

Folklore Fellows' NETWORK



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A history of folkloristics

Once upon a time
there was a genre

The Kalevala in the
Contexts of Regional
and Global Culture

Folklore Fellows' NETWORK

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Cover photo: Ella Odstedt (1892–1967) was one of the main collectors of folklore in Sweden. She was employed at the Institute of Dialect and Folklore Research (ULMA) in Uppsala, Sweden. In 1943 she presented a detailed study of werewolves and in 1953 her major study on Upper Dalecarlia folk costumes appeared. In 1955 she received an honorary doctorate at Uppsala University. Photo by courtesy of the Åbo Akademi University Library, Picture Collections.



Tradition—continuity—change

Folklore Fellows' Communications have been appearing for a century. The series has from the beginning been an internationally significant publication forum, and a means of maintaining contact between the leading researchers in the field, in a form which Kaarle Krohn and his international team of colleagues created. The series' authors and reviewers and the contributors to the *FF Network* form a focal network of international folkloristics. Lauri Honko long worked as editor-in-chief and left his mark on the series. After his sudden departure Anna-Leena Siikala became editor-in-chief in 2002, and during the eight years of her editorship around twenty publications have appeared. Anna-Leena Siikala in turn has, for health reason, had to give up her work from the end of 2009, and from the beginning of 2010 the professor of folkloristics at Turku University, Pekka Hakamies, has been responsible for the FFC series. Changes to the series have generally been small-scale and slow, and changes in the editor-in-chief have not signified sudden changes of direction in the publication policy, nor are any such changes under way at present.

Despite the conservative publication policy, it is natural that new currents in folkloristics have also appeared before long in the most significant publication series in the field. Nonetheless, there exists a long line of studies which have been scarcely affected by paradigmatic changes. One of the most long-lasting parts of the FFC series is represented by type and motif indexes, the classic example of which is the folktale type index established by Antti Aarne, whose latest, extended version by Hans-Jörg Uther appeared in 2004—and which is already sold out. There are also type indexes of national folktale traditions, of belief legends and of proverbs. Type indexes are demanding to produce, though not in the same theoretically challenging way as monographs. Type indexes are based on precise analysis of the materials, and they are evidently needed, since they usually sell well.

The general publication profile of the series has been made clear on the home webpage: 'FF Communications is a refereed monograph series in the following fields of research: folkloristics, comparative religion, cultural anthropology and ethnology. It focuses on the non-material aspects of traditional culture, especially oral literature, belief systems, myth and ritual, methodology and the history of research.' Characteristic of the series are researches into individual phenomena and groups of phenomena, based on rich empirical materials. Theoretical and methodological investigations have also been

published, with themes such as the ethics of research, or research into epics and epic traditions. The publication profile as defined also offers opportunities for example for works relating to the culture of customs, but actual research into material objects belongs to other forums. Research history has gradually become one of the profiles of the series.

Monographs are typical publications in the FFC series, but collections of articles of a thematically coherent nature and of high quality have also appeared, either by one author or by a group of contributors. Article collections have appeared for example in the field of research ethics. Already during the time of previous editors the practice had developed of not publishing actual dissertations. Instead, it is possible to publish a monograph developed out of a high-quality dissertation.

Published research has been very much on traditional folkloristics. The world has changed, and many folklorists today research narration, such as life stories, personal narratives, and oral history, which form a crossroads and meeting point of different perspectives of various fields of research. The theoretical and conceptual influence of cultural anthropology has gradually become more significant, particularly in contextual research, and field work has emphasised the importance of ethnographic research in the production of materials. FFC has not been a forum for cultural studies type research. Its foundation stone is still research into oral folklore, but it is possible to publish folkloristics studies which investigate modern narratives of a different sort, if they fulfil FFC's basic principles and characteristics, which is to say a solidly empirical composition married to a clearly expressed theoretical position and an adequate set of concepts.

A publication series which remains faithful to its traditions must above all be bold in following developments in its own scientific fields and in the techniques of publication. The development of the digitisation of materials presents the opportunity to add even very extensive corpora of materials, for example in the form of a DVD, to hard-covered publications, or alternatively the material might be accessible on the Folklore Fellows' website. It is possible too that the *FF Network* will not in the future appear in paper form for all subscribers, but rather move over in part to become an internet publication. These are all possible in due course, and the pros and cons need considering before they are put into practice. Until then the *FF Network* will arrive for readers in the traditional printed form as it does at present. ■

Introduction

In 2004 the National Agency for Higher Education evaluated the discipline of ethnology in Sweden. The starting point was to define what 'ethnology' is.¹ The group of evaluators stated: 'For instance, the role that people give the past in contemporary time is an important field [of ethnological studies].'²

Today, most folklorists are not interested in the original form or ways of diffusion of a piece of folklore. Those are fields of research which once made up the study of folklore. Neither are historical legends in the classical understanding of the concept a popular theme, at least not in the Nordic countries. On the contrary, history generally being popular today, folklorists are keen on investigating how people regard and comment on their own history. Nostalgia, cultural heritage and memories are hot stuff, as are personal-experience narratives, just to mention some examples of how folklorists handle their field of research in historical matters. Moreover, with the boom in the theories and methods of oral history research many a folklorist saw new opportunities to study archived and contemporary material and to reveal an alternative history. The problem of how to interpret people's memories of bygone events put into words is central.

How do folklorists view the history of their discipline? Certainly, there are several articles and books about the history of folkloristics, for instance Giuseppe Cocchiara's classic work from 1981, or Regina Bendix's book about authenticity from 1997, both on an advanced level. Cocchiara's book is a survey of folklore studies in relationship to philosophy and other disciplines within culture matters, whereas Bendix's study concentrates on the concept of authenticity and its meanings to students of folklore through time. But what is the image of the history of folkloristics that folklorists give newcomers in the field? What image does a freshman get from the introductory works he or she should see as the way in to folklore studies? I have picked a dozen works used in universities as introductions to the field.

A dozen descriptions—one history?

In this paper the oldest introduction to folkloristics is *Perinteentutkimuksen perusteita* from 1980, edited by Outi Lehtipuro. Her introduction concerns partly the history of folklore studies, and consists partly of abstracts of the other articles in the book. In her introduction national Finnish folklore investigation is central. She concentrates on the historic-geographical method. She both criticises it and describes changes in it from a discipline founded in evolutionism, via ideas of diffusion to being a system for classificatory purposes. She also gives hints on other ways of conducting folklore research.

