advantage of the database. While the information is arranged in different tables under different themes, one can refer to the data between different tables, which can be realized with the public fields. Thus, the Mongolian Folktale Database is designed in such a way that one-to-many relationship is realized between the table of story information and the table of a story motif, and the table of story information and the table of a story type respectively; a one-to-one relationship is realized between the table of story information and the table of a story plot; and a many-to-many relationship is realized between the table of a story type and the table of a story motif. For detailed information, please refer to the following tables:

Table 1. Attribute Value of Table of Story Information

ID	0001
Interviewer	###
Interviewee	###
Distribution area 1	Inner Mongolia
Distribution area 2	Chifeng
Distribution area 3	Baarin Right Banner
Page	123
Publication year-month	2005-8
Story type	Compound
Type code	0001+0003
Story text	###

Table 2. Attribute Value of Table of Story Type

Sequence number		
1	ID	0001
	Name of the story	The camel and the deer
	Story type	Animal story
	Type 2	Wild animals
	Type 3	Domestic animals
	Type 4	Camel, deer
	Additional info	###
2	ID	0001
	Name of the story	The camel and the deer
	Story type	Animal story
	Type 2	Strange animals
	Type 3	###
	Type 4	###
	Additional info	

The application programme of the Mongolian Folktale Database is programmed with C# language on the new generation of Dot Net platform of Microsoft. The text and related information of the Mongolian folktale collected from all over the world is stored in the database of Microsoft Access 2010. Technical problems involved in the process include the display of traditional Mongolian in the vertical setting of type on the developing interface and the realization of the retrieval function in Mongolian. After solving these two problems, we basically realized the function for
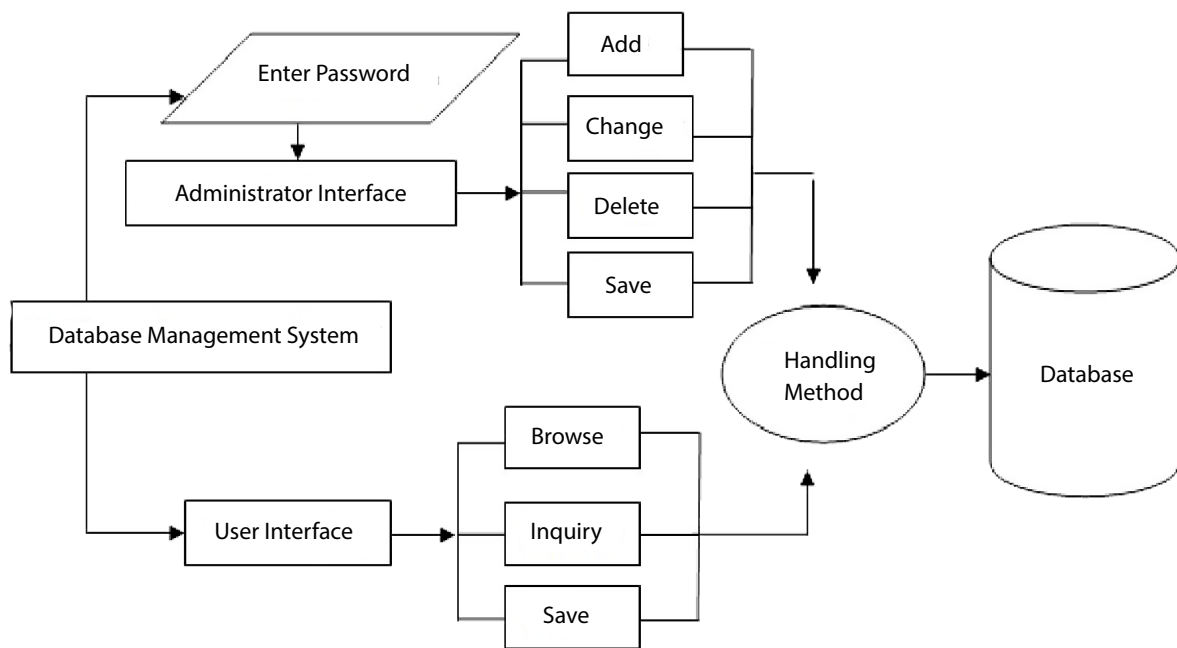
Figure 2. Flow chart of the Mongolian Folktale Database Application

the inquiry of Mongolian folktales on the geographic map. The flow chart of the Mongolian Folktale Database Application is shown above.

The database application comprises two levels, namely the administrator and the user. The first level is the administrator interface (Fig. 3 on page 16). With the highest level of administrative authority, the interface can realize the detailed analysis, editing, and other operations related to the Mongolian folktale. All the media information concerning the Mongolian folktale is managed by the administrator of the database, who is in charge of the collection, its classification based on the international AT and SM systems, providing all the pertinent markings of such information parameters like type, motif, and so forth. At the same time, the administrator can perform such database functions as 'add', 'delete', 'change', 'edit', 'revise', 'analyze', and so on, concerning the contents of the database. The five functional modules on the administrator interface include text editing, type analysis and labeling, motif analysis and labeling, audio and video editing, and basic information editing.

The user interface (Fig. 4 on page 16) is intended for the communication and exchange between the user and the machine, with its further differentiation into perceptual and emotional levels. The perceptual level refers to visual, auditory, and tactile interface between the user and the machine, and the emotional level refers to the harmonious relationship between the user and the machine realized through communication. In short, the design of the user interface is user-centered under the guidance of the design concept of a system of simplicity, convenience, and precision in classification. The user interface of the application of the Mongolian Folktale Database is developed for the

clients of the application. Researchers can easily check out information about the stories on the interface. When a user double-clicks the name of a story in the story catalogue text box on the user interface, the corresponding story text, results of the analysis of the story type and the story motif, as well as other related information, will be displayed in the text boxes of story contents, its type and motif, and the information on the story structure respectively.

Users can also search for other information pertinent to stories, under different conditions and according to their needs. One can search for the distribution region of the story, its type and motif, the name of sources, the name of stories, etc., as well as combinations of such data. The database contains not only textual information but also video, audio, and other media files of folktales. Users can read text while simultaneously enjoying presentations contained in vivid and interesting multimedia files. In addition, they can check the geographical distribution of Mongolian folklore, the analysis of the story types, and the notes on motifs on the map, which provides a panoramic view of a given story and its storyline in a virtual way.

