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Love songs are favoured by young people at the Southern Cook Islands. Photo by Jukka Siikala.

Folkloristics and globalisation

by *Anna-Leena Siikala*, Professor
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Summer is congress time. The 14th Congress of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research at Tartu, Estonia, will bring together folklorists from all over the world. And in June researchers in folktales, representing Scandinavia, the Baltic, the British Isles and the United States, are meeting in Iceland. International gatherings are needed all the more, despite the strengthening of contacts between different countries and corners of the globe in the age of the internet. The presentations receive immediate feedback in the sessions and through personal meetings cooperative relationships are forged. In a globalising world the tightening of links between researchers and the creation of cooperative schemes is more important than ever, and, for folklorists, essential for survival. For globalisation is changing both university organisation and the status of faculties throughout the world.

From 1980 to 1995 the world's universities saw an increase in student numbers of 31 million. The greatest annual growth was in southern Africa, the Far East and the Pacific, in Arab nations and the Caribbean. Growth over the last ten years has accelerated everywhere. The significance of universities as producers of advanced knowledge and offerers of vocational training is understood the world over.

The operation of higher-education institutions in different countries is based on varying traditions. In Europe universities have historically been builders of national culture. Hence European universities receive more support from public funds than those in other areas. As a result of globalisation, however, university institutions relying on state funding have ended up in the vicious circle of diminishing resources. Project funding directed at research has become more important than hitherto. In future groups of researchers representing different countries will need to seek such funding more often from international sources.

The free-market thinking behind globalisation emphasises the maximisation of economic benefit and leads to the educational politics of supporting technology and natural sciences. The value of humanities and social sciences has been on the decline. Folkloristics is a small field within the humanities, whose future depends on its ability to find a place in the worldwide crisis facing university faculties. The examination of the field's principles and central research questions is more relevant than ever. Instead of following the route of other fields and their problematisations and research methods, it is worth looking into what folklorists themselves are aiming for, what the folkloristic intellectual capital is that other fields cannot offer.

Characteristic of globalisation is the strengthening of large political, governmental and economic structures and the disappearance of small ones. All social changes and the ideas lurking behind them have affected the intellectual reasoning, and so it is today too. Many favourite theories in humanities and social sciences seek out common features in cultures and societies, and create an intellectual foundation for builders of a unified world. Uniformity is not, however, a prerequisite for equality or cooperation. A profound understanding of cultural difference in fact affords us the possibility for honouring difference and for international communication on an equal footing. Folklorists can highlight cultural diversity, those differences in ways of life and in the oral cultural domains whose varied spectrum enriches the global whole and for the nurture of which UNESCO, amongst others, has striven.

It is clear that as globalisation increases the significance of international organisations and networks in folkloristics is more important than ever. Through them we can strengthen our work together and attain support as we build a future in the field. The Folklore Fellows' Network Advisory Committee is meeting at the ISFNR conference in Tartu. We are hoping for initiatives from the network's membership for new openings to strengthen cooperation.

Getting lost

by *Seppo Knuuttila,* Professor of Folkloristics
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Mankind's experience of the relationship with nature is, for many reasons and influences and aspirations, always ambivalent. It is so even for those people who live in so-called harmony with nature. The individual relationship with nature changes according to age. Women's and men's experiences differ. The dwelling place affects what nature signifies, as do profession, interests, even political affiliation.

Finns believe themselves to be a forest people more than most other forest peoples of the world. In the rhetoric of constructing Finnishness the forest has been and still is the most important element of nature, the origin of whose meaning cannot truly be attained nor wiped away – not even by protecting old forests, or by felling them. In this article I will examine one phenomenon connected with the forest, well-known to countless people in some form: the experiences and interpretations of getting lost. The subject perhaps seems superficial beside the great ecological and economic questions facing the forest, but it is fruitful in the sense that a great number of writings from oral tradition have been recorded about getting lost over a period of several generations, in which the ambivalent relationship between culture and nature appears as a generalisation from the experiences of individuals. The lost is paradoxically in a space without time, place, the coordinates of identity. Regardless of how the values of the forest may be emphasised in public speeches, the experience of getting lost has its roots far in the past and future, according to where the seeker's glance alights.

I shall try and seek to interpret the communicative meanings of the experiences and narratives of getting lost: how the familiar and safe changes suddenly into the strange and frightening, how attempts have been made to forge a connection between the lost and the searcher both actively and narratively, how knowledge and feeling become confused for the lost person. I shall begin by examining the interpretation of the "searcher" motif in the forest-covering tradition from the perspective of non-communication. Then I shall outline the "grammar" of getting lost on the basis of materials of autocommunication and narratives of the experience recounted by lost people themselves. Finally I shall present some observations on how men and women narrate their experiences of getting lost. The most recent materials, illuminating the perspective of autocommunication, are my own records from the late 1990s, as well as responses to the Finnish Literature Society's (FLS) folklore archive questionnaire on "Have you been lost?" (2002, see http://www.finlit.fi/kra/keruut/eksynyt.htm).

The perspective of the forest covering

In the field of getting lost, researchers in tradition have been interested chiefly in the belief called the "forest covering", in which the forest's difference and its different danger as compared with other environments is emphasised. The forest covering is a multifaceted concentrate in oral tradition. This becomes clear in a fundamental way from the broad article from 1923, "Metsän peitossa" ("Under the forest cover"), by Uno Holmberg (Harva, from 1927), which is a key text for the topic. He first presents the basic idea of the forest covering:

> "The forest covering" signified not only that for someone lost in the bosom of the great backwoods it was impossible to find their way home, for it is believed to be possible to end up in the forest covering even in a nook of the home, but'"covering" means here that the person in question has ended up in a quite special space, where he is hidden from others, invisible. At the same time his home world is invisible to him. Nor do the seekers see the lost person, even though they may be right beside them. To them the lost one is like "any stone or log in the wood". In other places, however, the concept is found that although the family cannot see the lost person, he or she can certainly see them, but cannot reveal him or herself by bodily movements, gestures or voice. (Holmberg 1923: 16–17.)

Uno Harva presents, in addition to many narrative examples, charms and spells which have maintained and expressed the traditional belief in the forest covering. Central to the arrangement is the notion that those belonging to us and beings of other realities (fairies, demons, goblins) battle over people and animals who have become lost – or rather been led astray. Matti Sarmela, commenting on this interpretation, has asserted that especially "in legends of animals stuck in the forest covering there are opposed a wizard of the agriculturalists and a fairy of the forest or land, in whose region the human was keeping his animals" (1994: 142–143). In what fol-

lows, however, I point only to the feature of the forest covering previously mentioned, according to which the searchers do not see or recognise the one who is under the forest covering, and although the lost person could see his rescuers, he cannot by any means announce himself or his whereabouts.

Uno Harva was striving to free the religious research of his time from "antiquated theories", and to uncover, wherever possible, the natural explanation for everything. The aim of rational explanation was indeed for many decades, at least until the 1960s and in some strands even later, the guiding principle of research into folk belief; this signified the neglect or sidelining of many interesting academic questions from the current of research devoted to the construction of natural explanations. Harva's own rationalisations of the forest covering pointed amongst other things to combinations of experience and tradition (when the lost person turns around, he may easily fall into thinking, in the manner of a "man of nature", that some supernatural being is holding him captive). The fact that the searchers do not see the lost person could derive from the latter's having tired and fallen asleep; correspondingly, the lost person might see in a dream, apart from the searchers and his home district, also matters to which "tales and beliefs he has previously heard lend primary content. Reminiscent too of a dream or drowsiness is the inability of the subject to estimate the passage of time." (Holmberg 1923: 55–56; cf. Anttonen 1987: 134–138.)

Another, more complex type of natural explanation can be sought in the experiences of parties involved in the narratives of the forest covering, which according to the testimony of oral tradition have been at once both observational and emotional, and also certainly "suggested by traditional concepts". From the point of view of non-communication, as originally developed by the anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1988: 69–81, 88–99), the forest covering may be interpreted as a situation in which the most significant factor is that searcher and searched do not make contact with each other, even though they may be physically right next to each other. The notion that the lost person may be enchanted into some stone or log is a – sometimes literal – premise of the search motif, according to which the lost person or animal is to be searched for, even though what is observed may extend no further than the disappearance itself. The very possibility that the lost person may be anywhere or anything makes the search sensible. If, by contrast, the notion that it is impossible to see or sense someone who has fallen under the forest covering were interpreted to mean that it would be pointless to even look for the lost, it would of course be a truly calamitous matter from their, the lost persons' point of view (see Ketola *et al.* 2002: 24–25).

In forest-covering legends is often found the theme that on an animal, more rarely a human, who has been enchanted into a stone or log there remain signs of how it has been touched: "A farmer looking for his cow leaves his tobacco pouch on a stone or his axe sticking out of a log. When the animal is later freed from the forest covering and returns home, the farmer's tobacco pouch swings from its horns, or there is such a huge axe wound on its haunches that it dies." (Sarmela 1994: 141.) The pulling up of moss may signify damage to an animal's skin or fur, or perhaps a person's clothes. The consequences are said to appear only when the forest-covering enchantment is over and the lost animal or person is seen again. The attempt, understandable in itself, and a practice of interest, was to make visible the forest's invisible nature, to build a channel of communication with various magical procedures: a keyhole or gate may be built into the unseen forest; the forest may metonymically be bound, just as the forest has bound the lost person; the forest may be punished by beating it just as the forest has punished the breakers of norms (e.g. the trampler on a fairy path). Non-communication between the searchers and the searched presupposes, according to the legends, care on the part of the searchers and a realisation of the significance of details. In terms of the function of maintaining non-communication, the interpretation may be thought of as pointing in the same direction: as long as there is no communication, all signs are significant to the searchers.

According to old precepts of behaviour it is inappropriate to shout or curse in the forest. Rarely does a lost person recount that he has started off by crying in a loud voice for help. Some recent narrators have observed in passing that shouting would have been pointless on account of the distances, or embarrassment if despite everything the everyday world turned out to be nearby. Those who got lost as children remember crying, less commonly shouting. One person recounted how they got into distress as a child while berrying, so that they began "howling with a big cry", when their mother came from nearby to calm them down: "Dear child, don't shout! What on earth are you doing noise here? I was just over there behind the thicket. Mummy wasn't far away." Many were of the opinion that whispering is the most suitable means of communicating while berrying. Of course, those looking for a lost person may shout loudly and generally make a lot of noise, strike trees, shoot into the air, etc. The writer Jim Harrison in his essay on getting lost (1987) mentions in a couple of passages how those lost help, or should help, the searchers towards them by lighting a big fire.

Of course, getting lost is not generally a threatening event. Some years ago two motor sledders died in an area not far from my cottage, but it was terribly

unnecessary. They could have gathered up dry branches around the vehicles and dropped a match on the last drops from the fuel tanks and so have set alight a huge blaze for the search vehicles.

The folklorist Leea Virtanen is right when she observes that forest-covering experiences cannot reasonably be used as examples of folk attitudes to the forest (1994: 139). Rather, legends of the forest covering are fine examples of all that is imagined as happening when messages from nature to society and vice versa cease to be communicated. Every lost person has an experience (*Erfahrung* and *Erlebnis*) of that.

The lost alone

The core and prerequisite of forest-covering stories is the break in communication with the outside world. This dramatic break is confirmed of course by the depictions by escapees of forest covering, usually in such a way that the world of the forest covering is presented as an experientially different reality, peopled by fairies and other beings of folklore. Especially in the older material of the folklore archive the stories of getting lost concentrate on the forest covering and the breaking of its spell either by one's own powers or by those of the searchers or of a seer. Most common in old folklore appears to have been the principle and practice of doing things the wrong way round, whereby clothes are taken off, shaken out, and put on the wrong way, somersaults are made, the Lord's Prayer is recited backwards, and so forth. However, the oldest records altogether lack (or at least it is not recorded) the lost person's own reasoning power, the considering of how to save her/himself, the ability to "read" nature, or in a word, autocommunication. In modern legends of getting lost old folk superstitions may ring distantly in the background, but in the main people present their own mental and physical feelings caused by getting lost and consider the reasons for getting lost and strategies for getting out of the situation.

The model of autocommunication outlined by the well-known Estonian semiotician Yuri Lotman (1990: 20–35) is well suited to the analysis of the meanings contained in personal stories of getting lost. A starting point is the similar circumstance, which Kari Vesala, social-psychologist**,** has examined from the perspective of "settling into silence". The individual who is lost or has retreated into silence and solitude is separated from the intercourse and stimulation usual in everyday life. Vesala asserts that despite these limitations it is the communicative framework which is in question, within which a person thinks and feels, and which may be experientially significant. "The individual her/himself is, however, the only recipient of communication taking place within this framework" (Vesala 2002: 60). In Lotman's model it is essential and a little paradoxical that the ego's communication with itself changes under the influence of outside factors (context and code), when, moreover, changes take place also in the individual's consciousness and emotional situation (1990: 21–22). At the same time the relationship between continuity and change makes autocommunication signficant from the point of view of both individual and social identity.