Suomalainen kansanperinne by Leea Virtanen was published in 1988. It is structured around folklore as a field of research, field work as a process, Finland as a country in which several cultures can be found, changes in the Finnish society, feasts in life and holidays as well as genre-centred articles on song, speech, belief and post-agrarian folklore. In her introduction to Finnish folklore studies she gives the collectors of folklore quite a lot of attention. She starts her history in the sixteenth century, but concentrates on the institution *par excellence* for the collecting of folklore, i.e. the Finnish Literature Society founded in 1831. This focus differs from other descriptions, that mainly concentrate on the scholarly analysis of folklore material.

In 1988 Rolf W. Brednich edited and published *Grundriss der Volkskunde. Einführung in die Forschungsfelder der Europäischen Ethnologie*. It is worth mentioning that 'Volkskunde' means both material and mental folk culture. Therefore, there are articles about clothing or food, as well as on social groups and 'classical' folklore issues, such as folk religion, narrating, folk medicine, or folk theatre.

The German introductions to folklore here analysed are less international than are the American or Nordic ones. In Brednich's book, three German researchers give their contributions to research history with a long historical perspective. By his discourse analysis Andreas Hartmann (1988: 9–30) takes his reader beyond the 'general' folklore starting point with the Grimm Brothers. He brings to mind the very background of the interest in folk culture at large, long before the discipline of 'Volkskunde' started and even before the concepts of 'Volksdichtung', 'folklore' or the like were

1 In Sweden the discipline of ethnology comprises both ethnology and folkloristics. Representatives of both disciplines participated in the group of evaluators.

2 *Utvärdering av grund- och forskarutbildning i etnologi vid svenska universitet och högskolor* 2004: 21.



(Left) Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859) and (middle) Jakob Grimm (1785–1863), photos by courtesy of the Åbo Akademi University Library, Picture Collections. (Right) Julius Krohn (1835–88), photo by courtesy of the Finnish Literature Society, Literary Archives.

current. Hartmann reminds his reader of the interest in cameralistics, statistics, history, regional geographical and economical information, and general systematic efforts made in order to meet the demands for basic material for societal improvements required during the Enlightenment. Certainly, in the German historical descriptions of ‘Volkskunde’, W. H. Riehl must be mentioned. Although German ‘Volkskunde’ internationally and generally is seen as a forerunner of modern folkloristics through the Grimm Brothers and although early German studies therefore must be regarded as central in European history of folklore, Riehl is hardly mentioned outside his own country.

Kai Detlev Sievers specialises in the nineteenth century in Brednich’s introduction (Sievers 1988: 31–50). Like Hartmann, he looks for recurring and dominating ideas in society as a basis for folklore studies in the way they were conducted at that time. However, more than Hartmann, he concentrates on specific scholars and their publications. He finds two relevant aspects. Firstly, he mentions reason, pragmatism and contemporary needs as a basis for ‘Volkskunde’ studies. This aspect is, of course, influenced by the Enlightenment and hortations to create a better society. Secondly, Sievers points at a new way of thinking, in terms of a national ‘Volksgeist’, rooted in history and without any interest in contemporary society and its needs. Like Hartmann, Sievers refers to cameralistics and statistics, and he also points out how the two were a precondition for ques-

tionnaires later to become so central in folklore studies. He, too, points to the meaning of the then dominant interest in geography and topography, now in the form of travelogues. In this article Herder’s role is more underlined than in the rest of my material; he certainly is one of the most important representatives of Siever’s second aspect of the background for folklore studies. Concepts such as ‘Volksgeist’ and ‘Deutschtum’ are introduced and it is easy to follow how ‘Volkskunde’ started to receive a new content as a supporter of a political idea in the creation of a German profile against France, the arch-enemy of the Germans. As a matter of fact in the beginning and middle of the twentieth century such ideas grew to devastating proportions.

This problem is handled in a third article in Brednich’s introduction, namely by Utz Jeggle in ‘Volkskunde im 20. Jahrhundert’ (1988: 51–71). The deep wound in modern German history, Nazism, is made Jeggle’s central point. He explains how the nineteenth-century ‘Volkskunde’ grew into a university discipline with ideas and methods completely rejecting former scholarly ethics and rules of research behaviour. It turned out to be difficult for German ‘Volkskunde’ to regain its scholarly position after the Second World War, because of the dark shadow lying over the discipline since the 1930s and 1940s.

In 1994 in the University of Oslo, a compendium of reprinted folklore texts was published under the title *Folkloristikk Grunnfag Kompendium*. Some twenty ar-

ticles concerning both trends in folklore research and different folklore genres make up the content of this introductory presentation. Bengt Holbek's article demonstrates his grand grasp of folklore studies. Not only does he mention the founding fathers of international and national folklore studies, such as Perrault, Grimm, Krohn and Naumann, or Thiele (Denmark), Hyltén-Cavallius (Sweden) and Berge (Norway). He also looks into the research histories of different genres of folklore and traces various methods and theories for folkloristics. This broad article is informative for both young and experienced students because of Holbek's way of combining many different aspects. He does not merely describe history in a chronological way, genre by genre, but looks upon folkloristics from a general overall perspective, taking into account also the influence from other disciplines.

In her article from 1994 Outi Lehtipuro describes trends in Nordic folkloristics. In this case she has an international perspective. She pinpoints diversity, demonstrating how researchers in different Nordic countries concentrated on different folklore genres and topics and even how they stuck to different methods. However, she finds common prerequisites for a Nordic folklore history in the common interest in folk poetry, in the inspiration from philology and the history of religion, and in the search for cultural regions and in cartography. She also points out the influence of anthropological research.

Robert A. Georges's and Michael Owen Jones's *Folkloristics. An Introduction* appeared in 1995. This book is arranged along four main lines: folklore as historical artefact, as a describable and transmissible entity, as culture and as behaviour. Historical matters appear in various chapters of the book. Here the historical perspective is very long. For instance, the book refers to antiquity and Chinese poetry from around 550 BC. The perspective is international, starting in Europe and the Orient and ending up in the USA. Medieval folklore is well represented in literature and drama. The authors emphasise that there was folklore and an interest in folklore long before the concept of folklore was invented by W. J. Thoms. These authors also draw attention to general European philosophers' ideas about a mechanistic versus an organic world view as an explanation for the rising interest in folklore. Finally, they land upon writings about nationalism, comparison, the Indo-European hypothesis and evolutionism. But, unlike their European colleagues, they now lead their reader onto other paths by introducing anthropological theories and giving them a much more central position in their introduction than the other works analysed here.

In the 1960s Jan Harold Brunvand published his *The Study of American Folklore. An Introduction*, which was re-edited many times and published again in 1998. This book is divided into three parts about 'oral folklore',



Mary Alice Owen (1850–1935) was one of the most important women folklorists, concerned with Native American, African-American, and Gypsy culture. Her special field of interest was voodoo. Photo in Georges & Jones 1995: 1.