The on-line version of the Mongolian Folktale Database Application is completed with a JavaScript, HTML5.0, CSS3.0, and DIV. IE (version 10 or above) browser that is adopted for the correct display and layout of the traditional Mongolian script. Currently, the Microsoft IE in the mainstream browsers can fully support the display and processing of Mongolian material and the CSS 3.0 rule is also compatible to Mongolian. With the writing-mode: tb-lr, the layout of vertical setting from top to down and from left to right is possible. See the main interface of the on-line version on page 16.
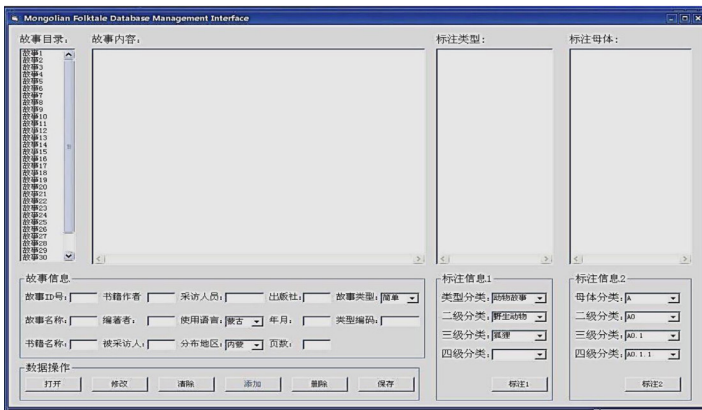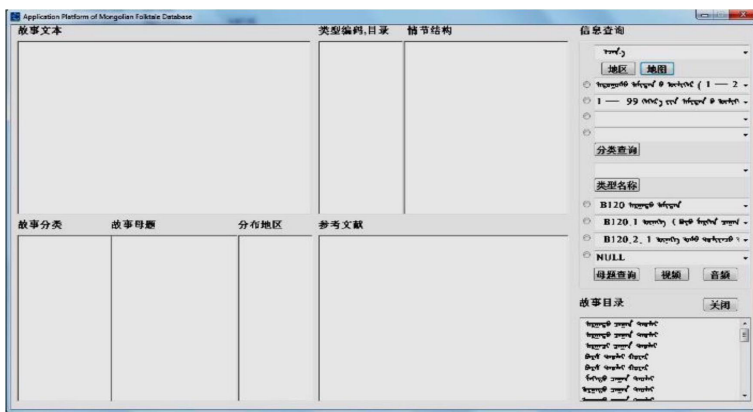
Figure 3. Administrator interface
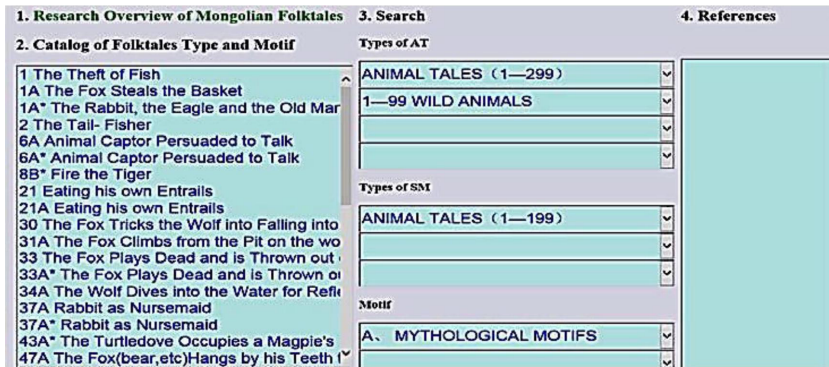

Figure 4. User interface

Figure 5. Information query interface

Figure 6. Distribution area query interface

Conclusion

Thus, while working on the compilation of the Mongolian folktale type index, we have been able to make a relatively comprehensive collection of the relevant textual information based on Mongolian folktales. This covers Mongolian folktales of Xinjiang, Qinghai, and Inner Mongolian in China, of Mongolia, and of Buryatia and Kalmykia in Russia. One can argue that the present *Types of Mongolian Folktale and Motif Index* is, to date, the most comprehensive and representative of its kind. In terms of statistics, this means that 8,795 stories are classified into 852 types; 340 types of the total number are unique of Mongolian folklore tradition, while the other 512 types belong to the class of internationally recognized types of stories. A small portion of the indigenous types show minor differences from similar stories in the west or are known to neighboring ethnic groups as well.

According to preliminary statistics, over two thirds of Mongolian folktales display multinational, international or universal characteristics. Mongolian variants of the stories that are similar to the Indo-European ones indicate that they might have spread gradually, in a wave-like pattern, which was first suggested by the scholars of the Finnish School. Also, it seems that the classification of the types of Mongolian folktales may be further refined, granted their regional specifics, because the closer the regions are, the greater are the similarities between the local variants. This, again, fully agrees with the basic principle of Finnish Historical-Geographic Method.

Works Cited

Aarne, Antti. 1910. *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*. FF Communications 3. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Lörincz, László. 1979. *Mongolische Märchentypen*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Naitong, Ding. 1986. *A Type Index of Chinese Folktales*. Trans. Zheng Jiancheng, et al. Beijing: Chinese Folk Literature and Art Publishing House.

Ronghua, Jin. 2000–2002. *An Integrated Type Index of Chinese Folktales*, I–II. Taipei: China Oral Literature Association.

Shouhua, Liu. 2002. *On the Types of Folktale in China*. Wuhan: Press of Central China Normal University.

Thompson, Stith. 1927. *The Types of the Folk-Tale: A Classification and Bibliography: Antti Aarne's Verzeichnis der Märchentypen (FF Communications No. 3) Translated and Enlarged*. FF Communications 74. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Thompson, Stith. 1932–1936. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folk-Tales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediæval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends* I–VI. FF Communications 106–109, 116–117. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Thompson, Stith. 1955–1958. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends* I–VI. Revised and expanded edition. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.

Thompson, Stith. 1961. *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography: Antti Aarne's Verzeichnis der Märchentypen (FFC No. 3) Translated and Enlarged*. Second Revision. FF Communications 184. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Wanchuan, Hu. 2008. "Preface". In *Types of Folktale in Taiwan (with Motif Index)*. Taipei: Lern Book Company.

Folklore Fellows Summer School 2021

The Violence of Traditions and the Traditions of Violence

Jesse Barber
University of Helsinki

Despite the situation presented by the pandemic, the Folklore Fellows' Summer School turned out to be a very productive, engaging, and personable experience. Although everyone was sitting in front of a screen, instead of sitting together in a lecture hall in Joensuu, the event went very smoothly with riveting discussion from many esteemed scholars and up-and-coming doctoral students. There were very few technological hiccups, and the FFSS's directors did a very fine job of coordinating the schedule. The theme of violence proved to be an incredibly diverse topic. Lectures presented diverse subject matter from violent local ball games to horrific acts of genocide. This versatile topic fit very well within the already very diverse discipline of folklore, which encompasses everything from traditions in antiquity to current events. A prominent point of discussion, which arose within the theme of violence, was the parameters of victimhood. The victims discussed in the presentations also displayed a wide range of diversity, from non-human animals to persecuted minority cultures. All of these subjects led to a very in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the broad framework of violence in folklore.

During the weeks leading up to the official start of the summer school, there was a voluntary reading group composed of students and co-leaders who had been invited to coordinate each group and discussion, who all met online and discussed the required readings for the summer school. This reading group not only prepared the students for the presentations of the keynote speakers, but also gave them an opportunity to meet one another and begin discussion of the themes and topics of the summer school. The summer school itself was divided into two parts, spanning two weeks. The first week was composed of ten keynote lectures, two each day for five days. The lectures were each an hour long, which could be viewed by anyone, followed by an hour of discussion, which was only accessible by the summer school participants. The second week consisted of separate workshop groups that met for about an hour and a half each day for four days. On the last day of the second week all the participants came together again to give feedback on the workshops and the summer school as a whole. Following this last session was an online party celebrating the success of the summer school.