Lotman's compatriot writer and critic Jaan Kaplinski claims that Finns in particular have a greater experience of this sort of communicative framework than many other peoples: "The Finn has been forced to be alone far more than the Italian or German, and hence internal debate, independent thought, has usually been for him more important than the exchange of thoughts with others. The tradition of autocommunication will not disappear just like that." (Cf. Ketola *et al.* 2002: 32.)

Modern legends of getting lost by Finns follow the script, according to which in the beginning everything is fine: the forest is familiar, it is gracious and becalming in matters for which one has set out into the forest. But the situation changes rapidly. When the berry-picker raises her head, a child glances round or a wanderer lost in thought comes to, the forest has become strange, even though it looks the same as just before. The unknown pushes aside the familiar and the surroundings issue threatening messages: nothing holds true, previously friendly trees are now hostile, the sun shines from the wrong direction. The great collector of oral tradition Samuli Paulaharju has given the following picture of these feelings:

> But even an old forest wanderer turned, if he happened to walk across the footsteps of a land elf or forest elf or some underworld spirit or she-devil, he turned so badly that he saw the morning sun rise in the west. Old familiar lands were quite strange-looking, everything had changed to its opposite (Paulaharju 1979 [1939]: 179–180.)

Similar are modern experiences, and the way they are told:

> But now, on a sunny day, I hadn't the faintest idea which way to return home! The path ahead should be like a main road. But why does that sun there shine from the wrong direction? It is afternoon, it will soon be two. The south is then a little to the left of the sun. But now the wretched sun is bumbling along from the north-east. I turned almost away from the sun and rushed half running along the path. A path always leads somewhere. That was for sure. And so it did now: to the edge of a mighty ditch! I had never seen it before. (FLS, Have you been lost? 2003. AL.)

In both texts there is doubt about whether the surroundings are giving false messages in some significant way. In the latter example the person has a conversation with himself about the messages and codes which are contrary to expectations, which in a sense have come between him and the forest. As a "master of getting lost", however, he relies on his instincts rather than on a direction deduced from the sun. The depth of his delusion is indicated by his rationalisation that the sun is shining "from the wrong direction".

In the linear communication model a message is moved in time and place from sender to recipient, and a prerequisite for a successful arrival is the preservation of the message's meaning. However, in autocommunication a message travels in a time when the sender is never identical with the sender, even though they are one and the same person. I can send a message to myself in the future – tomorrow, next week, etc. – or receive a message from myself from the past, for example by reading old writings or looking at photos of myself. A graphic example of autocommunication is the writing of a personal diary, which a person does not so much to remember things as to analyse the inner feelings and impressions caused by special events; the writer fixes in a material form what would otherwise not be lasting (Lotman 1990: 21). Speaking and singing to oneself can easily be seen as fulfilling the same sort of needs and tasks.

According to Senni Timonen (2004) in lyrical folk poetry turning to the forest and speaking to trees has, in different forms, spread throughout the whole eastern Finnish area so densely that it can be considered a widely experienced solution model. The message of the poem of the bewailer of woes Timonen reads as follows: "Among people I have no friends, I am alone. I know not how to live, I choke. Hence I will leave for the forest. There I will not be alone. The trees will be my friends." The poetic motif of turning to the forest is, according to Timonen, twofold. On the one hand the singing subject experiences himself as an outcast, who resorts to the mercy of nature; then the natural images emphasise the gloomy feeling of loneliness. But on the other hand in these images there is usually a resigned recognition of facts, and an acceptance of them and peace. In the end it turns out that in the forest a person is not alone, but experiences there a greater connection with the world around than in the village. The singer is part of the living whole, part of the forest. (Timonen 2004: 100–107.) This is the outcome of autocommunication as it appears in poetry: the code of woes changes into a code of safety created by the forest, and as the context changes the lonely person has become part of the whole. In an interestingly similar way Tzvetan Todorov has described Rousseau's relationship with nature in the context of limited communication. For Rousseau nature was not a place of exile, but an active communication framework which receives and which is to be given to (Todorov 2001: 37–38). From this perspective the notion of nature as primarily hostile or of the forest as a particularly hated place of fear is not sensible.

The communication of information from myself to myself is not however merely a closed system, a hermetic internal talk (cf. Vygotski 1982: 230–243), for its communicative character is caused by some addition or change to the message from outside the subject. A new code changes the contextual situation or the interpretative framework; such an event is recounted in the preceding examples. The processes of autocommunication are not usually dramatic, changing people from tip to toe, but they may contain, for example, important information from the point of view of the development of identity, of continuity and change. Some memories from being lost as a child contain the painful feeling of rejection; the sudden strangeness of the surroundings gives a message of total loneliness, whose anguish is increased by fear, regret and images of death. A woman born in 1936 remembers the experience of being lost as a child in the following way:

> It is spring and the sun is high. I am walking ever deeper into the cool embrace of the forest's shade. I am alone in the midst of silence, with just the first insects of spring and the quiet breeze as my companions. Here I can speak to the wind. Here I can converse with the birds. I can also speak to myself.
>
> The winding path narrows and it is more difficult to follow. Finally it disappears altogether. Uncertainty fills my thoughts, my throat chokes, the beats of my small heart feel very strong, I feel them in my ears, as I eye up the scene around me, so strange, so frightening.
>
> The prints of my feet have disappeared into the carpet of pineneedles. Is this the "beggars' way" mother warned me of? Don't go on your own further than the garden gate. It gets difficult there, so mother said and I did not obey. Now she had rejected me. Mother said once that the forest is a pleasant companion, but a fearful enemy. Now I know it. Mother is always right. (FLS, Have you been lost? 2003, EK.)

Among customs of children's upbringing in country districts belonged the warning, intimidation and advice about the dangers of the forest. Most dangerous of all was getting lost, because there were so few wild animals in the forests near to dwellings after the Second World War that no account was taken of them. In both oral and written tales and learned creations it was told how it turned out for children who, despising their parents' advice, went too deep into the forest. Usually behavioural directions were

woven into these tales: be good to the animals and supernatural beings of the forest, and they will help you and you can get out of the fix. A school example of this principle is the historian and writer Sakari Topelius's tale *Vattumato* from the year 1854 (1990), which is significant for Finnish identity. The small girls Aina and Tessa save a worm they find in a raspberry and take it outside. When the girls go to gather raspberries in the nearby forest and become lost, so that they have to stay in the forest overnight, the "raspberry king" takes good care of them. The tale makes clear that the worm, whose soul the girls had saved, was ruler of the whole realm of raspberries. He rewards the girls richly and calls a small bird to guide them home. It is part of Topelius's narrative technique to lead children away from their home area and then in a strange setting, usually the forest, to instruct them. It is to be noted that in Finnish tradition the forest's negative sides are not generally depicted very strongly or in gloomy colours when compared for example with the Grimms' tales, where forests exude darkness and cold and are full of dangerous and malevolent beings.

Writing about life in the forest, the artist Lauri Anttila tells among other things about the camps of his boyhood, which he had built rather far from his home and where he had managed to spend nights there unknown to his parents.

> That time spent in the forest got me to experience it as dangerous, as something that among our artists only Eero Järnefelt has managed to depict. Something overbearing, mystical, secret, something typical of the German landscape artists, the influence of Düsseldorf, was added to the forest images of our pictorial art and made plain for us to see. (Anttila 1994: 179–180.)

With the passing of time, the relationship of girls and boys to the forest seems to develop in different ways. In the relationship to the forest of young and adult women the regressive features of childhood experiences, following folklore, are preserved. But young men, as games are given up, consider the forest as a challenge, as a place to prove themselves and survive. If they are active travellers in the forest, they learn yet wider areas and do not become lost easily any more, or at least do not fear getting lost and spending the night under the trees.

What the lost person knows and what it feels like

There are two clear patterns of reaction in the stories of getting lost. In the first, the book of nature is read, signs are examined, a direction is taken, decisions are made and release follows. Here autocommunication works against the code of being lost and the subject strives to return the possible change of context under his control, to the situation which pertained "just now"; this sort of procedure is a version of turning things the wrong way up and back to front. An informant for the new materials relates how when he got lost he sat on a log, closed his eyes and pictured in his mind the trip he had made. Then he followed his own footsteps back to his car with the help of the map "drawn" on his mind.

The second pattern of reaction is emotional, when distress rules mind and body, and identity jumps from its groove. The heart pounds, sweat wells up on the brow, running is no use, and one walks round in circles. Jim Harrison (1987) says that someone who has really got lost knows that it could be fatal and at the same time is conscious of the soul of nature: "The shock of being lost as a metaphor is the discovery that you've neve been 'found' in any meaningful sense. When you're lost you know who you are. You're the only one there." Normally, of course, these patterns intertwine in the manner of different forms of communication.

In recent years, I have asked various men and women, perhaps altogether around fifty of them, for their experiences of being lost. The subject has proved easy in the sense that one can talk about it even with strangers; nearly all the people I have presented the subject to have known what it feels like to be lost and have also openly spoken of it. Repeatedly in the discussions it has emerged how men try by means of their knowledge and skills to control the forest. They decide on a direction on the basis of various signs, and the direction and quality of the sunlight; the ability to read nature is held to be self-evident and release from being lost is achieved by keeping calm and logical. In June 1996 on a train journey from Helsinki to Joensuu a youngish man, who had indicated he was a farmer, explained in exceptional detail the skill of walking in a forest. He said in the end that he could be taken to any forest in Finland and he wouldn't get lost, because he could read the forest like a map. In his opinion the forest was a "matter of emotion", when I asked about it, only to people who knew nothing about the forest.

In men's stories the roleplay and fantasy games in the woods of boyhood times is important, as well as (at a later age) scout trips, orienteering, skiing, gathering berries and mushrooms, and for some even forest work. For some it was only the army that had taught survival in and from the forest. I well recognise these stages myself when I was about 15 or 16: I rambled day and night alone in the woods, which itself is, according to the observations I have made from written, pictorial and oral sources is perceived by many a Finnish man as an initiation experience, a process of self-formation and self-recognition. Men's forest initiation, which is one method of social disengagement, includes as it were in a trial fashion the

departure from and abandonment of the parental home. According to the bold interpretation of Bruce Chatwin, the wandering years and contest with a wild beast and fear are a story-teller's variant of the tabu on incest, by which a man must always first prove his "competence" and then "marry" at a distance (1988: 218).

The differences between men's and women's narratives appear also in the new material on getting lost (and there were over twice as many female respondents as male). Some men, it is true, describe their feelings at getting lost loquaciously, and some women are brief and factual. But in the main in the course of the narrative men write down various explanations for their temporary loss of control over their surroundings, they reason out their relationship to the environment and rationalise it in retrospect ("I wasn't really lost at all, because I found my way back"); their autocommunicative meditation is carried on like a dialogue between the internal and external situations. Women speak of being lost as a choppy sea of all sorts of emotions, where communication is described as if from within. Following Lotman and interpreting the materials on getting lost, one may say that people emphasise control over the situation of being lost; most often men read the forest like a handbook in which there are directions and explanations but no plot or shocks, whereas the inner emotion of being lost and its conflicting feelings are emphasised by narrators, mostly women, who interpret what has happened and is happening as if they were crafting the plot of a novel.

The stories of those women I have discussed getting lost with were similar to each other in that the heroism of finding a way out is not emphasised, but rather the astonishment at the suddenness and ease with which it happens. Many narrators got lost in a small area, even in well-known surroundings, in a matter of hours. Even though they knew they would find a way out, they did not know how it would happen. Precisely this conflict appeared in the narratives as an existential experience and, as one narrator mentioned, as "an emotional state of alarm". As told by women, experiences of getting lost as a child have long-term consequences. One writer describes getting lost as a child and its many emotions very sensitively, and asserts that although everthing ended happily, it left a fear in her life, which prevented her even as an adult from diverging onto small forest paths, and autumn berry trips were carried out in the company of a reliable forest expert.

The customary explanation for the difference in men's and women's experiences of their surroundings has lain in the analysis of time, place and space. It has been the custom to describe the home, as the circle of women and children, as ending up at the edge of the forest, in other words where the circle of men's work begins. Although such a distinction has been found in practice (for example in the division of labour between a forest worker and a small-farm woman), the symbolic boundaries of nature and culture are anything but simple and clear. In women's stories of being lost it is emphasised what the sudden break in social and cultural connections, non-communication, feels like, whereas in men's narratives the stress is upon autocommunication, in other words the rational self directing the distressed ego.