'customary folklore' and 'material folk traditions' each of which contains articles about genres, customs or material folk culture.

Brunvand's *The Study of American Folklore* describes the history of folklore studies in a systematic way. The book is structured along genres and themes and history is connected in a proper way in all chapters. The leading idea of organising his material is built along theories used in folkloristics. The historical perspective is quite short, starting with the beginning of the British Folklore Society in 1878 and the parallel organisation in the USA, the American Folklore Society, established in 1888, and the *Journal of American Folklore*. W. J. Thoms's role as the inventor of the concept of folklore is mentioned. It is easy for the reader to follow the author. In this book it is interesting to note how he gives the tradition-bearers a central role. Therefore, to him, the 'folk' is central as an object of analysis over time, and therefore, too, anthropology and anthropological ways of handling oral and other folk material come to the fore. Unlike in European countries, the entity of peasants is not enough when Brunvand tries to explain the concept of 'folk', but also other groups, such as age groups, occupational groups or gender-differentiated groups are mentioned. Eurocentric thinking, somewhat characteristic for folklore introductions from Europe, fades away. The historic-geographic method is but one method mentioned among a lot of other ways of studying folklore. In this book folklore studies are partly strictly limited to the study of folklore, partly, however, widely tied to general culture theories and methods from many neighbouring disciplines.

Some ten years later the Swedish folklorist Alf

Arvidsson published his introduction called *Folklorens former*. He divided his topics according to how people behave when they use folklore. Therefore there are chapters on narrating, speaking, making sounds, moving, role taking, reproducing and re-using folklore. The book ends with some chapters on folklore methodology. Arvidsson gives hardly ten pages to research history, but he fills them well with the names of important seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars as well as with theories and methods from, mainly, international and Swedish folklore studies. It is his intention to make students acquainted with the currents of folklore studies both at home and abroad.

In 2006 Anne Eriksen and Torunn Selberg published an introduction called *Tradisjon og fortelling. En innføring i folkloristikk*. It starts with and concentrates on Norwegian folklore studies, but it also opens up to consider international currents. The outline is systematic. In this introduction it is made very clear that folklore studies were subject to great changes over time. The so-called shift of paradigm is the hub around which the authors build their description, from a discipline especially concentrated on peasants and their oral culture to today's popular culture in all its different and various forms.

The American James R. Dow published his *German Folklore. A Handbook* in 2006. This book consists of five chapters, including an introduction. They are called 'Definitions and Classification', 'Examples and Texts',

'Scholarship and Approaches', and 'Contexts'. It is interesting to draw attention to Dow's description of German folklore in comparison to the three initial articles in Brednich's introduction. Dow looks for overarching concepts and he finds continuity versus antiquity, peasant culture and an interest in language as the best ways of defining how the beginnings of German 'Volkskunde' can be explained. To those he adds nation, i.e. the German nation, language and race as prerequisites for the kind of 'Volkskunde' pursued in Germany until after the Second World War. He points out the imagined common Indo-European roots. He maintains that it was a kind of empowerment to collect and bring their poetry back to the folk. This empowerment was a way of national romantic thinking. According to him, Naumann was important for dissociating himself from the national romantic folkloristics at the beginning of the twentieth century. All the time, Dow also takes into consideration influential international folklore studies from outside the German-speaking regions. The Nazi period's ways of making use of 'Volkskunde' are the focus of a great deal of Dow's interest. He informatively tells us in what ways 'Volkskunde' was exploited and changed to fit the state ideals. What happened with German 'Volkskunde' after the war is explained both in relation to the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Dow's article is meant for non-Germans. Therefore, unlike the above-mentioned article by Jeggle, it is rather a description than a standpoint.

(Left) Erla Lund-Hovilainen (Husgafvel) (1906–84) was a diligent collector of folk beliefs, customs, and songs as well as of children's games and rhymes. Her field of activity was the Swedish parts of Finland. Photo by courtesy of Åbo Akademi University Library, Picture Collections.



(Right) Alfild Forslin (1904–91) was a specialist in folk music and folk songs. Her collections from the Swedish regions of Finland are remarkable and her scholarly publications numerous. Photo by courtesy of Åbo Akademi University, Folklore Archive (IF bnr 1984/10).





Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio (1901–51) became known primarily as a researcher in traditions of play and methods of performing Kalevalaic poetry, as well as being a pioneer of Finnish feminist research. In addition, she belonged, along with her husband, the folklorist and poet Martti Haavio, to the progressive writers' circle 'Tulenkantajat' (Fire-bearers). Picture: summer 1937, Pipola (Karjalohja). Photo by courtesy of the Finnish Literature Society, Literary Archives.

The image of folkloristics

My material is too small to draw general conclusions. However, it still allows me to make some observations.³ How do folklorists regard their own research history? How do they present it? It is difficult to compare these descriptions of the history of folkloristics. The texts do not have a common structure, the authors do not agree on when or where to start seeing cultural phenomena as folklore or scholarly works as folkloristics. They do not have a united image of what belongs to the discipline they want to demonstrate. Perhaps this is an indication that the history of folkloristics is young, or, perhaps more correctly put, that the history of folkloristics has not yet been dealt with to such an extent that we have a more or less formalised narrative to which folklorists are ready to refer. Only some scattered core events are recurrent. Internationally important folklorists are certainly mentioned in many of the texts. The Grimm Brothers, W. J. Thoms and, to some extent, Elias Lönnrot and his Kalevala are good examples. However, the founding fathers of folkloristics carry different names in different countries. To some extent, general philosophical ideas are mentioned as a background for and

³ In my investigation into how these twelve introductory works present the history of folklore studies I try to limit my interest to the concept of folklore in the Nordic sense. This means that I will avoid paying attention to descriptions of material culture, and I will concentrate on what the authors write about the research history of mental folk culture.

an influential factor on folklore studies. National political currents and their relationship to folklore are also mentioned in the history of folkloristics. However, due to the fact that scholars tend to regard folkloristics as a national discipline, the descriptions of its history often concentrate on national matters, and moreover, on matters picked from the established image—or variant—of folkloristics. As in political history, where the official report is the text of the winner, the historical account of folklore studies is the text about the established forms of folklore research. Folklore scholarship based on texts is presented, often as *The Way of conducting folkloristics*, be the texts written folklore recordings of some kind, or texts such as statistical or cameralistic information, travelogues or fiction and drama. To some extent the collecting of folklore is mentioned, and as an effect, also archives and catalogues as tools for folklore studies are mentioned. As a counterpart to this text-centred historiography the anthropological way of presenting folklore studies offers another perspective. It stems mainly from American descriptions.