Week One: The Keynote Speakers

The first week that kicked off the FFSS was devoted to fantastic lectures from revered folklorists. The first presentation was "#Kalevala Too. Heritage, Harassment and the Epic Heroine" presented by Niina Hämäläinen and Lotte Tarkka. Their lecture focused on the Aino episode in *Kalevala* and its implications within the context of the #metoo movement. During this movement in Finland, the character of Väinämöinen – a central hero of the epic, known by the epithet 'the eternal sage', to whom Aino is promised in marriage, who in her turn prefers suicide – was heavily criticized, and some began to refer to him as 'the eternal groper'. Nineteenth-century paintings of the scenes in the Aino episode, featuring an old bearded Väinämöinen stalking and groping after a very young Aino, helped progress this viewpoint of the narrative as nothing but outdated, patriarchal, sexist trash.

However, Hämäläinen and Tarkka pointed out that much of this Aino episode, like many aspects of the *Kalevala* narratives, were invented by Elias Lönnrot. They also explained that *Kalevala* has many temporal and cultural layers. It was derived from folk poetry collected in the past few centuries in both Finland and Karelia. These poems were then artificially connected by Elias Lönnrot through artistic license. They also proposed that reducing Väinämöinen to 'the eternal groper' was not quite accurate, because, like the *Kalevala*, and even more so the folk poetry, Väinämöinen has many faces. The presentation finished with the point that there are many strong female characters in *Kalevala* like Louhi, who rules the North and possesses the Sampo, Lemminkainen's Mother, who defies death itself to bring her son back to life, and even Aino, who defies the arranged marriage and takes her fate into her own hands. Hämäläinen and Tarkka concluded that these women can be seen as *the* strong characters in *Kalevala*, while the men come off as somewhat pathetic; in many scenes the women laugh and make the men cry.

Charles Briggs gave the second lecture of the first day, discussing "When Violence Moves across Species". His presentation began with the origins of the current COVID-19 epidemic, specifically the narratives surrounding the wet markets in Wuhan, China. Many of these stories revolve around someone eating a bat and becoming patient zero

of the global pandemic. Briggs remarked upon how quickly these anecdotes displayed racist implications and especially assumptions about the hygiene of the people of Wuhan.

Sadhana Naithani began the second day with a lecture that was "Wildly Ours 3.0: Narrative Traditions, Violence and Non-Human Animals". She focused on the violence that British colonialism brought to India against non-human animals. The massacre of wildlife from 1875 to 1924 led to the deaths of 80,000 tigers, 150,000 leopards, and 200,000 wolves. Naithani focused especially on tigers, the reverence for which in India goes back to the Indus Valley civilization ca. 4500 BC.

"Northern Colonialities and Violences from a Narrative Perspective" was conferred by Stein R. Mathisen, who focused on the Saami people of Norway and the history of their colonization by the Norwegian government. Mathisen discussed the re-education schools for Saami children in recent centuries, which aimed to assimilate them into Norwegian culture and society. This re-education was nothing short of cultural genocide, although nineteenth-century Norwegians viewed the Saami as pupils who needed their neighbors to teach them.

Terry Gunnell discussed the "Violence of the Mask: From Greek Tragedy to the Avatar" on the third day of the FFSS. His presentation examined masks from around the world and their various uses. During the pandemic, masks have been used to protect one's health and the health of those around them. Gunnell noted that, in the pandemic context, the lack of a mask in a public place could be interpreted as a sort of passive violence. In contrast, other masks denote violence, like the masks worn by the terrorist group Isis. Masks also create a new dynamic in interaction and performance.

Regina Bendix gave a lecture on "The Briefest of Wars and Its Long Aftermath: 1967 through the Prism of Personal Narrative". Her talk focused on the Six-Day War between Israel and Palestine in 1967. Bendix began the presentation by proposing that a story is both what happened and what is said to have happened. She then went into accounts from people, who were present during the Six-Day War. This approach is very important because it gives a novel folklore approach to a historical event.

Valdimar Hafstein was "Wrestling with Tradition: Masculinity, Modernity, and Heritage in Icelandic Glíma Wrestling" on the fourth day of the summer school. Glíma wrestling is a unique Icelandic form of wrestling with roots that extend back into the ninth century. The sport centers around two wrestlers attempting to lift their opponet by a belt that each competitor wears. The belt is called the "Grettir belt", named after the Icelandic strongman and eponymous hero of *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*.

Neil Martin explained how a local sport can become "More Than a Game: Seasonal Handball in Scotland". His lecture focused on a ball game that occurs every year beginning on the first Thursday of Lent in the town Jedburgh, close to the Scottish and English border. Every year, the town splits into two teams; the nature of the game is rough and sometimes results in injuries (although rarely), as well as damages to buildings. This violence has led some people to question whether the game truly promotes brotherhood as was intended, or if it simply promotes aggression.

The first lecture on the last day of the keynote speaker portion of the summer school was presented by Nona Shahnazarian, who discussed "Ethnic Violence and Rescue Stories: Case-Studies from Post-Communist Hate Speech and Armed Conflicts". Her talk focused on the 1988 pogrom in Sumgait, a town which at the time was part of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. She presented general information on the genocide of Armenians in the city, as well as testimonials of Azerbaijanis, who helped Armenians hide from the angry mobs that targeted them. Although the people in the testimonials were strangers, Shahnazarian argued that the rescues were a result of a strong unspoken relationship, that the rescuers felt obligated to help through a strong sense of neighborliness, despite the lack of a personal relationship.

The concluding lecture, of the first week of the FFSS, was given by Pertti Anttonen. He provided a general overview of "Folklorists and the Violence of Folklore: Questions of Methodology and Activism". Anttonen opened with a quote from the Swedish sociologist Sanja Magdalenić, which stated that folklorists have neglected to address the dark side of folklore, especially traditions of violence, war, etc. Anttonen gave some examples of legal cases in which cultural background was used as a defense against accusations of violent crimes.

Week Two: The Workshops

During week two of the FFSS, the participants were split into four workshop groups with two professors presiding over each workshop. Each workshop member presented a paper that they are currently working on for fifteen minutes, followed by ten minutes of comments and questions from another participant, who was assigned to comment on their paper and to begin the discussion. The remaining time was then opened up to discussion with the whole class following the comments. I was assigned to the group with Terry Gunnell and Neil Martin leading the conversation on "Violence Performed: The Dark Side of Traditions, Youtube and Everyday Life, from Masking Practices to Shootings and Isis".

In the weeks leading up to the workshop, each student read through a reading list designed to inform them of performance theory, especially when applied to violent traditions. I had never read very much on performance theory, so it was very interesting to get acquainted with the

methodology and theory that revolves around the field. One striking aspect to me was the breadth of situations and behavior that can be interpreted as performance. From protestors banging pots and pans to act in a disruptive manner in order to draw attention to a political issue to the Crimean Cossack revivalists dressing in traditional Cossack garb to carry on cultural traditions, performance has many functions. However, the definition of performance is not limited to character roles; it is also how well an object executes its function. In this way, one may talk about car performance or computer performance. What I took away from this was that interaction is the essence of performance: performance is the mode and the efficacy of a person or object interacting with the external world. On the first day of the workshop, Gunnell and Martin gave lectures on performance theory followed by a discussion of the whole workshop.

During the remaining three days of the workshop, there were two presentations a day from the students. It was very interesting to see how each participant applied these ideas to their individual research topic. The presentations discussed everything from a televised hostage situation in Greece to masked dance dramas in India. Performance was highlighted in both real and staged situations, in both authentic and artificial violence. The individual interests of the group members clearly underscored the diversity and versatile use of performance studies. As a result, I thought about my own research in new ways.