The broader meaning

Becoming lost in the forest is a shared and individual experience. Over the last century, direct beliefs connected with the forest, as with other elements of nature, as explanations of experiences of the environment have dwindled, but they still have a strong foothold in works of popular culture, especially in action and horror films which personify nature and make the supernatural visible. In modern records the places where people get lost have expanded from the forest to towns and the strange surroundings of the holiday resort. Asking students over several years for their experiences of getting lost, I heard, apart from memories of the forest, stories of what it felt like to get lost as a child in a neighbour's yard, in a library, a department store and other modern environments. Many youngsters once they had a driving license recounted how they got lost when driving through a forest, on dark autumn routes and on the streets of strange towns.

Despite the changes in setting, the feelings of getting lost and the reactions are of the same sort as are found in the accounts of previous generations. The break in communication with mother, father, friends and the whole known world cause distress and the feeling of rejection. The internal messages of autocommunication and the external codes are in conflict, knowledge and instinct fight against each other. Fear of "disappearing for good" runs through the mind and ends up taking over the whole person. Ultimately it is the type of disturbance in communication that determines how the inexplicable or supernatural experiences related to being lost are interpreted. When nowadays a mobile phone helps a lost person to find their whereabouts, which is exploited even in mobile-phone advertisements, something new enters the stories of being lost: "I was out of range" or "the phone ran out of power".

In accordance with Uno Harva's goal, so many natural explanations for getting lost have been found that the old world of superstition begins to look like a foreign culture to us. There is no longer any need to treat the products of myth or dramatic imagination "in an angry tone as magic belief", but rather "one smiles at them and mutters something about

poetry". Thus the Spanish-born philosopher George Santayana considers the principles of approaching these matters in his work *Scepticism and Animal Faith*, which appeared in the same year as Harva's article on the forest covering, 1923. But Santayana leaves the door ajar: Myth may treat the life of nature less unjustly than the only other alternative open to me: silence.

Translated by Clive Tolley

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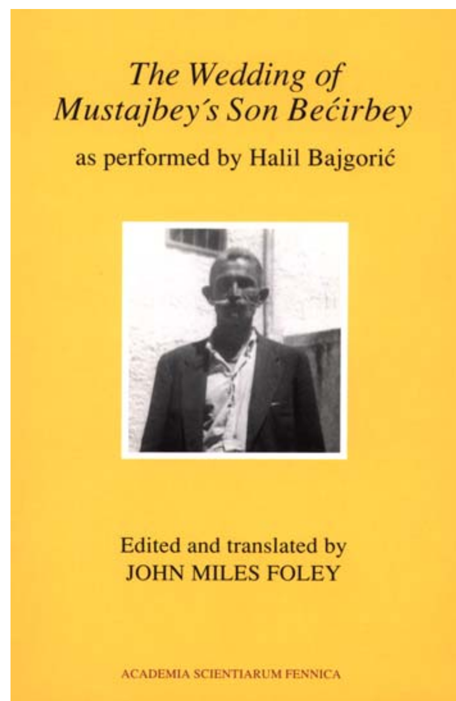
FFC 283. **The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Bećirbey as performed by Halil Bajgorić.**
Edited and translated by John Miles Foley.
Helsinki: Adacemia Scientiarum Fennica 2004. 286 pp.
ISBN 951-41-0953-8 (hard), 0954-6 (soft)

Hard, € 30   Soft, € 27

On June 13, 1935, Halil Bajgorić, a 37-year-old farm laborer and epic bard (*guslar*), performed a 1030-line version of a South Slavic oral epic poem to which its collectors, Milman Parry and Albert Lord, assigned the title *The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Bećirbey.* This experimental edition of Bajgorić's traditional tale includes an original-language transcription, and English translation, and a performance-based commentary; it also features a portrait of the singer, a glossary of idiomatic phrases and narrative units, a study of Nikola Vujnović's role as on-site interviewer and latter-day transcriber (and *guslar* himself), and chapters on the role of music and performatives. The volume is supplemented by a web companion at www.oraltradition.org/performances/zbm, where readers can listen to the entire song in streaming audio.



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The national and the local – practices of de- and retraditionalization

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Detraditionalization is often seen as an inevitable result of modernity and there is little doubt that the last two centuries have seen a great reduction in cultural diversity. For the modern nation-state, centralized or federal, some degree of social or cultural homogenization was a *sine qua non* for its democratic legitimization. There was a relatively clear-cut hierarchy between the metropolis and the provinces and the capital was the clearing-house both for communication between the different regions and between them and the outside world. Much has changed in the course of the last few decades, not least our understanding of where we stand in relation to modernity. The local and the regional seem to have reasserted themselves in sometimes surprising ways and the cultural homogenization foreseen for a fully realized modernity has taken some unexpected turns.

Detraditionalization? Centralization, nationalization

In the 1930s Antonio Gramsci observed that "the folkloric comes close to the 'provincial' in all senses, whether in the sense of 'particularistic', or in the sense of anachronistic, or in the sense of proper to a class deprived of universal (or at least European) characteristics" (Gramsci 1992: 44). From the beginning, the field of folklore – and the discipline of folkloristics in turn – was concerned with the local and the specific. Sometimes this was in order to fill out the scarcity of national traditions from the excess of local traditions or to nationalize the people from "below" with tradition when it was being denationalized from "above" by modernity. In contrast to the values of the Enlightenment, "[t]he mental world of romantic nationalism", concludes Perry Anderson (2002: 9), "was no longer cosmopolitan, but in valuing cultural diversity as such, it tacitly defended a kind of differentiated universalism".

The distinction between the metropolitan and the provincial is of great importance in the origins of folklore studies: folklore was a yardstick of authenticity with which to beat, or indeed seduce, elites as the move to the development of the modern nation-state threatened to marginalize them. The provincial is very like the popular, both of them characterized not so much by content as by position. Both are defined through a binary relationship, the former with the metropolis, the latter with high culture. Neither the provincial nor the popular need be permanent: a social revolution may aim to replace folklore by a national-popular culture (as Gramsci envisaged it), a political movement may foresee the sleepy provincial town becoming the capital of an independent state, a dialect may acquire an army and a navy and become a language.[1] But the parameters are the same: the state, or, at least, *a* state.

Although Herder and the Romantics after him were in many ways opposed to the state (Berlin 1976), statism almost invariably framed the study of folklore. Inevitably, perhaps: *Volkskunde* was originally a branch of *Statistik* (Bausinger 1993: 25; Vermeulen 1995: 39–40).[2] A particularly dynamic phase in the history of folkloristics was when it overlapped with cultural nationalism, often the immediate pre-institutional phase of the discipline and the logic for its institutionalization. This does not minimize the importance of the "differentiated universalism" of comparative folktale study in its classical diffusionist period, but points both to the role of folklore under the cultural wing of national movements and to the infrastructural realities of folklore studies in independent states. If for Herder folksongs could be the archives of the nation, if folklore could be the clearest expression of the *Volksgeist*, then it prefigured the unity that could best be underpinned by the nation-state while at the same time implicitly warning of the limits to diversity that always threatened to undermine national unity (this latter fear was a major stimulus to official support for Italian folklore studies, for example; see Lombardi Satriani and Meligrana 1995: 7–92).

The teleology of folklore is clear in statist discourses; in the enlightened enquiry behind 18th century *Volkskunde*, and in the romantic nationalism of the 19th century. This points to the major problem: are the folk part of a larger choir singing in national harmony or are they singing only their own swan song? The local may be construed as the past of the national, and the folklorist's or artist's journey to the provinces from the metropolis as a journey backwards in time: as Renato Ortiz (1996: 35) puts it, "popular culture implies heterogeneity, spatial discontinuity and therefore can be integrated by the movement of the journey". The local then may be a "place of memory", providing a useful record of the

anterior and the peripheral within the linear and centralizing narrative of the nation. Crucially, the nation is universal, the local particularistic, the one, as Michelet (1798–1874) wrote in his famous history of France, the work of the mind, the other the work of nature (Gasnier 1997: 3431–3432). The local was also the collective, the communal, the folkloric while the national represented the triumph of the Enlightenment individual (as the national high culture was the work of gifted individuals). The local carries all the affective connotations of *Gemeinschaft*, the national the rationality and instrumentality of *Gesellschaft*.

Describing a similar problem in historiography, Ranajit Guha writes:

> If the small voice of history gets a hearing at all […], it will do so only by interrupting the telling in the dominant version, breaking up its storyline and making a mess of its plot. For the authority of that version inheres in the structure of the narrative itself – a structure informed in post-Enlightenment historiography, as in the novel, by a certain order of coherence and linearity. It is that order which dictates what should be included in the story and what left out, how the plot should develop in a manner consistent with its eventual outcome, and how the diversity of character and event should be controlled according to the logic of the main action. (Guha 1997: 12.)

In summary, as Partha Chatterjee writes, also of India, the historiographical solution was to be that "[a]ll evidence that did not fit into the linear order of progression of state forms defined by principalities, kingdoms, and empires was relegated to the exotic, timeless domain of Indian ethnology, where history played only a marginal role" (Chatterjee 1999: 168).

Renato Ortiz (1996: 37) points out that the popular is valorized when the nation is a project. The local in that case provides access to a usable past, providing both a living link to a golden age and a model for the future: this informed folkloric discourses in Finland, Greece and Ireland in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, for example (Wilson 1976: 141–142; Herzfeld 1982; Tarkka 1989; Ó Giolláin 2000). At a time when the certainties of the established social order were crumbling in the face of modern political ideologies, the relative lack of social differentiation in the "mythical landscapes" of Dalecarlia (Rosander 1988: 93–142; Frykman and Löfgren 1987: 60), Karelia, rural Catalonia (Prats 1988) or the Gaelic West of Ireland provided a harmonious social model for the nation (harmonious, but also reactionary since it implicitly supported the hierarchies of the traditional social order at a time when industrialization, proletarianization and political mobilization were challenging it).[3] Here the narrative of the nation is not the linear one of progress derived from the Enlightenment, but a circular Romantic narrative in which the future of the nation is not really open, but has its finest expression in the *Volksgeist*, which undoubtedly belongs to the national past, but also to the local present and that can once again inform the national future. Here the question of authenticity is crucial.

In effect there have usually been two approaches to folklore and popular culture, the one particularist, the other universalist. The former is cultural relativist, attributing independence to popular culture and ignoring its unequal relationship with other varieties of culture within the same society. This form of the popular is an index of difference and of distance from the metropolis and metropolitan values. The second position refuses to ignore the unequal relationship and considers popular culture in the context of the different social classes in the same society. Here the popular is a sign of underdevelopment, backwardness and oppression. The debate, thus, oscillates between a populism based on the autonomy of popular culture and a "*misérabilisme*" which sees popular culture as inescapably slotted into a legitimate social order (Grignon and Passeron 1989: 65–70; Franco 1999: 209). These concepts may be compared with the the particularism of the German notion of "*Kultur*" and the universalism of the English and French notions of "civilization", Norbert Elias (1994: 4–5) seeing the former referring to products which already existed, "which are there like 'flowers of the field'" and which need to be protected, while the latter refers to a process of constant expansion, absorbing difference.

Folklife in intellectual discourse and scholarly practice was always more provincial and particularistic than was folklore. Literally more grounded than folklore, in buildings, vehicles and tools designed to be applied in a specific environment, within peasant life, and on the level of the parish, province or region, folklife is more suitable to be displayed and represented in the concrete form of the local folk museum. Folklore on the other hand, in the intangible form of story or song, is able to transcend the peasant condition and the provincial *milieu*, to imply both *national* history and *national* literature – as Herder suggested.

Folklife gives a good example of the relationship between the local and the national in the ethnographic museum, and museological practices regarding the local give eloquent testimony to the tension between the linear narrative, leading to the nation-state, and the circular, always coming back to its point of origin. The Skansen model of an ethnographic museum, dating from the golden age of museums (1891), assembles representative samples of cultural diversity – in the form of buildings – on a central site that becomes a microcosm, underlying the national unity below and above the local diver-

sity. Similarly, with the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City, "the bringing together of thousands of testimonies from all over Mexico attests to the triumph of the centralist project, [and announces] that here the intercultural synthesis is produced", as Néstor García Canclini (1995: 123) puts it. His question, "Can national identity be affirmed – within or outside of museums – without reducing ethnic and regional peculiarities to a constructed common denominator?", is pertinent to this sort of institution (García Canclini 1995: 130). Such institutions often in their physical organization assert a hierarchy, the neo-classical or modernist architectural monolith of the museum over the fragmentary and heterogeneous nature of its contents.