In several of the books folklore is regarded as an isolated cultural phenomenon: folkloristics in the way it was conducted in the past was a pure national venture without much influence from other countries, or surrounding society. Certainly this is a pedagogically functional way of introducing new students to the field. The counterpart to this way of presenting the history of folklore studies is to mirror it towards other trends

in contemporary scholarly traditions. Influence from language and language history and, in extension, from the interest in India and Indo-Europeanism on the one hand, and dialects on the other are good examples of how general trends in European scholarship can also be traced in folklore studies, not to mention the general history of ideas, that greatly influenced the way in which one could regard folklore. One of the most important functions of folklore and one of the most influential ways of utilising folklore was in politics. The role of folklore in nation-building and nation-destruction demonstrates how folklore had an impact on world history in both positive and negative respects, sometimes even to such an extent that the entire discipline was put in question. This field of research comes to the fore mainly in the German articles.

Some descriptions—mostly the German ones—take the reader far back, explaining in detail whence folklorists got their inspiration. Others, mainly the American introductions, contain a lot of widely ramified anthropological thinking because of demographical and political-historical circumstances. The Nordic histories are a combination of these two perspectives.

However, I ask myself: Is there an alternative history of folkloristics? Would it be possible to utilise other material and/or other perspectives to construct a different history of folkloristics? Was folkloristics really that monolithic from the Grimms via Thoms and the Krohns with or without anthropological perspectives to the studies of today's popular culture? Is it necessary to regard folkloristics from the point of view of the folklore establishment? Here and there in my material appear some alternative opportunities. For instance, one could build a research history 'from beneath', from the various meanings of the concept of 'folk' and consider the collecting of folklore 'from within', from the perspective of the collectors before their material was analysed in a scholarly manner. Or, why not concentrate on the role of women in folklore scholarship? They have their faces and they have their names, but they are hardly ever mentioned in the grand history of folklore research. Folklore studies are characterised by a perspective from beneath and from within. This perspective should not be forgotten in the construction called folklore research history. ■

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One question with respect to the history of folklore which has been partly, but perhaps never fully, answered is why the interest in documenting folk tales lasted for such a short period. In Sweden in the 1840s a number of enthusiasts began to record folk tales in a serious manner from the mouths of living informants. In the 1920s Waldemar Liungman made a country-wide appeal in the local press in order to try to document hitherto unknown types of Swedish folk tales. According to Jan-Öjvind Swahn the oral rendition of folk tales was even then dying out (Swahn 1993: 248). To understand why the interest in folk tales was so short-lived we need to ask a number of follow-up questions. Who were those individuals who showed interest in folk tales? Why did they need tales? What was it which made the tales unnecessary?

These questions are not new ones. Specialist folklorists and historians of ideas have already dealt with them. Hence this article consists to a great extent of the results of the research of others. I would first like to devote some attention to the way in which the cultural concept of a folk tale was developed from an abstract idea to a finished creation. Then I will trace what happened when this finished creation, which, it turns out, proved to be very much a product of the writing desk, was confronted with the reality it was assumed to be a part of. The discussion prompts a nagging suspicion in my mind: what if the ideal folk tale had never existed in an oral tradition, but solely in printed and edited form?

Herder's popular spirit

Let us begin this account with the philosopher Johannes Herder at the end of the eighteenth century coming up with the idea that various ethnic groups' cultural inheritances could be regarded as the expression of a common popular spirit (*Geist des Volkes*). Herder attempted to demonstrate the existence of such a popular spirit with examples from the realm of folk songs. Other interested parties discovered that the concept could be applied in order to create an ideological basis for the building and strengthening of nation states. The writers Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano documented folk songs in the same manner as Herder, and it was also to assist with this that Brentano employed the young law students, the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm when they met each other in Marburg in 1803 (Uther 2008: 486).

The Brothers Grimm eventually contributed around fifty recorded items to Arnim and Brentano's work on the song collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. Very quickly the Brothers' interest turned from folk songs to the epic folk tradition. There are several things which might explain this. Presumably they were influenced by the French collections of tales popular at the time, as well as the Arabian *Thousand and One Nights*, which was translated into European languages at the beginning of the eighteenth century and the Scot James Macpherson's nationalist epic *The Poems of Ossian* (1765). Perhaps in addition they were curious and ambitious and wished to venture into an area which nobody had delved into previously.

Mother Goose and Ossian

At the end of the seventeenth century the French lawyer Charles Perrault published nine folk tales (*Contes de ma mère d'Oye*, 1696–7) which he had himself adapted for the consumption of his grandchildren. In Perrault's form the tales became examples of popular morals and ethics. Here we find such familiar tales as 'Puss in Boots', as well as 'Cinderella', 'Sleeping Beauty', 'Little Red Riding Hood', 'Thumbelina' and 'Beauty and the Beast'. These tales were hardly the product of active collection on Perrault's part. Presumably they were quite simply stories he had heard himself on various occasions. To a certain extent we can say that Perrault anticipated in two ways the ideas which Jean-Jacques Rousseau was to proclaim at a later stage. The folk tale seen as an expression of the authentic, unspoiled life of the people is reminiscent of Rousseau's idea that man is by nature good, but is ruined by society. Perrault's conscious adaptation of the tales with a didactic aim in mind, finds a parallel in Rousseau's thoughts on how children should be equipped to develop according to their natural predispositions.

The Scot, James Macpherson, linked the concept of the national with that of a specific national folk poetry. Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian* claimed to consist of translations of the Celtic bard Ossian's heroic poems from the third century AD. And despite the fact that it soon came to light that *Poems of Ossian* was a literary work by Macpherson himself, the work came to spark off a national romantic interest in collecting folk songs, folk tales and legends, precisely because folklore was taken to be a manifestation of a type of national community with a popular base.

The Brothers Grimm create the form of the fairy tale

The brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm linked together Charles Perrault's view of the popular tale with Macpherson's vision of a popular literature tinged with nationalism.

Preceding the seven printed editions of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* from 1812 until the last edition in 1857, there exists a first incomplete, handwritten manuscript from 1810. Hence it is possible to trace how the Brothers Grimm adapted and altered the tales in stages. It is not simply a question of alterations being made between the first manuscript and the first edition, but in fact they were made continuously from the second to the seventh edition. (Rölleke 1975; Kamenetsky 1992: 41; Bauman & Briggs 2003: 208, 212.)

The final seventh edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, which the Brothers themselves edited and which appeared in 1857 contained 201 tales, numbered 1–200 (two bore the number 151). Of these, no more than 20 can be said with any certainty to originate directly from the oral tradition without having taken various written routes (Uther 2008: 487–8; Stedje 1993: 170).