The Final Day of the Summer School

The climate of the online workshop was very conducive to discussion and discourse. I felt very lucky to be paired with a wonderful bunch of students and two professors, who helped expand upon the commentary and questions that were analyzed during the course of the workshop. However, I have no doubt the other workshops worked just as well, because on the final day of the conference the summer school met for one more group session. Each workshop group reported how well their week had gone, and there was only very positive feedback from my group and the others. Hopefully we will be able to meet in person at the next FFSS and enjoy the hospitality of the hosting institution. However, the organization of the online event was executed flawlessly by the University of Eastern Finland's staff.

Folklore Fellows' Summer School 2021 on screen. Photo: Pertti Anttonen.
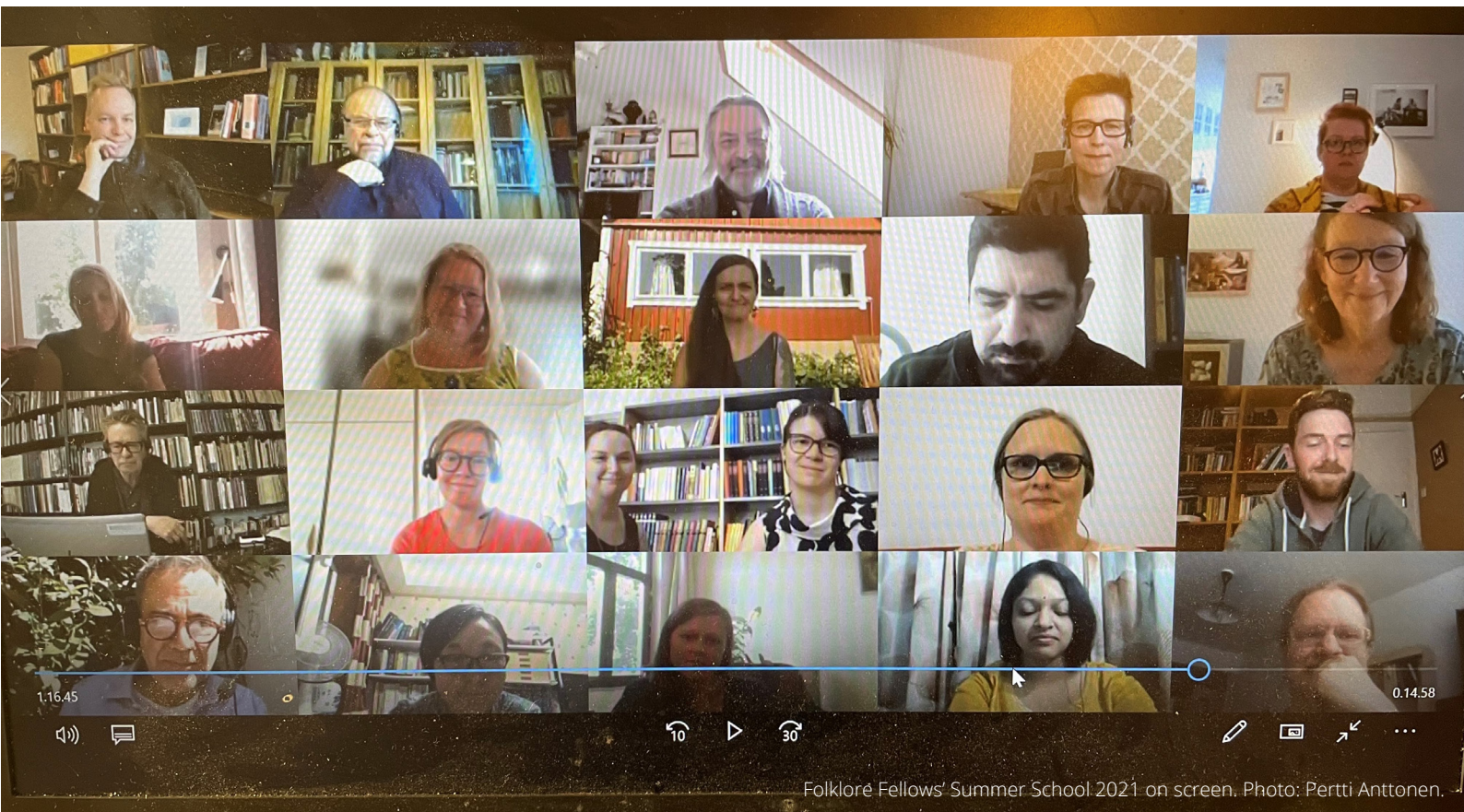
Review: Folkloristics in the Digital Age

Merrill Kaplan
The Ohio State University

Pekka Hakamies and Anne Heimo (eds.), Folkloristics in the Digital Age, FF Communications 316, Helsinki 2019, 181 pages.

The Folklore Fellows Summer School is a singular experience for those lucky enough to take part in it. It is a heightened intellectual environment where a handful of junior and senior scholars live and work closely together for a few intense summer days. It is the kind of thing that cannot be scaled up. It follows that every time a few of our colleagues gather somewhere in Finland the rest of us become, inevitably, those who have Missed Out. This volume gives all of us who were not there at FFSS 2015 a fleeting taste by collecting eight of the instructors' presentations in one place with an introductory essay. The theme of the Summer School that year was Folklore in the Digital Age, and that phrase reappears as the title of this 2019 volume.

The subject of the book as laid out in the introduction is the *vernacular* in the sense of *non-institutional*. The use of *vernacular* in this sense is somewhat confusing in context given the importance of Robert Glenn Howard's concept of the *electronic vernacular* to studies of web-based folklore phenomena. Whereas the *electronic vernacular* is always inherently hybrid, characteristic of spaces where folk creativity emerges on digital platforms owned and administered by official or commercial entities, this *vernacular* is more straightforwardly contrastive with the institutional. That there is no mention of the former in a volume on this topic is odd.

The editors set up the reader with a short history of folklorists' engagement with all matters digital, very broadly conceived, whether through using digital tools to gather, analyze, or archive data or by studying the genres that emerge on electronic platforms. Looking back, they note the optimistic and enthusiastic tone of much scholarship of the first decade of the twenty-first century, when cyber-utopianists promised a radically democratic future. Here in the third decade, Pekka Hakamies and Anne Heimo are well aware of the scarier developments in the digital and networked age, an age of virulent trolling and election interference, and they are appropriately concerned for our collective future.