Place was initially seen as the locus of folklore, a phenomenon defined by a relationship between time and place, or at least between a human group understood as maintaining its cohesion and consistency over time and defined by its relationship to place. Traditions were understood as being anchored to place, or at least anchored to a human group anchored to place (and even if the group moved, its traditions were still understood in terms of a relationship with an original place – e.g. folklore studies in North America for a long time devoted either to indigenous people or to relatively homogenous rural groups of European descent).[4] Ethnology – in the widest sense – was defined as a discipline by a specific relationship to place, the place where the folklorist cultivated her informants, where the anthropologist did his field-work; the nomenclature of "European Ethnology" maintains that definition at the macro level.

Amhlaoibh Ó Loingsigh (1872–1947) was one of the best-known Irish storytellers of his time. Donncha Ó Cróinín, editor of the two volumes of extraordinarily rich material recorded from him by Seán Ó Cróinín, describes him in the following terms:

> It is unlikely that there is a longer lasting or more fundamental connection than that between a person – or any animal – and his native sod. Amhlaoibh had exact knowledge about every fragment of his native district and he liked it as much as if it were part of the Fertile Plain of Munster.[5] He knows what kind of soil is in certain river valleys on the eastern edge of the parish, because he cut hay there and he played football there. He is exact in judging the quality of land and in explaining fifty different terms for types of land. He is highly knowledgeable in matters concerning peat and wood. He knows about rivers and fishing. One would think that there was nothing beneath his responsibility, not even household utensils. (Ó Cróinín 1980: 10.)

Ó Loingsigh first came to outside attention as a prize-winner at various local and national cultural events held under the aegis of the Gaelic League, the national movement founded in 1893 to revive the Irish language: first prize for storytelling at the *feis* of Inchigeela (1899), first prize for storytelling at the *feis* of Ballyvourney (1900), first prize for storytelling at the *Oireachtas* in Dublin in 1901 and 1902 and regular prizes until 1910.[6] In the Munster *feis* of 1902, his effort in the category of newly composed song was highly commended. He was elected onto the committee of his local branch of the Gaelic League when it was founded in 1904.

Ó Loingsigh demonstrates how civil society as much as the bureaucratic rationalism of the modern state and capitalism helped to integrate the local into the national and indeed it may well be that the only identity that could expand the horizons of individuals like Ó Loingsigh and yet allow him to convert the local into cultural capital was the national. Aristocratic or bourgeois provincial intellectuals were not the only stake-holders in folklore. According to Jürgen Habermas (1996: 284, 287), by politically activating the people through the democratic legitimation of the state, a national identity was able to compensate for the destruction of the social integration that pre-modern identities provided.

The pre-modern community was clear on the boundaries that separated it from its neighbours, expressed physically or symbolically. But in modernity the local and the provincial can only find themselves through the metropolitan. The "discoverers of folklore" came from the metropolis and brought a new consciousness of local distinctiveness to the local inhabitants. Ortiz (1994: 36–37, 161; 1992: 68) argues that the 19th century British and French folklorists, or their Brazilian counterparts somewhat later, were provincial intellectuals based in the metropolis and for whom popular culture allowed a reassertion of their cultural capital at the same time as modernization and centralization marginalized them. The metropolis was also a breeding ground for nationalist intellectuals (from the "provinces" or the "colonies") since it was a sorting house for modern political ideas, a node of communication, a cosmopolitan meeting-place (London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Calcutta) and often the only place of employment for provincial or colonial intellectuals beyond a certain educational level.

Retraditionalization? Decentralization, globalization

As an ideal notion, traditional cultures constituted discrete worlds. The premodern local community was often oblivious to national identity and to much of what stood outside it (even if the classic "folkloric" society, that of peasants, was never independent of external social groupings, institutions and organizations – cf. Robert Redfield's [1960] peasants as a

"part-society"). The historic integration of the local community into the nation was a part of the modernization that "disenchanted" it and removed its traditions from it (often into the safekeeping of national museums and folklore archives). The mythical landscapes of European folklore studies in a classical phase are often today the holiday haunts of urban professionals where perhaps the majority of houses are secondary dwellings. Ironically it is often the permanently settled outsiders, who have come in search of the sort of enchantment that (sub)urban life does not offer, who are most interested in picking up the threads of the district's past as a strategy to root themselves (cf. Garnert 1994). They are often to the fore in the recycling of the district's traditions in a sort of reprise of the "discovery of folklore" by an earlier generation of outsiders.

The classic modern national community represented a higher level of belonging than the local, that did not displace it but contextualized it and integrated it: this higher level had to be imagined because it was too large to be experienced in its totality, but it could be imagined because it was lived in a way that became more and more concrete and even banal (Anderson 1983). It is one of the commonplaces of postmodernism that cultural diversity today has become more "vertical" than "horizontal": that is, that there has been a sort of a levelling out of cultural "worlds" across the face of the earth while a huge variety of ethnic and subcultural diversity has grown up in cities, a "vertical" rather than a "horizontal" diversity and a reflection of extensive migration, social segregation and the intense urbanization of the planet. The Fordist mass production of high modernity has given way to the "flexibile accumulation" of postmodernity and the mass market has given way to a segmented one (Harvey 1990). The hopes and fears that a mass society would either represent the integration of everyone into a culture that applied equally to all or an apocalyptical reduction to the lowest cultural common denominator (Eco 1988) have not been realized. The cultural pessimism of the Frankfurt School has been robustly refuted insofar as the homogenization of culture is concerned; instead of uniformity there has been an explosion of diversity in a de-massified society.

The concept of modernity that came from the Enlightenment wished to incorporate everybody and the "integrationist"/"apocalyptical" scenario for modern society was based on such a premise. Globalization has no such ambitions; "its selectivity is organized according to the capacity to give work at the least cost and to win consumers rather than to develop citizenship" (García Canclini 1999: 81–82). The contradictions are more apparent outside of the richest countries, with the exclusion of the many even from national life and the integration of the few into global currents: a scenario that is both "apocalyptical" and "integrationist" (Hopenhayn 1994). García Canclini (1999: 48–49) defines globalization as a complex of processes of homogenization and segmentation of the world, which reorders differences and inequalities but does not eliminate them.

Circulation within a network of interconnections is a key characteristic of modernity and it was this circulation that broke through the traditional social and cultural limits of traditional societies, eroding their specificity, de-linking the individual from the countryside, from peasant society, from folk culture and restructuring the relationships between them. Technology shrinks the world and abolishes space. The local today is informed by the global in an unprecedented way. Every place now, instead of being emptied by the technological transformations of communication, is filled and reveals the world since technology allows all points of global networks to communicate with each other (Ortiz 1997: 18, 147).

This sets Gramsci's equation on its head: where the provincial once revealed the particularistic and the metropolitan the universal, the opposite is now just as likely to be true. Where the universal once represented an Enlightenment ideal, it has been subsumed into mere globality, something concrete rather than abstract (Ortiz 1997: 274), and "the great stories of modernity […] are disintegrating under our eyes and give way to a multitude of heterogeneous and local 'petites histoires' […]" (Calinescu 1987: 275). The former notion of a universal history "implied the existence of a centre around which events are gathered and organized" – in effect the West (Vattimo 2000: 8–9). The weakening of the transformative metanarratives of modernity everywhere – and the Enlightenment narrative was always diluted on the periphery as the history of colonialism, for example, suggests – has nudged scholars into the relatively new fields of everyday life looking for "the discrete enchantment of possible rites, latent magics, vigorous identities" (Hopenhayn 1994: 22–23).

The local today must be branded: for administrative purposes, for marketing of its products, for tourism. The promotion of regions is in accord with the promotion of European integration at the level of the EU where the state too often is seen as a barrier (Bromberger and Meyer 2003: 361). The development of regions is also a consequence of the weakening of the state by global economic and political processes. Culture is one of the ways in which regions compete, providing the value added to the tourist product (Kivelä 2005), attracting transnational corporations and investment or hosting international sporting events. The local also offers the sort of homespun authenticity that the industrial model

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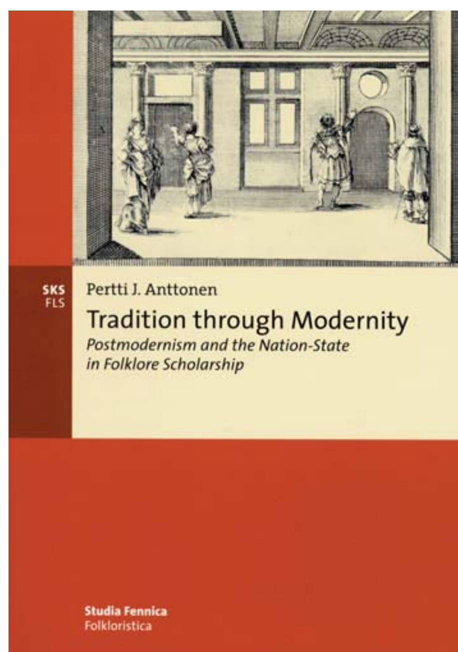

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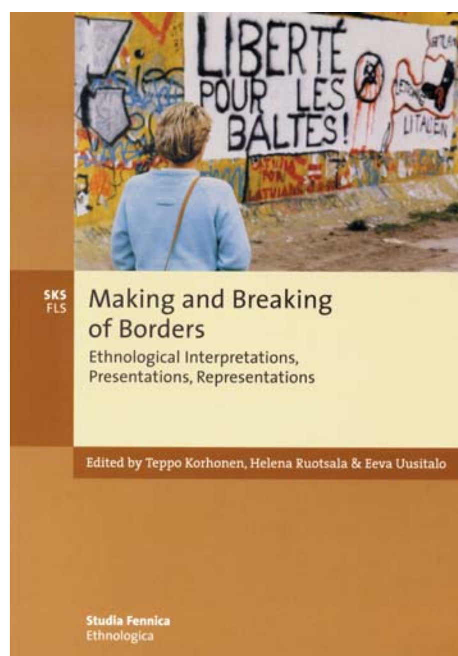
Pertti J. Anttonen,
Tradition through Modernity. Postmodernism and the Nation-State in Folklore Scholarship.
Studia Fennica Folkloristica 15. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005. 215 pp. ISBN 951-746-665-X

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

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



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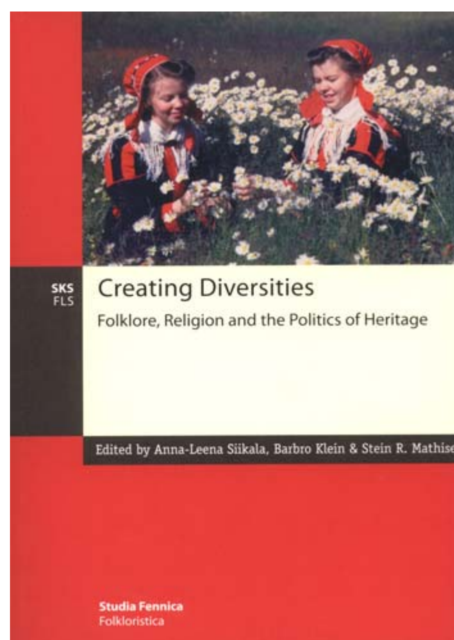
Making and Breaking of Borders. Ethnological Interpretations, Presentations, Representations.
Edited by Teppo Korhonen, Helena Ruotsala & Eeva Uusitalo.
Studia Fennica Ethnologica 7. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003. 328 pp. ISBN 951-746-467-3

The twentieth century has seen a greater opening of the borders and a movement of larger masses of people than ever before. Stereotypes of peoples developed through economic or wartime encounters. Political and cultural borders do not coincide. There are linguistic, ethnic and social boundaries.

Deconstructions of national borders refer to changing attitudes to the national symbols in a world of globalisation and reconstructions of borders to territorialisation processes on the national and local level.

A boundary may be visible or unvisible, geographical, mental or symbolic; drawing boundaries may be a conscious or unconscious act. There are concrete, complex and abstract borders waiting for breaking.