In spite of the low proportion of contributions from oral sources, the Brothers are careful to stress the popular origin of the tales. The idea of folklore as an expression of a common folk psyche depends of course very heavily on the premise of an authentic popular base. On the other hand it was not essential for the material written down to have been derived from living storytellers. There seems to have existed the concept that traces of what was originally oral material would become apparent once more, even in printed texts. This is one of the assumptions which form the intellectual basis for the Brothers Grimm being able to carry out what appear to be extensive editing of the texts of the tales and at the same time preserve their oral and traditional nature. The other is that the ancient oral traditions existed chiefly in the form of fragments which had to be pieced together by specialist researchers for them to be at all comprehensible (Uther 2008: 505; cf. Bauman & Briggs 2003: 213). By their acceptance of the devolutionary premise that the then current folklore was fragmented, the Brothers were able to give an assurance that they were creating longer, coherent tales out of shorter stories and isolated episodes which they interpreted as being fragments of originally longer texts (Bauman & Briggs 2003: 208–14). This implies that among their stories there are to be found pure figments of invention which as far as is known had never existed previously.

A further element in the work of reconstruction was to make the plot of the tales clear and easy to follow. In the process of editing the Brothers therefore accentuated the straightforward, linear structure of the popular tales. This is well known as one of the stylistic features



One of the oral sources of Brothers Grimm was the almost 60-year-old Dorothea Viehmann (1755–1815). She came from a French Huguenot family and as a matter of course she was also able to pass on French tales, particularly those of Perrault. She features with 15 tales in the second edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of 1815. The drawing was done by the lesser-known brother, Ludwig Emil Grimm. Picture in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag, p. viii.

which folk tale researchers in more recent times class as characteristic of the folk tale, and which was perhaps not discovered directly by the Brothers Grimm, but in any case they exaggerated it.

The notion that the contemporary versions were fragmentary also influenced the way in which the brothers chose to narrate events. Simple events were broken up into smaller segments, for preference into three, and for preference with heightened intensity. Isolated events, words or formulae were repeated symmetrically. A frequently quoted example is taken from the sleep sequence from the tale of 'Sleeping Beauty' (Dornröschen KHM 50). In the manuscript of 1810 the prelude to the hundred years' sleep is described simply: 'For when the king and his court had returned, the whole castle fell asleep, even the flies on the walls.' In a Swedish translation which relies on the seventh and final edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* this simple event has been split up into three parts. First Sleeping Beauty falls asleep:

But in the instant she felt the prick, she fell down upon the bed and lay in a deep sleep. And this sleep spread throughout the whole castle: the king and queen, who had recently come home and entered the hall, fell asleep and with them the whole court. Then even the horses in the stables fell asleep, and the dogs in the courtyard, the doves on the roof,

the flies on the wall, and even the fire which was flickering in the hearth died down and fell asleep, and the roasting meat ceased spluttering, and the cook, who had been about to strike the kitchen boy for some misdemeanour, let him loose and fell asleep. And the wind died down, and on the trees in front of the castle not a single leaf stirred. (Grimm & Grimm 1981: 178.)

When the prince comes to the castle a hundred years later, the scene is described through his eyes:

In the castle courtyard he saw the horses and the spotted hunting dogs lying asleep; on the roof there sat doves with their heads tucked beneath their wings. And when he entered the house, the flies were asleep on the wall, the cook in the kitchen still had a hand raised aloft, as if to strike the kitchen boy on the head, and the maid was still sitting with the black hen to be plucked. (Grimm & Grimm 1981: 179.)

The same description is repeated for the third time when the prince has woken Sleeping Beauty with his kiss and the rest of the castle awakes as well:

Then they went down together, and the king awoke and the queen and all the courtiers, and they looked at each other with big eyes. And the horses in the courtyard stood up and shook themselves, and the hunting dogs jumped up and wagged their tails; the doves on the roof drew their heads from beneath their wings, looked round and flew out towards the fields; the flies on the walls walked around, the fire in the kitchen flared up, flickered and cooked the food, the meat began to splutter again, the cook gave the kitchen boy a box round the ears and made him yell, and the maid finished plucking the chicken. (Grimm & Grimm 1981: 180.)

Of course parallels and repetitions are not things which were invented by the Brothers Grimm, but it is striking how they used such devices in order to fill out the texts and give them the formulated structure which has since come to be regarded as typical of the folk tale (Bauman & Briggs 2003: 210–12). Gradually they adorned the texts with proverbs, popular turns of phrase and graphic formulations which were meant to create associations with a conscious and authentic popular oral tradition.

The American folklorists Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs have pointed to the intricate circular structure which the Brothers' editing involves. On the one hand they used the occurrence of proverbial expressions and turns of phrase to determine the extent to which certain tales were 'authentic'. On the other hand they themselves introduced proverbs into their texts in order to enhance the appearance of traditionality and authenticity. Their creative achievement is that they themselves constructed the typical stylistic features of the genre whilst they were adapting their tales step by

step to display these stylistic features. There is nothing odd about the fact that the Brothers Grimm's tales are strikingly authentic, write Bauman and Briggs, when their texts are examples of a genre which they themselves created (Bauman & Briggs 2003: 214).

It is no exaggeration to claim that the Brothers Grimm, if they did not actually create the European folk tale, certainly actively contributed to the process of giving it a more unified form and style. It is nevertheless important to keep in mind the fact that the tales of the Brothers Grimm are predominantly tales of wonder. Among the 201 tales there are at the very most just the odd one or two animal fables, some tall stories, a few legends and novelle tales, but hardly any humorous tales at all.

The Götiska förbundet

In Sweden nationalist aspirations gathered momentum following the loss of Finland in 1809. One expression of this was the Götiska förbundet, which was formed in Stockholm in 1811. In order to gather material for the creation of a new Swedish cultural inheritance the Götiska förbundet members were to devote themselves to 'research into antiquity', part of which consisted in collecting the poetry of the people.

Kinder- und Hausmärchen was translated into Danish in 1816 and into Swedish in 1824 (Uther 2008: 522). Although I have no direct evidence to prove it, it is reasonable nevertheless to assume that a number of the members of the Götiska förbundet, which followed intellectual developments in Europe closely, read the collection of tales of the Brothers Grimm as soon as it appeared in 1812. From the 1840s onwards there are several examples of how Scandinavian intellectuals corresponded with the Brothers Grimm and sent them their own works.