Liisa Granbom-Herranen's contribution is a preliminary treatment of the use of proverbs in short letters-to-the-editor submitted via SMS to a Finnish print newspaper. This is a novel dataset drawn from a quirky intersection of old and new media, though the implications of that intersection are not explored. The essay demonstrates handily that the proverb genre is alive and well in today's Finland. Alas, the essay's placement immediately after the introduction is unfortunate, as it would have benefitted from further editing for clarity. Those who press on will find Anneli
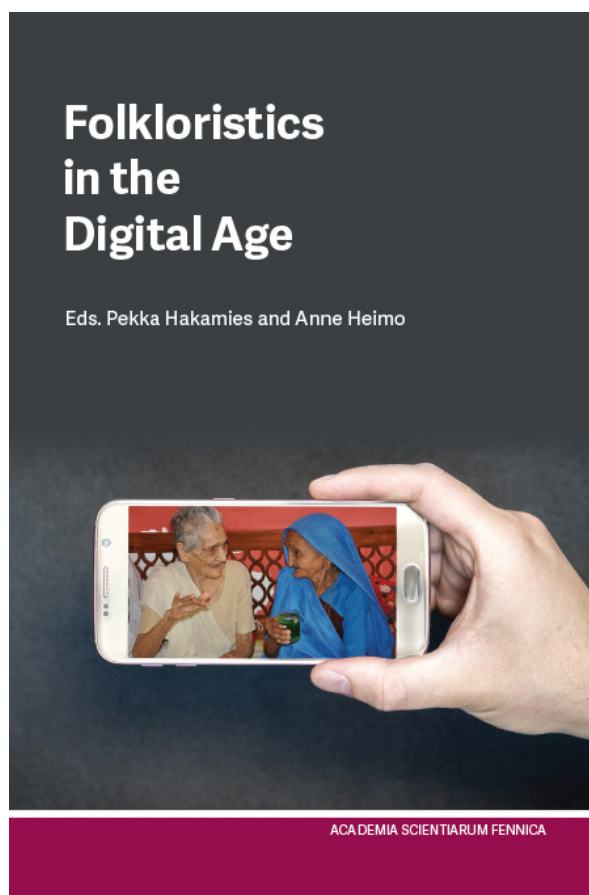
Baran's essay, "Internet Creativeness: From Individuation to Social Force", which explores Estonian, political memes (in the sense of image macros) as an example of the sometimes very local folklore on the very global internet. Individual creativity online can add up to social effects offline, some of them political. Local politics are very relevant to Anastasiya Astapova's essay, a workmanlike investigation of the names and nicknames of the president of Belarus as used both in person and on the internet. Plenty of folk creativity is on display in the verbal expression of individuals living under an authoritarian regime from which they could reasonably expect surveillance and worse. Given the theme of the volume, Astapova could productively have engaged with the role of text-searchability, as this characteristic of much digital media distinguishes it from analog forms and seems relevant to both data collection and the anxieties of surveillance treated in her analysis.

Robert Glenn Howard's essay demonstrates the indispensability of computational methods for making sense of massive digital datasets, in particular the discussion forum attached to the *Guns & Ammo Magazine* website. Howard uses computational tools to locate the most frequent posters and identify their primary topics of discussion, and – having identified a representative sample of 34+ *million* posts – close-reads the data. He argues that the aggregate influence of heterogeneous volition (i.e., a lot of people with a lot of different intentions) explains a specific conversation's shift from humorous to serious and one participant's deployment of a proverbial comparison of the Colt 1911 and Glock handguns.

Lynne S. McNeill's essay is a useful discussion of ubiquitous online practices little analyzed by folklorists. "Lurking" and "going down Internet rabbit holes" in search of understanding of the latest borderline-nonsensical meme are significant parts of life online. These are private activities but not passive, and McNeill suggests Barre Toelken's term *gleaning*, descriptive of the "highly skilled work in simply being able to personally parse the message behind a traditional presentation" (p. 99). Naming this activity will help folklorists see it as part of a larger pattern in online vernacular culture in which process is frequently more important than content.

The last three essays in the volume all concern digital archives in one way or another. In "Constructing Our Own Heritage", Kirsi Hänninen and Anne Heimo examine participatory community and spontaneous archives online where non-institutional heritage is "born digital". Their subject is not just digital folklore but the vernacular practices of Web 2.0, which supports crowdsourcing, shared stewardship, and other forms of cultural participation. Hänninen and Heimo ask us to "re-examine the boundaries of official and unofficial heritage" (p. 127) and give attention to the activities of those archiving and making heritage rather

than on the products themselves. Most of Hänninen and Heimo's examples are Finnish, but their insights are broadly applicable.

The final two essays stress the importance of international cooperation to realize the true potential of digital folkloristics, a realization that will require the interoperability of disparate databases and corpora. Christoph Schmitt's contribution is a detailed discussion of the challenges in building one web-based archive, WossiDiA, based on a collection of Mecklenburgian folklore and Low German language recorded in a networked card-index system. Schmitt offers many deeply considered thoughts about what archives are for and what they can do, and his cogent explanation of hypergraphs and their promise as research tools is appreciated. The true subject of the essay is the importance of connections and relationships to folklore research. Hypergraphs allow researchers to discover surprising relationships in bodies of data, and international projects like ISEBEL (in which WossiDiA participates) allow researchers to access several folktale databases through a single search engine. Lauri Harvilahti closes out the volume with a history of computational folkloristics in Finland and many thoughts on the promise of digital tools and platforms for future folkloristic endeavors. He also considers affinities between traditional folkloristic tools like the type index and modern computational design principles like Linked Open Data.

Some of the material surveyed above will be familiar to readers of this bulletin, who will already have read versions of Heimo and Hänninen's, McNeill's, and Schmitt's articles in FFN 47, available in pdf form on the Folklore Fellows website, though all have been updated to a greater or lesser degree. Granbom-Herranen's essay appeared previously in much the same form in a 2014 volume published by the University of Maribor, Slovenia; a version is available at https://jyx.jyu.fi/bitstream/handle/123456789/58921/zora-2014final.pdf. The book as a whole would have been stronger had more of the FFSS 2015 keynotes been represented – they were briefly described by Astapova in FFN 47. That said, the editors do not portray the volume as anything akin to a proceedings and do not mention the Summer School in their introductory essay, so my framing the collection here in relation to that event may be unfair. An explicit rationale for the collection of these essays in a volume could have given the book cohesion and the potential to be more than the sum of its parts. That said, all the parts assembled therein engage with interesting phenomena deserving of further consideration.

Review: Visions and Traditions

Dani Schrire
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Lauri Harvilahti, Audun Kjus, Clíona O'Carroll, Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, Fredrik Skott and Rita Treija (eds.), *Visions and Traditions: Knowledge Production and Tradition Archives*. **FF Communications 315, Helsinki 2018, 384 pages.**

This volume is part of a revolution that folklore-studies has been undergoing almost silently in the past two decades. It stages what became evident at conferences and meetings, but that until now was not spelled-out so explicitly: tradition-archives have become – once again – the forefront of the entire discipline. Not so long ago, folklore-archives (or tradition archives as they are considered more broadly in this volume) were imagined as dusty sites conducted by outdated rules that are irrelevant to the questions discussed in folklore-studies. Not anymore.

Recap

Folklore-studies was shaped as a discipline in a number of different – though interrelated – institutions: universities, museums, libraries and tradition archives. The introduction of the latter in the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century was revolutionary in its ambition and importance for the discipline. In a sense, the integration of folklore studies within universities, libraries and museums was not unique. Historically, tradition archives positioned folklore-studies and related disciplines (ethnology and dialectology) between other disciplines in the humanities that make use of archives (history and literature for example) and some branches of anthropology where the archive did not become a key epistemological site. At the same time, although folklore studies and anthropology developed a fascination with the 'field', the archive remained a crucial site only for folklore studies; on the other hand, whereas historians and scholars of literature made use of (historical) archives, they were removed from 'the field'.