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



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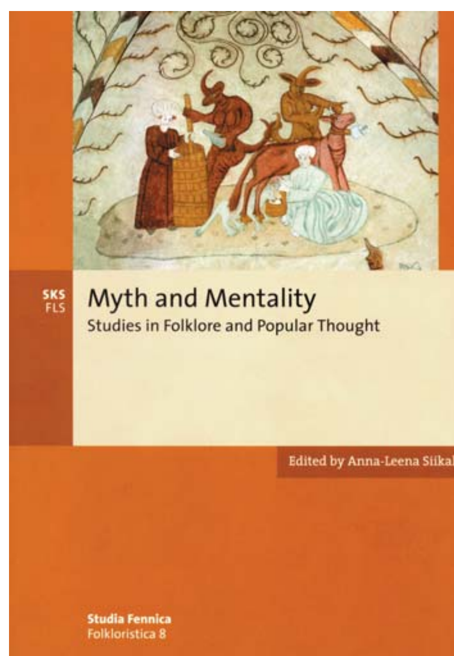
The effects of globalisation and the momentous changes to the political map of Europe have led to a world in which multiculturalism and ethnic differences have become issues of increasing importance. In Nordic countries, relationships between new immigrants, local ethnic groups and majorities are created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

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

Myth and Mentality. Studies in Folklore and Popular Thought.
Edited by Anna-Leena Siikala. Studia Fennica Folkloristica 8. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2002. 317 pp.
ISBN 951-746-371-5



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The recent fascination in Finnish folklore studies with popular thought and the values and emotions encoded in oral tradition began with the realisation that the vast collections of the Finnish folklore archives still have much to offer the modern-day researcher. These archive materials were not only collected by scholars, but also by the ordinary rural populace interested in their own traditions, by performers and audiences. With its myriad voices, this body of source material thus provides new avenues for the researchers seeking to penetrate popular thought. What does oral tradition tell us about the way its performers think and feel? What sorts of beliefs and ideas are transmitted in traditional songs and narratives? Perspectives from the study of mentalities and cultural cognition research provide a framework for investigating these issues.

This collection of articles works from the premise that the cultural models which shape mentalities give rise to manifest expressions of culture, including folklore. These models also become embedded in the representations appearing in folklore, and are handed down from one generation to the next. The topics of the book cover age-old myths and world views, concepts of witchcraft and the Devil stretching back to the Middle Ages, and the values and collective emotions of Finnish and Hungarian agrarian communitites.

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always falls short of. The artisan's craftwork has a personality that the mass-produced object lacks and offers a sort of palliative to the alienation of modern urban life. Its commodification is to the benefit of local employment, to tourism and to regional identity, one reason why there have never been as many artisans in Latin America as today (García Canclini 1989; 1995: 153). Something similar is at work with "world" music (Feld 1995) and with folk art (Ardery 1998: 4–5).

Food is a special case. The commodification of the local is a feature of the diversification and segmentation of the market for foods and of the role of *gourmandise* in processes of distinction and in the assertion of social capital: gourmet food shops offer huge varieties of coffees, teas, mineral waters, chocolates, cured hams, beers and other products imported from all over the world. The local offers a traceability that has become a major concern for consumers in the light of food scares, where the "raw" is safer than the over-processed "cooked" product of the food industry. The local hence has become the repository of food safety for consumers and of authenticity for gourmets. The spread of the French concept of *terroir*, indicating both land understood in terms of its agricultural quality and the expression of those qualities in, for example, the taste of wine, indicates one aspect of the renewed importance of the local. Regional food specialities have been named in order to protect them and to market them. Already in 1935 the French Institut National des Appellations d'Origines (INAO) was founded. Its remit was extended from wines and spirits in 1990 to cover other "*produits de terroir*". It uses panels of experts, including ethnologists, geographers, geologists, agronomists and historians, in order to define the product and its area of production (Bérard, Delfosse and Marchenay 2004: 596, 599).

In 1992, the European Union created similar labels to promote and protect food products: PDO (Protected Designation of Origin), PGI (Protected Geographical Indication) and TSG (Traditional Speciality Guaranteed). The aim of these designations included encouraging diversity in agricultural production, protecting product names and helping consumers to make informed choices (Common Agricultural Policy 2005). According to a recent poll "the priority of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) should be to ensure that agricultural products are healthy and safe, promote the respect of the environment, protect medium or small sized farms and help farmers to adapt their production to consumer expectations" (Common Agricultural Policy 2005). The Slow Food movement, from its origins in Italy, now has more than 80,000 members in a hundred countries, and sees "[l]ocal rootedness and decentralization (plus the ensuing conservation of typicality)" as being among "the most authentic characteristics of the movement" (Slow Food 2005).

The local, once a source of diversity that threatened political unity, is now a bank of diversity essential to the future of the human species. This has provided a new means to validate folklore, as "indigenous knowledge", and to romanticize the possessors of that knowledge. Biodiversity is the key concept in this context, whether linked implicitly or explicitly to cultural diversity. The Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity sees its mission "to organize and fund projects that defend our world's heritage of agricultural biodiversity and gastronomic traditions", and it envisions "a new agricultural system that respects local cultural identities, the earth's resources, sustainable animal husbandry, and the health of individual consumers" (Slow Food Foundation 2005).

Other private organizations have cognate concerns, for example Seed Savers Exchange, founded in the USA in 1975, and similar organizations elsewhere. Seed Savers Exchange uses a concept of heirloom seeds or plants, that have "a history of being passed down within a family, just like pieces of heirloom jewelry or furniture" (Seed Savers Exchange 2005). Similarly, the notion of "living heritage" gives a new twist to the study of heritage, pointing explicitly to the future as much as to the past.

> A breed of animal, a cultivated plant, a product such as a piece of cooked pork meats [*charcuterie*] or a cheese are the realization of an accumulation of adjustments, interventions, choices. The living harbours a potential for evolution and for considerable variability from which man draws, but it also has a limited duration: the knowledge that shapes it is at the very base of the existence and conservation of this perishable and ephemeral material that must be ceaselessly maintained and renewed. (Bérard, Delfosse and Marchenay 2004: 595.)

While strengthening such "living heritages", revitalization also creates change, for example in the manufacture and the representation of food products. Here the role of the local community is crucial. Programmes of local development nearly always valorize local heritage nowadays and local food products have a privileged place in this regard, helping to maintain local employment and local knowledge and contributing to local identity through their representation in museums or festivals (Bérard, Delfosse and Marchenay 2004: 595, 596).

The Convention on Biological Diversity signed by representatives of one hundred and fifty governments at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 recognised "that biological diversity is about more than plants, animals and micro organisms and their ecosystems – it is about people and our need for food security, medicines, fresh air and water, shelter, and a clean and healthy environment in which to live".

Among its main recommendations were the establishment of protected areas and the promotion of the "protection of ecosystems, natural habitats and the maintenance of viable populations of species in natural surroundings". Recommendation (j) is particularly interesting:

> Subject to its national legislation, [to] respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and [to] promote their wider application with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices and [to] encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of such knowledge, innovations and practices. (Convention on Biological Diversity 2005.)

There has been both a democratization and a globalization of heritage. Since the 1970s the state's monopoly on heritage has been challenged by, for example, the questioning of the role of museums or by proposing alternative models such as the locally-grounded *ecomusée* (which has since had mixed fortunes in its homeland, France), and this tendency has been consolidated by activism at the local level, leading to many *causes célèbres* in the form of popular movements to defend the natural or cultural landscape, and to a huge growth in local museums and other heritage initiatives. The democratization of heritage has challenged the state's monopoly from below while international organizations have challenged states from above and outside, arguing that certain matters are of importance for humanity in general: UNESCO has played an important role in this respect with its identification of specific world heritage sites to be protected or with its declaration on the safeguarding of folklore and traditional culture (1989).

There is a wider process at work: that of retraditionalization. I use the term in this sense: the creation of new traditions, the re-circulation of dead or moribund cultural traditions, the reorientation of traditional cultural production to modern contexts or the heightened definition of existing cultural materials. The purpose may vary from the romantic to the pragmatic: to symbolically or practically strengthen a sense of identity or cultural specificity weakened by the disenchantment of modernity or threatened by homogenization or indeed by obsolescence; to cater for segments of the market particularly favourable to traditional cultural products; or to protect and promote practices that are believed to be of crucial local, national or global importance. It runs along a spectrum from the relatively static and fossilized forms of folklorization – formal representations of dead or moribund traditions – to the dynamic and vigorous reorientation of forms of traditional practices grounded in everyday life. Retraditionalization in its various facets has been identified by a number of scholars: "fakelore" by Richard M. Dorson (Bendix 1997: 190), *folklorismus* by Hans Moser among others (Bendix 1997: 176–187), "the invention of tradition" by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), the "second life of folklore" by Honko (1991), "cultural reconversion" by García Canclini (1992). Retraditionalization is a significant practice above all at the local level, but benefits from support at the national and global level in the form of laws and conventions that still depend mostly on the state for their implementation. There is a certain irony in this: the state, in its modern guise the guarantor of individualism at the expense of the demands of kinship or locality, has become an important protector of local traditions. For folklorists, mostly working for national institutions, in control of public folklore collections and often arbiters of folkloric authenticity (on which their expertise to an extent rests), the challenge is to observe these developments in a disinterested way.

Notes

1 The reference here, of course, is to Max Weinreich's famous definition of a language.

2 *Statistik*: "statistics, knowledge of states; book relating to that science". F. W. Thieme, *A New and Complete Critical Dictionary of the English and German Languages*. Leipsic: Gustav Mayer, 1846 (I give only the English title page).

3 Elsewhere I write of what I call "mythical landscapes" that they are "mythical" "in the sense of foundational, sacred and ideal since these landscapes were not objectively delineated historically, geographically or socially. Indeed like the Romantic notion of the folk, the inhabitants of these territories, mythical landcapes, were experienced more as revelation than as observation, as vision rather than sightseeing." See Ó Giolláin 2000: 77.

4 Reidar Th. Christiansen's *European Folklore in America* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1962) is a good example of that, where the "genealogy" of the material gives it its identity.

5 "Machaire méith na Mumhan", usually referred to as the "Golden Vale", the richest dairy land in Ireland. Ó Loingsigh's home district, on the other hand, was rugged and of extremely limited land use.

6 *Feis* referred to a competitive cultural event, usually of music and dance. The *Oireachtas* is the national festival of the Gaelic League.

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Reviews

A new landmark

Hans-Jörg Uther, *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Biblography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson*. Editorial staff: Sabine Dinslage, Sigrid Fährmann, Christine Goldberg, Gudrun Schwibbe. 3 vols. (FF Communications 284–286.) Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2004. 619/536/285 pp.

Forty-three years after the second revision of Antti Aarne's system of European folktales (1910) by Stith Thompson (1961, AaTh) there has finally appeared a new type-index of the international folktale, ATU, compiled by the renowned German folktale scholar Hans-Jörg Uther and his small team of dedicated assistants. They have managed to complete this large-scale project in only four years, thanks to the excellent database of the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (Göttingen) and the help of many colleagues all over the world. This new index was long overdue and has been eagerly awaited, not only because the 1961 index, however useful, suffered from many weaknesses, but above all because our knowledge of the history, variability and distribution of many folktales has increased enormously. Many new catalogues and other reference works, studies and text editions have been published since 1961, especially on the folktales of lesser-known European and non-European language and culture areas, and our knowledge of the place and role of traditional tales in the literary traditions of the world has substantially increased, so the AaTh-propagated idea of the folktale as an especially Eurasian and Middle Eastern / North African and primarily oral phenomenon called for a correction.

All this is made abundantly clear by this new catalogue. It was impossible and for practical and historical reasons also undesirable to change the outlines and method of numeration of AaTh, so in these respects Uther changes as little as possible. But he drops the distinction between "regular" and "irregular" types, revises if necessary incorrect or impossible titles (but names also the old ones), eliminates the duplicates and in a few cases moves a type from its old place to a new one (for example AaTh 1587 has become ATU 927D). Though he incorporates more than 250 new types in the old numbering system, the total number of tale types in ATU is smaller than in AaTh, because he omits many old types that could not be documented for at least three ethnic or linguistic groups and/or over a long time period, and also because, aware of the flexibility and instability in content of many tale types, he resisted the natural propensity of most catalogue compilers to assign a new (sub)type number to every small difference in content or every oicotypical or historical variation. Instead, he has in many cases joined differently numbered but clearly cognate AaTh-types. Thus, his number 313, *The Magic Flight*, includes the previous AaTh-numbers 313, 313A, 313B, 313C and 313H* and he reduces the cycle of related tales about "The search for the lost husband", in AaTh differentiated under 15 numbers (425–425P), to seven type numbers: ATU 425, 425A, 425B, 425C, 425D, 425E and 425M. The old AaTh-numbers are maintained but only give a reference to the new ATU-number. ATU 425 is one of his container-types, mostly marked as "miscellaneous types", presenting a set of tales with a thematic and structural similarity but with a (slightly) different content. In some cases here a summary of one characteristic single text is provided as an example.