In the preface to *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden* (Swedish Folk Songs from Antiquity, 1814) the Uppsala history professor Erik Gustaf Geijer, who was also a member of the Götiska förbundet, set out his thoughts on what he called popular poetry. Geijer found it admirable that, however exhausting the life that humans were forced to lead, they were nevertheless always capable of creating their own individual world through poetry. Popular poetry contains all the inner capabilities, just as the child has in him those of the adult, wrote Geijer. This kind of poetry should be called natural poetry, wrote Geijer, before he rounded off his thoughts with the following formulation:

It might also be termed Folk Poetry, not because it derives from a more unrefined social class, but rather because it originates from times with a simplicity of character which we are no longer able to comprehend, times when in culture there was expressed nothing more than the national charac-

ter, such that the individual was still so undeveloped that a whole people sang as one man (Geijer 1814: x).

The original folk poetry had, according to Geijer, been refined by great poets such as Dante, Cervantes and Shakespeare, and the more it was developed into an art form, the more it had disappeared from the popular tradition. Geijer thought, as had the Brothers Grimm, that, starting with those tattered fragments of popular poetry which could still be rescued, it should be possible to reconstruct the more ancient, unspoilt popular poetry which was at the core of the Swedish national identity.

Those who formed the Götiska förbundet were all around 25 years of age and therefore tended to be making their way in their various careers. Between these first activists and their successors there was a whole generation. Several of those who subsequently were to become active collectors of popular traditions were of the same vintage as the Götiska förbundet and were aged 18–19 when they were fired by nationalistic and romantic thoughts of authentic popular culture.

Hyltén-Cavallius's original Swedish form

One of these eighteen-year-olds was Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius (1818–89), who, when he read Geijer's preface to *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden*, immediately decided that he would devote his life to research into Swedish language and antiquity. He lost no time in founding his collection of antiquities by sifting through an ancient grave mound, and also by making a start in his home province of Småland on the writing down of songs and dialect words. He then gradually began writing down folk tales and legends as rendered by older residents (Hyltén-Cavallius 1929: 54 ff.). When several years later Hyltén-Cavallius was working in Stockholm he personally made the acquaintance of some of the leading lights of the Götiska förbundet and was inspired by them in his work of writing down folk tales (Hyltén-Cavallius 1929: 95–6).

In December 1844 he was able to publish the first volume of *Svenska folk-sagor och äfventyr* (Swedish Folk Tales and Adventures), which was dedicated to the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. The first volume contained 22 tales (plus 18 in a supplement), of which a number were reproduced in several complete variations. For virtually every tale there are given, in greater or lesser detail, parallel Swedish variations Hyltén-Cavallius had in his collection. Against each one there are references to parallel printed variations in foreign collections which Hyltén-Cavallius was familiar with. I am not in a position to judge whether these references cover all the editions which existed in 1844, but there are certainly a good number of them.

Hyltén-Cavallius's intention with *Svenska folk-sagor och äfventyr* was not to reproduce the popular stories

in the way he had heard them recited many times. The aim was instead to attempt to reconstruct an imaginary original form which brought to life the collective popular poetry Geijer made reference to in the preface to *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden*. To achieve this he took his inspiration from archaic vocabulary and the stylised vocabulary in ballads, and in addition coined his own, archaic-sounding words and phrases. Nils-Arvid Bringéus also comments on the influence of Walter Scott's historical novels and of Hyltén-Cavallius's work on court judgement records (Bringéus 1966: 173).

Of course Hyltén-Cavallius was very familiar with nineteenth-century popular spoken language, having grown up in a rural environment, and having listened to and documented a number of popular storytellers. It can safely be assumed that in the 1840s it was hardly possible to print texts in the form of spoken language and dialect. Convention required cultivated written language. The explanation as to why Hyltén-Cavallius was not content with a discreet linguistic adaptation can be found in his ambition to 'rescue the national element', which he considered had already to a large extent vanished from folk tales passed on orally.

Hyltén-Cavallius's ambitious efforts came to a dead end. His associates criticised his use of language and the book did not sell. The planned second part was never published. For a considerable time Hyltén-Cavallius abandoned his work on popular culture and instead held various state offices. It is possible to view his well-intentioned attempts as proof that these grandiose national romantic ideas could simply not be applied to everyday Swedish reality.

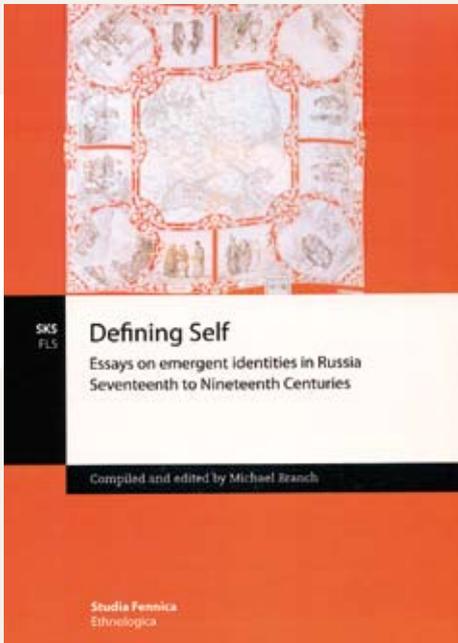
The second generation of collectors

The next generation of Swedish folk tale collectors got closer to the original popular sources. To some extent this was a result of a new and growing interest in Swedish dialects. During the 1870s local rural dialect societies were formed at various places in Sweden. The prime movers were often students and academics and the objective was to document dialects and folk memories.

Collection took more concrete forms, partly as a result of the fact that the Royal Antiquities, History and Literature Academy began in the 1860s to commission keepers of antiquities with documentation of folk memories. The first keepers were Per Arvid Säve and Nils Gabriel Djurklou, who were also two of the country's foremost discoverers of folk tales.

Politically orientated nationalism gradually died out and in its place there arose the ideas of the modern age. One needed to document the 'traditional' popular culture in order to highlight one's own modernity. Local folk museums sprang up.

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Defining Self:

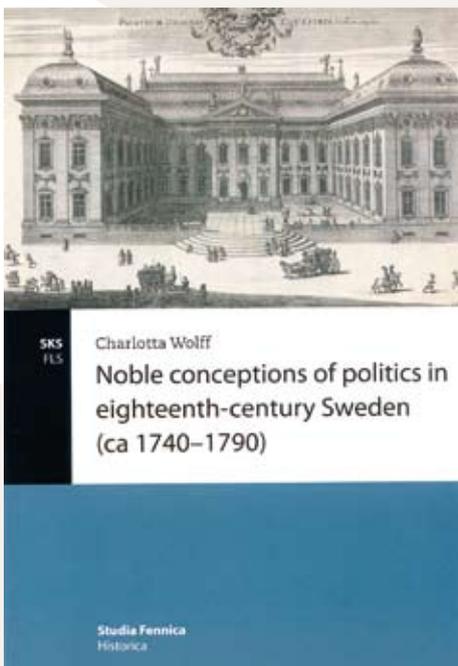
**Essays on emergent identities in Russia
Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries**

Compiled and edited by Michael Branch.