The idea of the tradition archive was not challenged until the late 1960s. By then, the national bias of the discipline and the ideological underpinnings of the archive were revealed. The categorization of stable genres was under attack and, with it, the rigidity of archival technology – with its drawers, cupboards, boxes, catalogue notes and such bureaucratic paraphernalia that keeps things in place. Furthermore, the rise of the everyday as a new category

disrupted much of this order. The very idea of transcribing an event fell prey to 'New Perspectives' that emerged in the discipline and in which the actual (storytelling) event, the performance with its interaction with an audience, became the most important aspect of the discipline (this is elaborated in the essays of Laura Jiga Iliescu and Eldar Heine in the volume). With new ideas that came from sociolinguistics and with the rise of performance studies with its immense suspicion of any attempt to freeze a performance (or, God
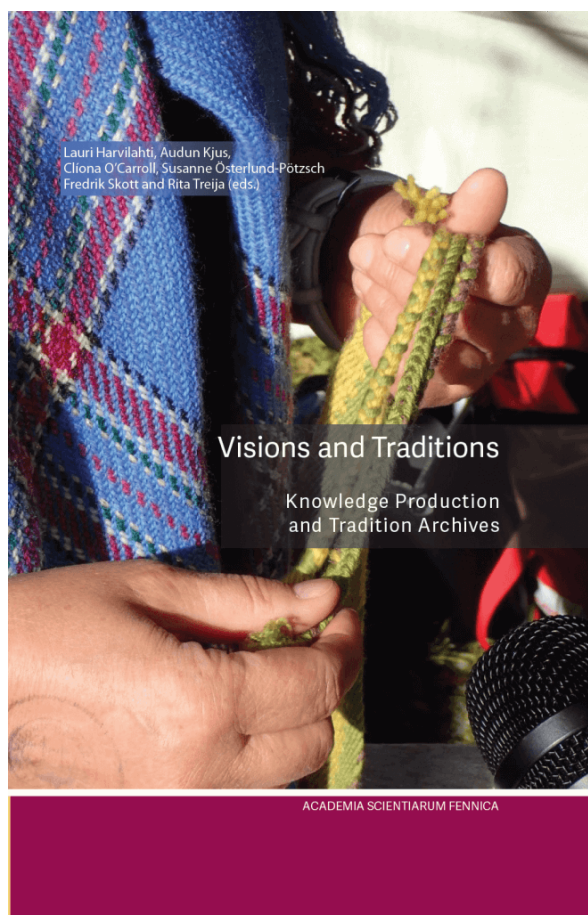
forbid, archive it!) the archive became less relevant.[1] As dust was accumulating over some of the boxes, the archive – the site that once defined the very discipline – was perceived by some as irrelevant, sustained by inertia for scholars who grew alienated to its potential of carrying any new message or forms of resistance.

Things changed for these archives. Clíona O'Carroll's opening sentence of the entire volume reveals the unapologetic tone that underlies these essays: "This volume consists of contributions that in various ways discuss the political, methodological and ethical aspects of how tradition archives have been – and are – involved in production of knowledge". In fact, the volume does much more than that: it demonstrates how the most urgent theoretical debates in the discipline evolve in archival boxes and in relation to them.

Synopsis

O'Carroll provides a bird's-eye-view of the entire volume, opening some of the key questions and working definitions. The latter are expanded in Maryna Chernyavska's second introductory essay, which together with O'Carroll's introduces this extremely coherent volume. Chernyavska positions tradition archives in the context of the archival world; she also briefly discusses The Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta – the only non-European archive discussed in the volume.

Three sections follow: the first, which includes seven essays that revisit historical episodes in archives in Estonia (three essays), Sweden (three essays) and Norway, delving into archival and collecting practices, providing a very insightful reflection on the role tradition archives played in the development of folkloristic knowledge. The second section, comprises three essays, compliments the first by examining national archival policies, focusing on Finland, Ireland and Switzerland. The final section, which consists of seven essays, looks at our present and to the future, searching for potentialities relevant to different stakeholders, critically examining the digital revolution's impact on tradition archives with cases-studies from Scandinavia, Romania, Latvia, Ireland (two essays), Sweden and Norway. Together, the essays in the volume offer historical observations as well as insights emanating from present-day dilemmas, reflecting the diachronic nature of the archive and its relevance to the development of the discipline.

Essays in the volume blur the boundaries between the field and the archive as the archive becomes a site for fieldwork in its own right. Although the volume examines an overarching question of 'how', emphasizing the archive as a site of knowledge practices, the question of 'what' keeps surfacing in these fruitful discussions, which tell us much about what is contained in these archives. Of the many topics covered in this rich volume, I chose to highlight three themes that cut across the different sections: networks, technology and tradition.

Networks

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the volume's articles is the way archives operate as nodes in a vast network. Any attempt to trace the *modus operandi* of the archive exposes various actors. The archive appears as the crossroad of researchers, collectors, informants and various other collaborators. Thus, in her discussion of ethnographic knowledge carried out by the Estonian National Museum (the ERM) in the 1920s–1930s, Marleen Mestlaid considers co-production strategies in the way the ERM reached out to the public. Although scholars prescribed the kind of knowledge they were interested in discovering with the aid of detailed questionnaires, respondents (mostly) from the countryside were decisive in the production of knowledge. One wonders how this changed over the years. In Sanita Reinsone's discussion of participatory practices in the archive, she relates these practices to what has become a key word in our digital present, 'crowdsourcing' and its manifestation in digital efforts carried out mostly in the Archives of Latvian Folklore in the last years. Evidently, such archives operate as a hub of dialogues between different actors.

Archive-networks are dynamic. Susanne Nylund Skog presents us with the transformation that letters undergo until they become considered 'scientific knowledge' by closely (re)reading the correspondence between Professor Karl Gösta Gilstring from Uppsala's Department of Dialectology and Folklore Research and the housewife Elso Pihl, who during their letter-exchange resided in Vråka, Västra Ed. A different dynamic is presented in Åmund Norum Resløkken's examination of the usage of ethnographic questionnaires – between those posing the questions and those who send the answers that are stored today in the Norwegian Folklore Archives; Resløkken follows Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs' Latourian-inspired examination of purification techniques, tracing the plurality of worlds ('worlding' in Anna Tsing's terms) constructed in the search for 'genuine traditions' through the exchange of questions, answers and quotations integrated in academic articles. Liina Sarlo, on the other hand, looks at how the Kodavere (Estonia) *regilaul* (folk-song) corpus, developed through to the Soviet era during the course of a few decades as a result of activities taken by key folklorists that operated before Estonia gained independence; here, archive-networks reflect the interactions between singers, researchers on expeditions, sound-recordings and practices that are associated with the idea of physically 'going to the field'.

---

1   This is no longer the case also in Performance Studies – see e.g. Borggreen & Gade 2013.

Archive networks are very diverse, presenting many challenges. In her examination of Estonian folkloristics during the Soviet era, Ave Goršič demonstrates how folklorists who studied folk beliefs had to negotiate the Soviet regime, with its animosity towards religious culture. During the Soviet era, with its institutional censorship and self-censorship, it was easier to pursue the *collection* of folk belief than to get research *published*. Ultimately, Goršič is still able to access the material gathered in these archives. Audun Kjus' extremely reflexive piece highlights the everyday of the archivist and the way archivists negotiate funding bodies, IT staff and, in his case, Norwegian data agencies that no folklorist in the 1940s could have envisioned when reaching out to the public. Kjus' survival maneuvers, reminiscent of our neoliberal age, demonstrates how the archive is today networked in broader frameworks.