The vast majority of new types are found in the category "Anecdotes and Jokes", but many new types have also been incorporated in the "Animal Tales", the "Religious Tales" and the "Realistic Tales" (the Novelle [Romantic Tales] of AaTh). Nearly all of them are traditional tales with a (at least comparatively) long history, but also a few more or less "modern" tale types have been included, like 1651A*: *The Accidental Heiress*. A woman inherits the entire wealth of a rich man because she was the only person who signed his condolence book when he died – and she did so only by accident. In principle, the AaTh catalogue has a genre-based structure, including the animal tales (and fables), the tales of magic/wonder, the religious and romantic tales, the tales of the stupid ogre, jokes and anecdotes and formula tales, but many tale types incorporated here do not quite fit into these genres and the chosen structure. Thus, for instance, many tales in the sections Religious and Romantic Tales of AaTh do not have a primarily religious or romantic character, but a moralistic or legendary one. This is not really a problem, because this catalogue is not primarily an introduction to the subtleties of genre classification but a thematically oriented reference book. Uther – fortunately – follows the same practice, so in his catalogue we also find new types that are manifestly legendary, like ATU 777*: *The Flying Dutchman*, 779F*: *Mass of Death* and 934K: *"The Time has Come but Not the Man"*.

In his presentation of the individual tale types Uther also follows the structure of AaTh, but with many improvements and additions. After the type number and the title a basic summary of the plot of the central redaction follows, and, if needed, also of specific other redactions. These descriptions have mostly been completely rewritten and generally much expanded, with the following principles in mind: The main characters, both active and passive, and their opponents are named, and the tale's actions and objects and its situation are recognisable. Gender biases in the characterisation of the main actors, a flaw of AaTh, have been corrected and the obscene and sexual elements, common especially in the humorous tales, but suppressed or reduced to a simple "obscene" without further content description by AaTh, have been made explicit. At last, many tale types inadequately described in AaTh are now recognisable. To provide additional orientation, the more important motif numbers from Thompson's *Motif Index* have been noted in the descriptions, but for reasons of space they have not been repeated in a separate section, as in AaTh.

When applicable, the content analysis is followed by a rubric "Combinations", listing the tales the type is usally or often combined or contaminated with, and a rubric "Remarks", with information about important literary sources and/or the tale's age, place of origin etc. The last rubric, "Literature/Variants", refers to two separate sections: first, when applicable, the most important bibliographical sources and research references, then, always, the evidence of the geographical spread of the tale type. Here Uther again conforms to the AaTh-structure, but with the following exceptions: he does not restrict himself primarily to oral tradition, but he also includes as comprehensively as possible literary tradition, and he does not give the number of variants found in each region if they have been enumerated in the catalogue(s) for this region. On the one hand, this is a pity, because such figures can give an idea of the popularity of the given tale in the given area; on the other hand it is understandable, because the often arbitrary and questionable ways they are calculated and organised limit their value for comparative research. Uther always cites the latest catalogue for each region, if necessary supplemented with references to more recent or overlooked important text editions. For regions for which there are (not yet) catalogues available, he cites one or more representative text collections. In many cases, collections for non-European regions unavoidably reflect the fact that they not so much represent the "pure" autochthonous art of storytelling, as the way their, mostly European, editors and translators thought they had to present the tales to their public. But, of course, the same can be said of many European collections. Anyhow, it is still important not to overlook the evidence they provide. At least they help to create a picture of the distribution.

In type after type ATU demonstrates that tale types usually have a longer and more extensive (often much longer and more extensive) distribution in time and space and more varieties of transmission than has hitherto been imagined. How much broader the scope of ATU is compared with AaTh, the example of an (according to AaTh) lesser-known tale type may demonstrate: 51***, there described as "Fox as Umpire to Divide Cheese between bear's quarreling sons; eats all the cheese [K452]. Cf. Types 518*, 926 D.", and documented only by two Hungarian variants. No literature is given. ATU offers the following description: "The Fox as Umpire to Divide Cheese. Two animals fight over some prey (cheese, meat) and ask a fox (monkey, cat) to judge the case. He eats it himself (cat eats the two animals [K815.7]). [K452]. Cf. Type 926D. In some variants the fox takes bites from the pieces of food to make both parts the same. In the end he eats them both." From the "Remarks" we learn that this tale is already found in the Arabian version of *Kalila and Dymna*. Then follow three references to important literature and a listing of (literary or oral) Estonian, Irish, Spanish, Dutch, Frisian, German, Hungarian, Slovene, Croatian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Greek, Ukrainian, Jewish, Gypsy, Kurdish, Syrian, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Mexican, Egyptian, Algerian and Moroccan variants.

The first two volumes of ATU present the tale types with their descriptions and documentation, the third volume consists of listings of the geographical and ethnic terms used, discontinued types, changes in numbers and new types, a register of motifs, an extensive bibliography (104 pages, compared to the 9 pages of bibliography in AaTh), and a very helpful index to the tales' contents, including the most important subjects, plots, motifs, actors and settings. In the bibliography, a real treasure, the many titles of books and articles in non-Germanic and non-Romance languages have also been translated into English.

ATU is in every way quite an achievement, setting new standards for the classification of the international folktale and offering many new insights; it is an absolute must not only for students of narratives and narrative traditions, whatever their goals and basic assumptions may be, but just as much for everybody else interested in these marvellous sets of tales and their manifold roles in past and present cultures.

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The Types of International Folktales

Hans-Jörg Uther, *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Biblography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson*. Editorial staff: Sabine Dinslage, Sigrid Fährmann, Christine Goldberg, Gudrun Schwibbe. 3 vols. (FF Communications 284–286.) Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2004. 619/536/285 pp.

Nach 44 Jahren von der von Stith Thompson ergänzten, verbreiterten Ausgabe von Antti Aarnes *The Types of the Folktale* entstand endlich ein neuer Katalog, der auf der viel verbreiterten Basis der Märchenmaterialien und der Märchenkataloge steht.

Schon lange her hat man von der Nötigkeit eines neuen Katalogs gesprochen. Aber dazu braucht man viele Vorbedingungen zu erfüllen. Viele Märchenkataloge müssen in verschiedenen Ländern, besonders in aussermitteleuropäischen, entstehen. Der Verfasser vom neuen Katalog sollte die Kataloge und Märchenmaterialien der verschiedenen Ländern zur Verfügung haben. Für die mühsame Arbeit der Erstellung des Kataloges muss man wirksame Hilfskraft und finanzielle Unterstutzung haben.

Der Verfasser des neuen Katalogs, Prof. Dr. Hans-Jörg Uther, stehr gerade im Zentrum der historischen und vergleichenden Märchenforschung, Göttingen, und einer der Redaktoren der *Enzyklopädie des Märchens,* im letzten halben Jahrhunderte entstanden verschiedene Märchenkataloge in aussermitteleuropäischen Ländern. Er kann solche Märchenkatalogen und Materialien zur Vergügung haben. Er ist gerade der, der einen neuen Märchenkatalog erstellen sollte. Akademie der Wissenschaft Göttingen hat ihm eine finanzielle Unterstutzung gegeben und er konnte dadurch eine enge Hilfsgruppe der Fachleute bilden.

Im AT-Katalog sind die mitteleuropäischen Märchen überwiegend behandelt. Die aussermitteleuropäischen sind weniger, und aussereuropäischen noch viel weniger. Der Katalog konnte noch keine wirkliche Überschau der internationalen Märchentypen zeigen. In den letzten 20–30 Jahren hat man in vielen Ländern Märchen gesammelt und auch Kataloge hergestellt. Diese erfreuliche Ergebnisse hat Prof. Uther in Göttingen wirksam benutzt. Die Märchenkataloge von den ostasiatischen, karibischen, afrikanischen, südpazifischen Ländern sind mitdabai. Das ist ein grosser Vorschritt vom neuen ATU-Katalog. Andererseits kann ich doch vermuten, dass die sprachliche Wand sehr gross gewesen sein musste.

Um konkret zu erzählen, nehme ich den Fall von China und Japan. In China hat man nach der Kulturrevolution unwahrscheinlich viele Materialien im ganzen Land gesammelt. Besonders in den Ländern der Minderheit. Aber sie sind noch Rohmaterialien und meistens noch nicht gedruckt. Noch nicht katalogisiert, nicht in die europäische Sprache übersetzt. Es ist klar, dass Prof. Uther solche Materialen nicht benutzen konnte.

In Japan hat man auch ca. 100,000 Versionen der verschiedenen Märchentypen gesammelt. Die sind in der 27 bändigen Gesamtsammlung gedruckt und ein Katalog ist auch dabei. Aber alles nur in japanischer Sprache. Das ist zuviel zu übersetzen. Prof. Uther benutzte diese Gesamtsammlung, aber nicht alles. Der japanische Katalog von Frau Hiroko Ikeda ist in englischer Sprache verfasst. Den konnte Prof. Uther gut benuten. Aber Ikeda-Katalog war schon im AT-Katalog.

Bei den aussereuropäischen Ländern muss es auch der Fall oder ähnlich sein. Prof. Uther hat im neuen Katalog sehr sorgfältig allemögliche Kataloge und Materialsammlungen von aussermitteleuropäischen und aussereuropäischen Ländern erwähnt. In dem Sinne könnte der neue ATU-Katalog einen Weg zum wirklich internationalen Märchenkatalog eröffnen.

Nämlich, ich würde gerne folgendermassen vorschlagen und selbst tun. Wenn man im ATU-Katalog einen Typus findet, der in seinem Land existiert und doch im ATU-Katalog nicht erwähnt oder zu wenig erwähnt ist, dann sollte man dessen Materialien zum Prof. Uther zuschicken. Meinetwegen zum Beispiel sind zu ziemlich vielen Typen japanische Varianten unter dem Zeichen "Inada/Ozawa 1977ff." erwähnt. Jedoch von der japanischen Seite gesehen, sind zu den noch mehren Typen die japanischen Varianten zu erwähnen. Ich bin sicher, dass es für chinesische und koreanische Märchen auch der Fall ist.

Wenn die Forscher der sprachlich entfernten Ländern eine solche Ergänzung machen, wird der neue Katalog einen breiten Weg zum wirklich internationalen Märchenkatalog bauen.

Meines Erachtens zur solchen weiteren Zusammenarbeit ist der neue ATU-Katalog gut geeignet. Zum Beispiel so formuliert der neue ATU-Katalog Nr. 1316 "Mistaking One Animal for Another" statt "Rabbit Thought to be a Cow" im AT-Katalog. Wenn der Typus so formuliert ist, können die Varianten mit der gleichen Struktur,wenn auch ohne Rabbit oder Cow, darunter kommen. Das ist ein grosses Verdienst von Prof. Uther, dass er die Struktur zur Klassifikation des Märchens einbezogen hat.

Zur vergleichenden Katalogisierung war die Typenangabe bei dem AT-Katalog zu steif. Zum Beispiel ist Nr. 403 "The Black and the White Bride" im AT-Katalog so angegeben: I. Cruel Stepmother. II. Kind and Unkind. (a) (b) (c) (d). III. The Prince as Lover. (a) (b) IV. The Substituted Bride. (a) (b) (c) (d). usw. Wenn ein Märchentypus so angegeben ist, ist es für die Forscher der aussereuropäischen Ländern schwierig, ihre eigenen Materialien zu diesem Kata-

log einzupassen. Im neuen ATU-Katalog sind dagegen die Typen viel lockerer angegeben. Dadurch werden die vergleichenden Katalogisierung für die aussereuropäischen Forscher viel leichter werden.

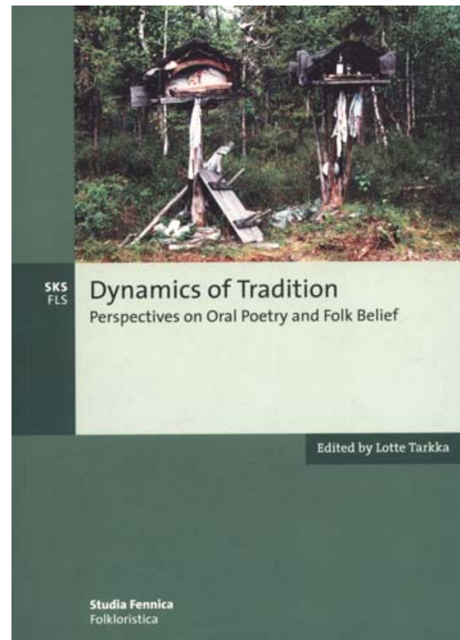
Die Angabe der Kombinationen machen sich auch für die Leser sehr nützlich. Man kann zwar ab und zu die Kombination der verschiedenen Typen finden. Aber so umfangreich kann man nicht immer finden. Wenn die Kombinationen so klar angegeben sind, könnte man auch in den aussereuropäischen Ländern andere Kombinationen finden.

Der neue ATU-Katalog könnte eine gute Weiterentwicklung vor sich haben und ein richtiger Ausgangspunkt zum wirklich weltweiten internationalen Märchenkatalog werden.