Studia Fennica Ethnologica 10. 2009. 643 pp. 36 euros.

ISBN 978-952-222-033-2

The focus of *Defining Self* is on the identity building of minority groups in Russia during the past three to four centuries. The thirty-five essays describe extensively and illuminatingly the political, religious, cultural and linguistic factors on which the minority populations—Jews, Poles, Finns, Ukrainians, Livonians, Mari, Komi, Khanty, Chechens, Ingush, Ossetes, Samoyeds and other peoples of the far north—were beginning to shape identities of their own. This process raises numerous questions about relations within these minority groups, with other local groups and authorities, and often also with central authority in Moscow and St Petersburg. Counter to common opinion we also see emerging special relations between these peoples and the person of the Tsar—not least Nicholas I. The reader is advised to take a strong dose of counter-intuitiveness before opening this book.



Charlotta Wolff,

**Noble conceptions of politics in eighteenth-century
Sweden (ca 1740–1790)**

Studia Fennica Historica 15. 2008. 136 pp. 29 euros.

ISBN 978-951-222-092-9

Noble conceptions of politics in eighteenth-century Sweden (ca 1740–1790) is a study of how the Swedish nobility articulated its political ideals, self-images and loyalties during the Age of Liberty and under the rule of Gustav III. This book takes a close look at the aristocracy's understanding of a free constitution and at the nobility's complex relationship with the monarchy. Central themes are the old notion of mixed government, classical republican conceptions of liberty and patriotism, as well as noble thoughts on the rights and duties of the citizen, including the right to rebellion against an unrighteous ruler.

The study is a conceptual analysis of public and private political statements made by members of the nobility, such as Diet speeches and personal correspondence. The book contributes to the large body of research on estate-based identities and the transformation of political language in the second half of the eighteenth century by connecting Swedish political ideals and concepts to their European context.

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The Kalevala and the World's Traditional Epics

Edited by Lauri Honko.

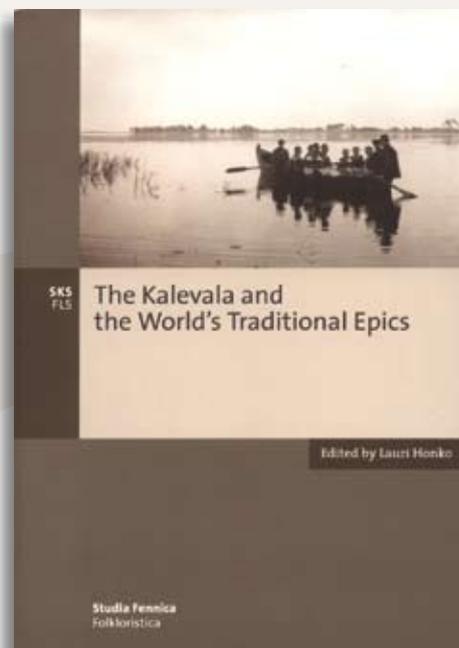
Studia Fennica Folkloristica 12. 2002. 487 pp. 32 euros.

ISBN 951-746-422-3

On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the (New) Kalevala thirty experts on comparative epic research from 12 countries met in Turku, Finland in August 1999 to debate the role of the Finnish national epic and its scientific significance. As material for comparison they used textualised epics from Europe and epic traditions, some of them still preserved in oral form, from America, Africa, Central and Southern Asia.

The classic bone of contention 'Is the Kalevala an oral or a literary epic?' received the surprising answer, 'It is neither!' The Kalevala belongs among the tradition-oriented epics, along with Homer, Beowulf, the Nibelungenlied and the Eddas. The collector-composers of these traditional epics remained faithful to tradition and faded into the background. Yet their input is of primary importance as an object for research. Only then is the textualisation revealed, and only then can we begin to understand the text as we know it today.

The cooperation between fieldworkers documenting living oral epics and textual analysts utilising old texts and archive sources sets the tone of the articles of this volume, which brings the singer of epics and his/her cultural world closer to the modern editors and publishers of epics.



Beyond the Horizon:

Essays on Myth, History, Travel and Society

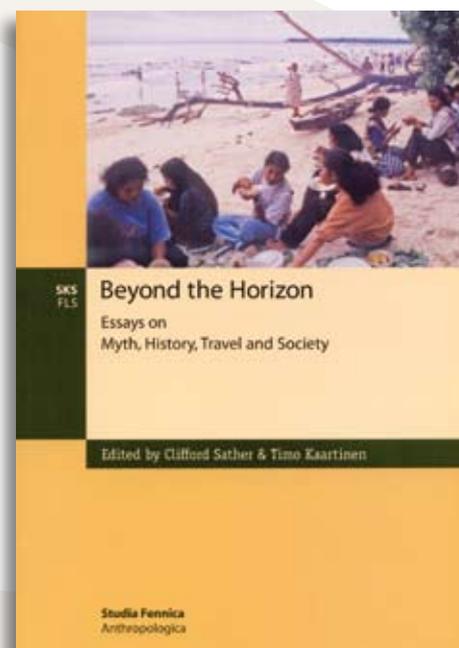
Edited by Clifford Sather & Timo Kaartinen.

Studia Fennica Anthropologica 2. 2008. 240 pp. 29 euros.

ISBN 978-951-746-985-2

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

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



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When the objective was philological and unconnected with ideology or politics there was less incentive to adapt texts. Nils Gabriel Djurklou (1829–1904) is an example of this. His interest in popular culture was first directed at Swedish dialects. When he was a student at Uppsala University at the age of twenty he attempted to start up a society which was to devote itself to dialect studies. This did not meet with success, but when he subsequently returned to his home province of Närke, he founded 'The Society for Närke Popular Language and Ancient Memories' in 1856. He was himself active in the collection of examples and in 1860 he published *Ur Nerikes folkspråk och folkminnen. Anteckningar till fornvännerns ledning* (Samples of Nerike Popular Speech and Folk Memories. Notes for the Guidance of Enthusiasts of Antiquity). As the title indicates, the book contained both samples of dialect and descriptions of popular life.

Eva Wigström (1832–1901), who worked as a collector of tales in southern Sweden, made great efforts to be fully receptive to speech, and (influenced by the Dane Svend Grundtvig) she took great care to avoid the influence of chapbooks and other printed sources. In her preface to the posthumously published *Fågeln med guldskrinet* (The Bird with the Golden Casket, 1985) Wigström writes that she has tried 'as far as possible, to capture the correct popular note' (Bringéus 1985: 7) and her material 'has been approved as genuine folk literature' by 'Scandinavia's great folk tale expert, Professor Svend Grundtvig' (Bringéus 1985: 7).