Many of the essays examine the digital *Zeitgeist*. Fredrik Skott examines archive networks in Sweden in this context. Instead of reflecting on the networks that made the archives, Skott is interested in the networks that evolve *out of* the archives, particularly what becomes available on the internet. As he shows, there are various ethical problems that arise from the way the archive mediates between promises made in the past and those that can be fulfilled in the present. The current "Digital gold-rush" is reflected upon critically in Clíona O'Carroll's essay that examines her work in the University of Cork's Department of Folklore and Ethnology. O'Carroll scrutinizes the demand to 'make an impact' in a world governed by algorithms out of our control and the implications of reaching out to as many people possible. Indeed, many reflections in the volume help us consider the networks in which those who work in archives today are entangled with and the challenges these present.

Technology

Evidently, many of the essays shed light on the way archive-networks are driven through ever-changing technology. Technology can be found across this network – from gathering material in the field through the handling of material and its classification to processes of digitization. Agneta Lilja's investigation of paradigm shifts within the Institute of Dialect Research in Uppsala (ULMA) reveals a vast network that extended to Swedes living in the US; Lilja demonstrates how networks connected to ULMA were tied to technological developments – fieldwork and questionnaires were followed by recordings made first by a gramophone and then by tape recorders. The diversification of topics and theoretical advances, such as the demand to study context that was advocated in the early 1970s, was made possible also thanks to such technological innovations. Archival technology is sometimes less associated with the ethnographic medium, but resembles much more the bureaucratic medium. Indeed, Konrad J. Kuhn's examination

of the work of Richard Weiss and his involvement in the Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde and other publications of his explores some of the most mundane practices that can be traced in the archives: from the letters sent from the field to the way such ethnographic knowledge was organized with the aid of thousands of filing cards. Kuhn's discussion of the filing card highlights paper-culture, which was once omnipresent in archives.

Catherine Ryan and Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh focus on classification technologies and how analogue classifications of material at the Irish National Folklore Collections were adapted with digitization; with current library and archival digital thesauri the rigidity and inflexibility of archival classification systems could be overcome to a great degree. In a similar vein, Eldar Heide considers digitizing of archives in Scandinavia 'a game changer'. He makes explicit the kind of shortcomings and paradoxes that digitization creates. Following Tim Tangherlini in advocating the building of a 'Folklore Macroscope', he sees great potential in this technology in asking new questions and countering some old objections to tradition archives. Clearly, technology has a crucial impact on the way such archives are conceptualized and evaluated. Technology underlies the slow evolution of a tradition of tradition archives.

Tradition

Following Dorothy Noyes (2009), I refer here to three possible contexts for the idea of 'tradition': tradition as a temporal signifier, tradition as a mode of communication and tradition as cultural property. Lauri Harvilahti's essay engages the temporal dimension of tradition archives, examining the long tradition of folklore collections in Finland, from the early imperial attempts made by Sweden and Denmark in the beginning of the seventeenth century, 200 years before the Finnish Literature Society established its well-known folklore archives. Tracing this long inter-generational chain through the activities of Elias Lönnrot, Kaarle Krohn and Martti Haavio, Harvilahti reminds us of the kind of responsibilities this tradition demands from its current bearers.

Laura Jiga Iliescu's reflection on the Bucharest Archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore illustrates how tradition archives partake in the communication of knowledge. By positioning the collector as the link between the informant and those who retrieve knowledge from the archive, Iliescu show how the passage of folklore is mediated in a performative manner that can be retraced in the archive. The archive becomes thus a chain in the passage of knowledge that is not always acknowledged and to a great degree one can also see how this hand-to-hand or mouth-to-ear mode is shaped through the archive.

One cannot avoid the way the archive was rooted in networks, which in hindsight are sources of critique – this is particularly evident in Kelly Fitzgerald and Niina

Hämäläinen's collaborative piece, which examines archives in Ireland and Finland in the context of societal expectations to serve nationalistic philosophies. In this sense, tradition archives served a particular community and particular stakeholders who look to the archive to find 'their traditions'.

Finally, Alf Arvidsson's engagement with Swedish Jazz history as a topic in the folklore archive of Umeå and the Svenskt Visarkiv in Stockholm reflects on the very idea of tradition promoted in tradition archives. He notes that the concept of 'tradition' went through tremendous changes over the years and in effect the type of material that ends up in such archives is correspondingly tied to this conceptual history. In this sense, Arvidsson demonstrates that a key to the tradition of such archives is that they constantly reflect their contemporary history through what (traditions) get in there, their form and the process of handling them.

Overview

Visions and Traditions is to my mind the richest collection of critical essays on tradition archives to date. It is an essential read not only for those who are employed in archives or who work with material from archives; rather, it is important to any folklorist. In contrast to the image of a dusty archive as a setting of empirical 'raw data', tradition archives emerged in our digital age as a key theoretical front. As Sadhana Naithani (2010) showed in her discussion of colonial folkloristics, theories are not made in an imagined 'center' (London in her case), but rather they are made in the hands of folklore collectors who need to know what folklore is and what it is not in their everyday engagements. At every such crossroad, one is engaged with theoretical dilemmas. Today, theory is made whenever one debates what to digitize and how; it is shaped whenever one is confronted with assumptions about the past as to what folklore means and in the gulf that opens as to what it should mean today. It is therefore not surprising that this collection of essays, which provides ample empirical evidence as to how the archive operated and how it does so today, engages with fundamental questions of definition, research praxis, performance, ethics and biases. Clearly, tradition archives have re-emerged as one of the most exciting sites for doing folklore research and thinking theoretically about it. It is not coincidental that this takes place in times when practice becomes fundamental in defining folklore, when material culture is becoming the focus of much concern and when algorithmic culture and digital dilemmas surround us.

The only critique I have concerns the scope of this volume which, as you may have noticed, is limited to Europe (with one case in Canada) and mostly takes place in Northern latitudes… This reflects the expertise and interests of the different contributors to the volume, but it can be beneficial to have a wider perspective on the topic by addressing tradition archives in other parts of the globe (e.g. East Asia, Latin America). This is particularly relevant given a theme that is addressed implicitly and sometimes explicitly in the essays: the internationalization of practices and standards in tradition archives. Despite the national foci of the case studies, one cannot avoid noticing how the know-how (or, for that matter, how the tradition) of tradition archives crosses national and linguistic boundaries. It is therefore immensely interesting to examine other national cases and their specific lineages and inter-connections as well as colonial and imperial legacies. Hopefully, this will be dealt with in another volume that will add other perspectives to those that were addressed in the current book.

Works Cited

Borggreen, Gunhild, & Rune Gade, eds. 2013. *Performing Archives / Archives of Performance*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen.

Naithani, Sadhana. 2010. *The Story-Time of the British Empire: Colonial and Postcolonial Folkloristics*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Noyes, Dorothy. 2009. "Tradition: Three Traditions". *Journal of Folklore Research* 46(3): 233–268.