Toshio Ozawa
Tokyo

Dynamic career inspires sweeping look at tradition's many faces

Dynamics of Tradition: Perspectives on Oral Poetry and Folk Belief. Essays in Honor of Anna-Leena Siikala on her 60th Birthday 1st January 2003. Edited by Lotte Tarkka. (Studia Fennica Folkloristica 13.) Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003. 390 pp.



It is always encouraging to read a volume of scholarship which demonstrates how studies of traditional cultures (folkloristics, ethnology, religious studies and anthropology) provide important insights into current issues of global concern. This ambitious volume, produced under the energetic and meticulous editorship of folklorist Lotte Tarkka, is worthy of the scholar it honors, Professor Anna-Leena Siikala. Inspired by Siikala's wide-ranging career, the volume includes contributions from scholars working in eight countries and four disciplines, and its articles and essays deal in a sophisticated and pluralistic manner with issues related to the narrative organization and expression of culture, as well as the dialectic tensions between individual and society. Many of its authors, moreover, explore how identities are created within nations, societies, and groups. In reviewing a volume of this size (24 contributions plus introduction), it has not been possible to discuss each article at length. The resulting overview limits itself to attempting to convey to the reader a sense of the scope and significance of the issues with which this volume engages.

The volume is introduced by an overview of Siikala's rich and accomplished career, written by Satu Apo. Author of *Mythic Images and Shamanism: A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry* (FFC 280, 2002) and recently an Academy Professor at the Academy of Finland, Anna-Leena Siikala is chief editor of the *Folklore Fellows' Communications* series and the *Encyclopedia of Uralic Mythologies*, and was the first woman ever to be chosen president of the Finnish Literature Society. Siikala has conducted fieldwork not only in Finland but also in the Cook Islands, and in Russia among the Udmurt, Komi, Khanty and Karelian peoples.

The book is divided into five thematic sections. In the first section, "Nation, History and Oral Tradition", authors take up questions regarding (a) how dimensions of power and domination (both political and social) affect tradition, culture, and knowledge (e.g. Ó Giolláin, J. Siikala), (b) the consumption of national and local traditions (e.g. Ó Giolláin, P. Anttonen), and (c) the political effects of transforming oral traditions into literature and literary collections through textualization (e.g. J. Siikala, P. Anttonen). Jukka Siikala's article on Polynesian and Pacific Islander subjectivities which have been colonized by anthropologists highlights as interesting sources the texts written down by the "natives" themselves, and takes a closer look at the ways in which encounters with "others" produce images of the self, as well as how processes of decontextualization and recontextualization are intricately bound up with power relations. Siikala argues that folklore represents one of the few avenues available to researchers for understanding those who are subject to neocolonial structures today. At the same time, he suggests that the

textualization of oral traditions in this region served not only as a means of "othering" but also as a common ground for dialogue between Western colonialist intellectuals and Polynesians. It has also provided a basis for creating images and concepts of a shared, durable culture among present-day indigenous groups.

Diarmuid Ó Giolláin's contribution looks at the notions of culture, tradition, and modernity within the history of folkloristics. He examines the role of folklore studies in stressing a dichotomy between tradition and modernity, and the knowledge and culture claims which make them distinct. According to Ó Giolláin, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the polarities between the discursive categories of "traditional" versus "modern" made it impossible to see transformations and hybrids as cultural forms worthy of attention. Traditional society could not directly engage with the modern world, but had to be incorporated into it as the subaltern. Now, when it is no longer possible to fall back on grand historical narratives or appeal to a supreme, unifying viewpoint, we can speak of the end of modernity, which according to Ó Giolláin has meant two primary trends affecting local cultures and traditions. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, folk culture was in the process of being transformed, converted and made useful for the aims of *national culture*. Since the second half of the 20th century, however, conversion has taken the form of commercializing tradition for consumers, making it popular in the sense of "mass" consumption, in which the form, but not necessarily the meaning, of local traditions are considered desirable and marketable. At the same time, popular traditions are nevertheless being elevated to a new status now that the notion of a unitary modern knowledge no longer holds sway. In the context of globalization, all human knowledge is redefined as fitting within a universally valid framework.

The article by Pertti Anttonen explores the ways in which the Finnish nation can be seen to be founded on a myth of ethnic homogeneity and ethnic solidarity, especially linguistic singularity, a myth which continues today. His article, which carefully traces out historical and ideological origins of the notion of "Finnishness", also explores the exclusion of non-Finnish linguistic groups (notably Swedish-speakers) from most scholarly accounts of the birth of the Finnish nation. Drawing upon scholarship by Finnish historians, Anttonen shows that Swedish-speaking Finns contributed more to the history of Finnish nation-building than is generally acknowledged in the story of the nation's rise from obscurity. From the Swedish era, the new Finnish state inherited structures of law, administration, the judicial system, the Lutheran faith, and educational traditions. The cultural and historical influences which have been emphasized in the construction of the notion of Finnishness have not, therefore, been self-evident, but have been carefully selected, and Finnish folklorists have played an important role in this process. Anttonen also examines how, despite its discourse on modernity as loss, Finnish ethnography has been committed to modernization as well as the spread of literacy and civilization, education and science. Because political maturity and modernity were seen as reliant on having a "history" which denoted both antiquity and progress, and a "periphery" over which the center had power of definition, Finnish-language folklore came to play the role of a "recovered" national history, and Karelians, among others, were attributed the symbolic role of the primitive Other.

The fourth contribution to the volume, "'People are Still Hungry for Kings' – Folklore and Oral History" by Jawaharlal Handoo urges the engagement of a real dialogue between folklore studies and oral history. For folklorists, oral histories should not be one more source for the study of history, but should signal the need for a paradigm shift from hegemonic to non-hegemonic discourses. In the last article in this section, Barbro Klein places the observations of a famous Jewish-Swedish ethnologist of the 1920s and 30s within the ideological, political and socio-cultural context of his time. In 1933, Ernst Klein carried out a truly eleventh-hour survey of Jewish peasant life and culture in Eastern and Central Europe. B. Klein asks penetrating questions about his attitudes, motives and the ways in which his ethnic and religious affiliations were viewed by colleagues. She demonstrates that heritage politics in the context of ethnology and museology is by no means a new phenomenon, and underscores the importance of asking questions about the identity of the ethnographer in the heritage-making carried out by, and going on around, him or her. B. Klein also points out that while there is today much interest in the Holocaust, this interest still tends to view the "lost" East European Jewry solely as victims, enveloped in trauma and nostalgia. Little attention is paid to the "differences" within Jewishness and there is a continuing lack of interest in studying the folk cultures of modern-day Jews in, for instance, Sweden's own backyard.

The contributions in the second section of the volume, "Fields of Folk Religion", start with I. N. Gemuev's excellent overview of Mansi ethnic religion, "Mansi Sacred Covers", which links ethnic folk belief to material folkways. In this article, Gemuev points out that prior to the ethnic reawakening of Northern peoples, much of the "traditional" culture had already vanished or had been altered in form and meaning; "but against the background of this general deterioration, native peoples preserve small

islands of stability that allow them to say, 'We are Mansi'" (p. 93). Among these islands of stability are material artifacts, especially those considered sacred. The article by Irina Il'ina and Oleg Ulyashev focuses on the Komi tradition of magic-working, and pays particular attention to the bodily experiences of Komi sorcerers (*tun*, *tediś*). Their study is highly relevant to the Finnish case because the Komi tradition of magic practice, like the Finnish one, survived until quite recently, and there appear to be many similarities between the two traditions, especially in the notions concerning the nature of the sorcerers' abilities.

Lauri Harvilahti's contribution: "Ethnocultural Substrates in Altay Shamanistic Folklore" is grounded in two fieldwork trips and pays careful attention to layers of poetic devices, meter, and imagery shared between archaic Altay epic poetry on the one hand and shamanistic songs and incantations on the other. In his article he also discusses the fascinating phenomenon of Burhanism: a unique religious movement which skilfully makes use of shamanistic and Buddhist features. In his "Localization Inside Globalized Societies – Perspectives on Recent Religious Developments in the North", Juha Pentikäinen addresses the important question of how to define and understand religion following the vast population displacements and mixings of the 20th century, and encourages readers to think more globally (in terms of population movements) and more broadly (in terms of actual human behavior) regarding religion.

These contributions are a testament to the the rich and meticulous ethnographic fieldwork being carried out in the Russian Federation today (e.g. Gemuev, Il'ina and Ulyashev), as well as the the fruitfulness of ambitious joint collaborations by Finnish-Russian research teams (Harvilahti, Pentikäinen). What is also highlighted in this section is a perspective according to which so-called survivals of lost cultures and lost cultural forms are not mere vestiges which index older archaisms in an unproblematic manner, but ones which raise important questions of their own, not least about cultural resilience, change, and mixings (Harvilahti, Pentikäinen). The "eleventh-hour" question is not merely whether such-and-such a phenomenon is, or is not, dying out. Valuable things do die out, but other valuable cultural forms may be born in their ashes (see also Klein).

In Section Three, "Mythological Imagination", Seppo Knuuttila is author of the first contribution, in which he discusses the ways in which myth influences our conception and experience of the present and thus of history. For instance, Knuuttila points out that the Kalevala's imagined communities as depicted and explained by Lönnrot look a lot like the kind of nation-state envisioned at that time for Finland's future: one which needed to struggle for existence and power, occupied a territory and had clearly defined borders. This perspective on the Kalevala reduces the relevance of old debates regarding whether Finland's older epic poetry should be interpreted historically or mythically, since all conceptualizations of history are inextricably bound up in myth from the outset. In his fascinating look at concepts of body, language, and the senses within Russian folk notions of religion, magic, and human development, Albert Baiburin explores, among other things, the different ways in which words were thought to affect reality: not only by being heard but also by being magically transferred in other ways, through "drinking" or swallowing them, for example. Mihály Hoppál's article "Signs and Symbols in Siberian Rock Art" reveals the fascinating windows provided by ancient rock art carvings into the symbolic thought, social communication and myths of the Neolithic and Bronze Age Siberian hunting groups, while Mehri Bagheri's "The Myth of the Fettered Dragon" explores revealing thematic links among Indo-European myths, focusing on the Iranian legend of Fredon and Azdahag, and comparing it (and other similar Iranian versions) to the Armenian legend of King Artavazd, the Norse legend of Loki in chains, and various Ancient Greek mythic tales featuring giants.

In this and the previous section, several contributions provide rich overviews of the social, religious, performative, behavioral and political aspects of Eurasian shamans and shamanism, which will not only interest the specialist but are also accessible to the lay person or student (e.g. Harvilahti, Pentikäinen, Hoppál).

The fourth section of the volume, "The Epic: Oral and Literary Tradition" discusses new directions and challenges in epic research. The contributions by DuBois, Foley, Honko and Apo in this section are all concerned with the multilayeredness of voices in written epics, and the linguistic, cultural, social and political contexts in which the expressions of these voices can be understood as meaningful. Fruitful comparisons are also made between two or more different epic traditions: in the case of the articles by DuBois and Honko, this comparative method is employed to discover something about the creation of epic and the interplay between its oral performance and textualization. In the case of Alieva, the comparative approach is taken to ponder the historical and cultural layers of imagery and myth that now appear in epic songs sung by a wide number of cultural and linguistic groups in the Caucasus. Two contributions (Honko, DuBois) introduce the notion of an epic which can be expanded or condensed to fit the demands of the peformance occasion or the performer's inclinations, in "long" or "short" formats, or in simple narrative mode versus modes embellished with decorative detail, side plots, or magic incantations.

Lauri Honko's contribution represents a careful exploration into three cases of epic textualization from oral performance to written codification. These three cases are: (1) Elias Lönnrot's Kalevala; (2) a 6,621-line Setu poem cycle which could follow one of two paths: "The Maiden's Death Song" or "The Great Wedding", composed and performed by Anne Vabarna for A. O. Väisänen in 1923; and (3) the Siri epic in the Tulu language performed by Gopala Naika in Tulunaadu, India (its performance in 1990 for a research team including Lauri Honko and Anneli Honko was 15,683 lines long). Honko's primary object of scrutiny is epic length. He offers a lucid discussion around the question: "what is a long epic?" and "what are the conditions conducive to the long epic?" An interesting point made in his article is that the length of written epics does not necessarily reflect the length of an epic performed orally in its natural context: "[e]mprical research on oral epics has shown that dictation may cut the length of a song by half, due to the inability of the singer to accommodate clumsy notation technique" (p. 194). Alla Alieva's article discussing the *Nart* epics explores the patterns underlying the broad diversity of Caucasian epic traditions among numerous ethnic and linguistic groups, while Tom DuBois' contribution explores what a closer study of the Finnish-Karelian *Lemminkäinen* songs can tell us about the Old Icelandic poems *Grógaldr* and *Fjölsvinnsmál*. Such a study offers new insights into oral traditional form and style because we know much more about the performance context of the *Lemminkäinen* songs than we do about that of the *Grógaldr* and *Fjölsvinnsmál* poems. Ultimately, it also suggests that the *Grógaldr* and *Fjölsvinnsmál* texts, once dismissed as "inauthentic", could be rehabilitated as texts worthy of study.