Sale – 30% or 50% Discount at Tiedekirja Book Store until 31 April 2022

A selection of Folklore Fellows' Communications volumes is now offered for sale at a discount. General discount is -30% off the list prices, and -50% off the list prices for the members of Folklore Fellows or the Kalevala Society.

The books below are linked to the Tiedekirja book store. To get the member discount, please place your order via email to tiedekirja@tsv.fi.

5–7. Joint volume (Antti Aarne, Oskar Hackman, Kaarle Krohn). See FFC Catalogue for details. 10€

8–12. Joint volume (Antti Aarne, Kaarle Krohn). See FFC Catalogue for details. 12€

43. V.J. Mansikka: Die Religion der Ostslaven. I. Quellen. 408 pp. 1922 (2nd printing 1967). 21€

90. Ralph S. Boggs: Index of Spanish Folktales. 216 pp. 1930 (2nd printing 1993). 12€

100. Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio: The Game of Rich and Poor. A Comparative Study of Traditional Singing Games. 343 pp. 1932. 18€

120. Wolfram Eberhard: Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen. 437 pp. 1937 (2nd printing 1993). 25€

125. Uno Harva: Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker. 634 pp. 1938 (2nd printing 1993). 37€

142. Uno Harva: Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Mordwinen. 456 pp. 1952 (2nd printing 1994). 37€

150. Jan de Vries: Betrachtungen zum Märchen, besonders in seinem Verhältnis zu Heldensage und Mythos. 184 pp. 1954 (2nd printing 1967). 10€

185. Lauri Honko: Geisterglaube in Ingermanland. I. 470 pp. 1962 (2nd printing 1991). 28€

190. Gerald Bordman: Motif-Index of the English Metrical Romances. 134 pp. 1963 (2nd printing 1972). 8€

191. Kustaa Vilkuna: Volkstümliche Arbeitsfeste in Finnland. 287 pp. 1963. 17€

195. Alan Dundes: The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales. 134 pp. 1964 (2nd printing 1980). 8€

255. Linda Dégh: Narratives in Society. A Performer-Centered Study of Narration. 401 pp. 1995. Hardback 34€, paperback 30€

256. Satu Apo: The Narrative World of Finnish Fairy Tales. Structure, Agency, and Evaluation in Southwest Finnish Folktales. 322 pp. 1995. Hardback 29€, paperback 25€

261. Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj: Narrative and Narrating. Variation in Juho Oksanen's Storytelling. 221 pp. 1996. Hardback 25€, paperback 21€

263. Christine Goldberg: The Tale of the Three Oranges. 268 pp. 1997. Hardback 26€, paperback 22€

265. Lauri Honko in collaboration with Chinnappa Gowda, Anneli Honko and Viveka Rai: The Siri Epic as performed by Gopala Naika. I. 1xx + 492 pp. 1998. Hardback 42€, paperback 38€

266. Lauri Honko in collaboration with Chinnappa Gowda, Anneli Honko and Viveka Rai: The Siri Epic as performed by Gopala Naika. II. x + pp. 493-893. 1998. Hardback 31€, paperback 27€

270. Radost Ivanova: Folklore of the Change. Folk Culture in Post-Socialist Bulgaria. 127 pp. Hardback 12€, paperback 11€

271. Jim C. Tatum: A Motif-Index of Luis Rosado Vega's Mayan Legends. xxxviii + 117 pp. 2000. Hardback 12€, paperback 11€

276. Ülo Valk: The Black Gentleman: Manifestations of the Devil in Estonian Folk Religion. 217 pp. 2001. Hardback 22€, paperback 18€

278. Stuart Blackburn: Moral Fictions. Tamil Folktales from Oral Tradition. 338 pp. 2001. 33€

281. Lauri Honko in collaboration with Anneli Honko and Paul Hagu: The Maiden's Death Song & The Great Wedding. Anne Vabarna's Oral Twin Epic written down by A.O. Väisänen. 529 pp. 2003. 42€

282. Lauri Harvilahti in collaboration with Zoja S. Kazagaceva: The Holy Mountain. Studies on Upper Altay Oral Poetry. 166 pp. 2003. Hardback 17€, paperback 13€

288. Jonathan Roper: English Verbal Charms. 242 pp. 2005. 25€

289. Kristin Kuutma: Collaborative Representations. Interpreting the Creation of a Sámi Ethnography and a Seto Epic. 282 pp. 2006. Hardback 27€, paperback 21€

295. Emmanouela Katrinaki: Le cannibalisme dans le conte merveilleux grec: Questions d'interprétation et de typologie. 328 pp. 2008. Hardback 35€, paperback 30€

311. Tuomas Hovi, Finding Heritage Through Fiction in Dracula Tourism. 253 pp. 2016. 35€

312. Hans-Hermann Bartens, Tschuden und andere Feinde in der saamischen Erzähltradition. 183 pp. 2017. 30€

313. Dace Bula (ed.), Latvian Folkloristics in the Interwar Period. 281 pp. 2017. 30€
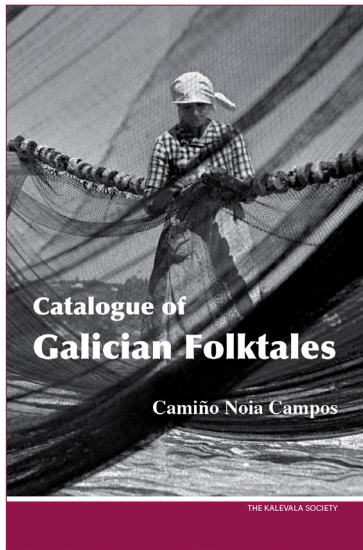
2021

Catalogue of Galician Folktales

Camiño Noia Campos
The Kalevala Society
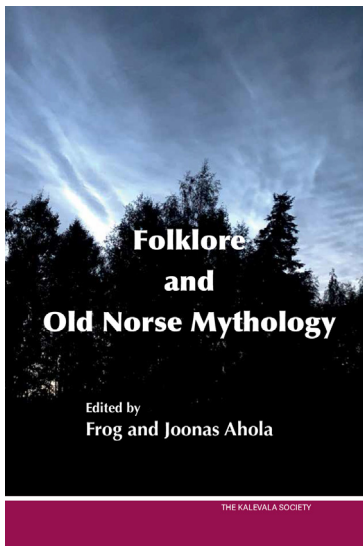Folklore Fellows' Communications 322
Helsinki 2021
318 pp.
ISBN 978-952-9534-01-2
Available at the Tiedekirja bookstore, 34€

Read more at https://www.folklorefellows.fi/ffc-322/

Folklore and Old Norse Mythology   in press

Frog and Joonas Ahola (eds.)
The Kalevala Society
Folklore Fellows' Communications 323
Helsinki 2021

Read more at https://www.folklorefellows.fi/ffc-323/

Forthcoming in 2022:

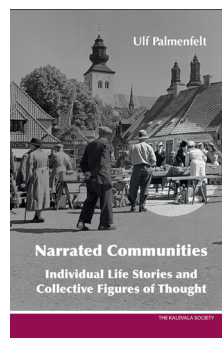## Narrated Communities: Individual Life Stories and Collective Figures of Thought

Ulf Palmenfelt
The Kalevala Society
Folklore Fellows' Communications 324
Helsinki 2022

Read more at https://www.folklorefellows.fi/ffc-324/

Find the whole catalogue at https://bit.ly/FFC-catalogue