The contribution by John Miles Foley, titled "The Challenge of Translating Traditional Oral Epic", raises crucial questions about the difficulties of rendering epic texts in linguistic idioms other than those in which they were performed. The key challenge of this endeavor, according to Foley, is not only to translate the terms, concepts and poetic meter, but to translate the *implications* of the epic language used in performance. Here Foley refers to his now-famous theory of traditional referentiality, which is also utilized by other contributors in this section (e.g. Alieva, DuBois).

The fifth article in this section, authored by Satu Apo, takes a closer look at how the Finnish-Karelian epic, the Kalevala, was produced. Apo's analysis of Elias Lönnrot's voice in the Kalevala is important for research on other epics because – unlike in the case of most epics (Edda, Homeric epics) – we know quite a lot about the life and times of the person who supplied the voice of the narrator for the Finnish epic. Even in his own lifetime, Elias Lönnrot, its compiler, claimed that his ability to produce epic poetry could be compared to the skills of the oral singers from whom he had recorded his material, and this reputation as a "real epic singer" was perpetuated by certain folklorists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Apo problematizes this image by using both an internal analysis of the epic and situating Lönnrot's work within its social, cultural and political contexts. She shows that Lönnrot's handiwork in compiling the Kalevala carries the stamp of a highly educated, literate person influenced by the Western philosophical and political views of his day. The article by Vladimir Napolskikh discusses the epic titled "Song of the Udmurt Heroes", which was written by Russian historian and archeologist G. M. Khudyakov sometime after 1917, and which was a sensation when it was discovered in 1966 after the author's death. Prior to this, the Udmurt people had no lengthy epic, either oral nor written. Napolskikh examines the similarities between "Song of the Udmurt Heroes", which is 2,750 lines long, and other written epics such as the Finnish-Karelian *Kalevala* and the American *Song of Hiawatha* by H. W. Longfellow.

The final section of the volume, as its title "Cognition, Emotion, and Narration" suggests, deals with a broad area of human thought and communication. The section opens with Veikko Anttonen's article in which the author explores the logic of cultural thought behind sacred-making activities, and the "actions, events and intentions of cultural agents in specific contexts as they make distinctions between spaces, mark them for specific uses, create visible and invisible boundaries, and establish cultural conventions of behavior to deal with those boundaries" (p. 302–303). Many of these distinctions arise from anomalies already encountered by cognitive agents in their natural environment: archeological findings and toponyms show that perception of topographic anomalies such as marshes, islands, springs, lakes, bays, and mountains have been among the strategic tools for humans to set apart specific sites for ritual actions. Studies of the ritual uses of these topographic anomalies, for instance research into cross-cultural regularities in the selection of sacred sites, provide an important cognitive starting point for scholars of folklore studies and the ethnography of religion. The article by Pekka Hakamies, "The Cognitive Viewpoint in Proverb Studies", examines some applications of cognitive theory for paremiology, and what the study of proverbs, in turn, can contribute to current issues being debated in cognitive studies of language and folklore. Leea Virtanen's article on everyday beliefs argues convincingly that in order to be useful, everyday beliefs need not necessarily be true, but they do need to be social, in

other words, they need to be considered true by the group to which the speaker belongs. Such beliefs are used to motivate people to act, to provide a way of saying "no" when a better rationale is not available, and very importantly, to provide people, for example strangers or acquaintances, with conversational points upon which they can readily agree in order to open up communication. Taken together, the contributions by Hakamies and Virtanen offer answers to the question: What do linguistic "units" of cultural thought such as proverbs, dites, sayings and commonsense propositions tell us about the human mind, the ways in which humans think about and understand the world around them?

In the fourth article of this section, Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj takes a thoughtful look at emotion in narration, showing that laughter does not always express happiness or humour, nor is it always good to encourage the narrator to recollect his/her trauma. Her analysis further reveals that looking at the structure and tempo of narrative (repetition, words used, and paralinguistic devices such as pauses) can tell us something about how memory is experienced in narrative, even if no descriptions of emotion are explicitly given. In the final contribution to this volume, Timothy Tangherlini provides a clear and logical overview of folklore research on how narrators remember, and the interplay between crystallization and variation in narration. In order to explore the degree to which crystallization occurs in narratives, Tangherlini examines the case of a group of tradition participants associated not by village nor regional affiliation but rather by occupational affiliation: paramedics, whose job is "immersed in narrative" (p. 348). Tangherlini argues that in order to know why narratives take the form they do, it is important to understand how people remember and how they forget, and shows that even narratives dealing with real events can be highly crystallized.

This volume has much to recommend it to both students and specialists of folkloristics, ethnology, religious studies and anthropology. It celebrates not only the accomplishments of a highly influential scholar, but the achievements of tradition disciplines as a whole.

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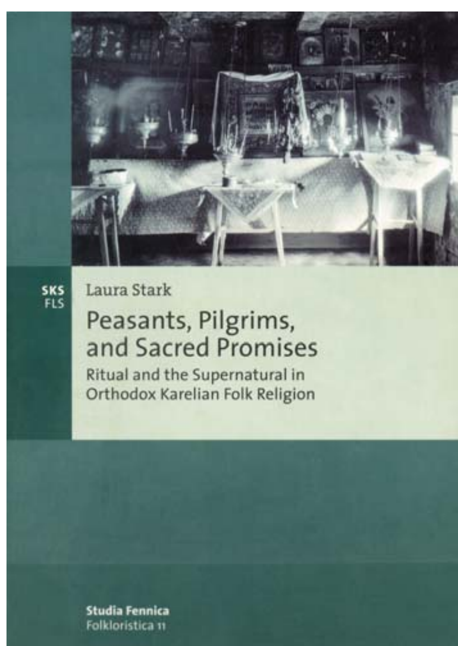

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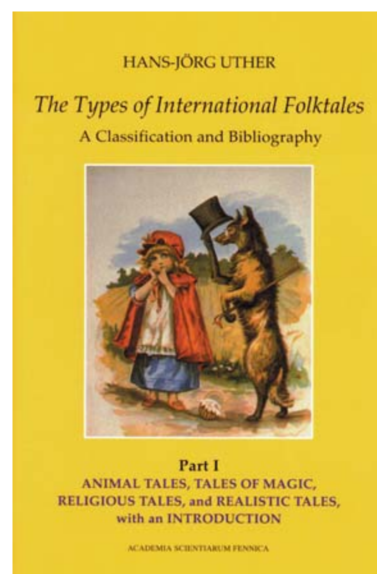
Laura Stark,
Peasants, Pilgrims, and Sacred Promises. Ritual and the Supernatural in Orthodox Karelian Folk Religion.
Studia Fennica Folkloristica 11. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2002. 229 pp. ISBN 951-746-366-9

Lying on the border between eastern and western Christendom, Orthodox Karelia preserved its unique religious culture into the 19th and 20th centuries, when it was described and recorded by Finnish and Karelian folklore collectors. This colorful array of rituals and beliefs involving nature spirits, saints, the dead, and pilgrimage to monasteries represented a unique fusion of official Church ritual and doctrine and pre-Christian ethnic folk beliefs. This book undertakes a fascinating exploration into many aspects of Orthodox Karelian ritual life: beliefs in supernatural forces, folk models of illness, body concepts, divination, holy icons, the role of the ritual specialist and healer, the divide between nature and culture, images of the forest, the cult of the dead, and the popular image of monasteries and holy hermits. It will appeal to anyone interested in popular religion, the cognitive study of religion, ritual studies, medical anthropology, and the folk traditions and symbolism of the Balto-Finnic peoples.

The Types of International Folktales is published

Hans-Jörg Uther,
The Types of International Folktales.
A Classification and Bibliography.
Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica 2004.



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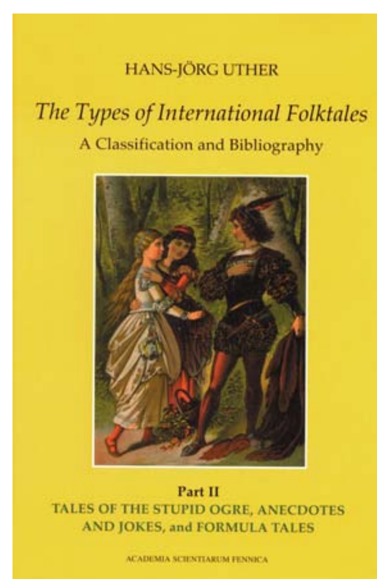
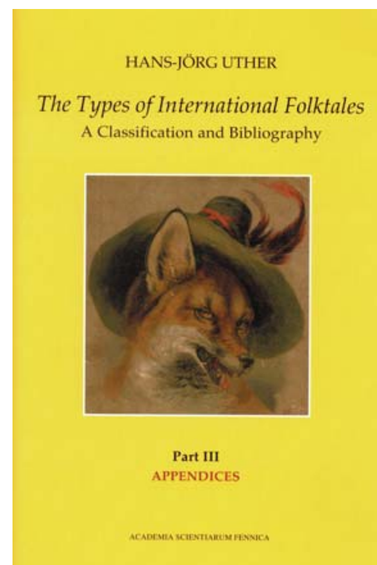


The Types of International Folktales (ATU) based on the system of Aarne / Thompson constitutes a fundamentally new edition with extensive additions and innovations. The descriptions of the tale types have been completely rewritten and made more precise. The essential research cited for each type includes extensive documentation of its international distribution as well as monographic works or articles on that type. More than two hundred and fifty new types have been added. Types with very limited distribution have been omitted. A detailed subject index includes the most important subjects, actions, and other motifs, including actors and settings.

The Types of International Folktales is a bibliographic tool that guides its users through the corpus of published traditional narratives of different ethnic groups and time periods, with a description of each type followed by references to catalogs, texts, and published research. Each "tale type" in all the traditional genres (fables, animal tales, religious legends, ordinary folktales, jests, and cumulative tales) must be understood to be flexible. It is not a constant unit of measure or a way to refer to lifeless material from the past. Instead it is adaptable, and can be integrated into new thematic compositions and media. The background for this model of narrative alteration and innovation is evident in a change of paradigm that took place in recent decades in historical-comparative folktale research, a change that has necessarily affected the nature of this new catalog. The catalog permits international tale types to be located quickly, thus providing a historical-comparative orientation toward folktale research for scholars in all disciplines that touch on popular narrative traditions.



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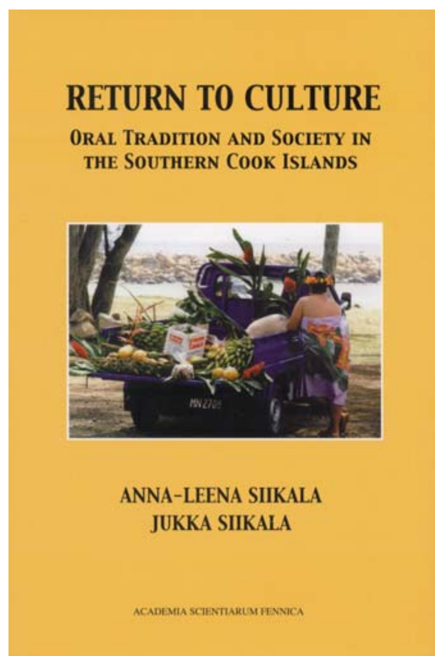

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FFC 287. Anna-Leena Siikala and Jukka Siikala,
Return to Culture. Oral Tradition and Society in the Southern Cook Islands.
Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica 2005. 327 pp.
ISBN 951-41- 0965-1 (hard), 0966-X (soft)

Hard, € 34 *Soft, € 29*

Theoretical discussions on culture and folklore have bifurcated into two major directions. Individualistic interpretations have emphasised performance and culture as being a product of individual strategic choices. Put in a wider social context culture has been reduced to hegemonic tradition in service of the interests of the elites. The analysis of Polynesian cultural practices in this volume reassesses the importance of theoretical understanding of culture which enables an analytic understanding of social action, political structure, narrative practices and thus the culturally constituted life-world of the people.

Pacific oral tradition is not a free-floating and easily circulating "folklore", but an integral part of social life with direct political consequences. It has not been detached from social life and therefore it is not easily interpretable without a thorough knowledge of the whole cultural system. By analysing a wide range of cultural materials this volume argues strongly for the notion of culture as ordering order which systematically determines the significance of differences.

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