Wigström's world of tales is a far cry from Hyltén-Cavallius's idealised constructions. Among her characters there are crofters, orphans and widows. People are poor, they worry about paying their rent, and are often forced to survive on bark bread. They are broad in the beam and they break wind. A prince does not shrink from having intercourse with a sleeping princess so that she becomes pregnant, and one of the prince's servants pays a maid for sexual services. Wigström's language contains colloquial expressions, dialect words, proverbs and turns of phrase, but also at times she takes on the role of omniscient improver, using stylised storytelling clichés and formulations from the written language.

Jakob Glader sold all his possessions in order to buy a ticket to America for himself and his family, but he was cheated by a confidence trickster. Instead he was forced to take employment in slate quarries and as a railway worker. He and his wife had had seven children, but five died. Two of them died on the day of birth from a contagious disease. Glader was 63 years old when August Bondeson wrote down his stories. The drawing was done by Severin Nilsson after a sketch of Bondeson's. Picture in Klintberg 1999: 209.

August Bondeson (1854–1906) was the first to show clearly how his writings came about. He was a doctor in Gothenburg, but made a number of field trips to his native region of Halland as well as to other areas of western Sweden. In *Historiegubbar på Dal, deras sagor och sägner* (Storytelling Old Men of Dal, their Tales and Legends, 1886) Bondeson wrote down detailed pen portraits of four informants. In the summer of 1884 he spent several days with them and he describes the process of collection in detail. Bondeson describes everyday situations such as chopping wood, fetching water, cooking and eating. He reproduces long passages from his informants' day-to-day conversations with their wives and neighbours: everything from friendly chat about trifles to serious exchanges about religion, economics and politics, as well of course as gossip about those not present.

Bondeson records what his informants say in correct written Swedish, despite stressing in the preface to his book that they are 'quoted literally'. The tales of one of the storytellers, Johannes Andersson, is reproduced totally in dialect form, whereas those of the others are set down in polished standard Swedish, albeit with tinges of dialect and colloquial language.

When I read the tales of Anders Backman's (born 1826) I feel the same as I do when I look at popular tapestry paintings from the eighteenth and nineteenth



centuries. Despite the fact that the subject is biblical and the characters royalty or nobility, the style is unmistakably popular and earthy. In Backman's world of tales we meet a baron who cannot pay his bill at the inn, a princess who is given food by a charcoal burner because she helped him in the forest, and the king's castle smells of snakes. The priest is tight-fisted, the farmer's wife is stuck-up, people drink too much and tell lies to each other and the boy who always tells the truth is feared by all (Bondeson 1886: 10, 15).

Bondeson wrote down the tales of Jakob Glader (born 1823) from dictation. His stories (which number no more than 17) are characterised by simple, straightforward sentence construction with large slices of colloquial language and direct quotation. Taking 50 pages and more, Bondeson talks of his work with Glader. Here we can follow the conversation between Bondeson and Glader when the two gentlemen make plans as to how they are going to get hold of a leg of lamb for midsummer dinner, together with Glader's account of how, by means of witty retorts, he succeeded in buying not a leg, but at least a whole shoulder of lamb from the neighbour's wife (Bondeson 1886: 68–9). Afterwards we get to hear how Glader and his wife discuss their battered old clock and how they hope that their son will come home and celebrate midsummer together with them (Bondeson 1884: 70). They are interrupted by a neighbour, nicknamed 'the Emperor', who is searching for an escaped cow. Glader and the Emperor get into a discussion about the latter's promise to his wife never to let alcohol pass his lips, about the local temperance movement and about how far beneath the surface drowned people's ghosts float (Bondeson 1886: 72–4). It is an unusually vivid rendering of an everyday conversation in the life of a Swedish smallholder at the end of the nineteenth century. My impression is that Bondeson's texts replicate the voice of the people in a fairly undistorted manner.

Mickel i Långhult

Among Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius's informants there was one of the most notable storytellers ever documented in Sweden, the crofter Mickel i Långhult. Michael Jonasson Wallander (1778–1860) as he was actually called, expressed the reactions of ordinary people to the social injustices of the time through the medium of folk tales and legends, which he composed according to his own lights, spicing them with ingenious humour, cutting irony and the graphic details of everyday life. There are of course a number of such storytellers; perhaps it is simply that Mickel's narrative style can be said to be more authentic and popular than that of many of the learned editors. What made Mickel special was firstly that he was literate, secondly that he had the opportunity to write down his stories. Mickel lived in

the parish of Ryssby, next door to Vislanda, where Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius's father was a priest. When the Reverend Carl Fredrik Cavallius came to assist his son in finding informants, it was natural that he should make contact with Mickel i Långhult, supply him with writing paper and pay him per page for the stories he supplied.

Mickel's tales deal with economic difficulties, squalor, human weaknesses, violence and alcoholism, but also with rotten weather, everyday places and events. The people in Mickel's tales are those he saw around him every day: manual workers and apprentice boys, peasants, crofters and farmhands and—in order to create the essential dramatic tension—a count, a lord lieutenant and various royal personages.

The characters in Mickel's tales are thoroughly unreliable. They deceive each other, they lie, cheat and steal. They misbehave, gossip, squabble, curse and swear. Often they are hungry, tipsy or blind drunk. Violence is second nature. People get locked up in dark rooms, they get whipped or shot at and die in horrible ways. Quite a few commit suicide.

Economic hardship is rife. Mickel's characters struggle with unpaid taxes and other debts, with paying their rent, with contracts and agreements, and they are constantly harassed by aggressive debtors. Many are poor and go hungry. They are a prey to physical deformities and other adversities.

The locations could have been taken from Mickel's own native Långhult. There are fields, crofts, barns with haylofts, stables and cowsheds. A stream winds through the landscape and beyond the fields stands the dark forest. The roads are muddy and twisting, but there is always an inn which can serve up a dram of spirits or a flagon of ale when the need arises. Somewhere in the distance there is a town with a town wall. It is often gloomy, cold or even frosty and not uncommonly it is raining.

Mickel depicts in his stories a tangibly realistic picture of the lives of ordinary folk and conditions in the middle of the nineteenth century. Without a doubt the majority of the Swedish population would have been able to recognise themselves in, and relate to, the circumstances being described. A few decades further on it was the likes of Mickel and his neighbours in Långhult who would be organising themselves into trades unions, temperance organisations and free churches. The people were reaching the stage where they could speak with their own voice.

The people organise themselves

During the nineteenth century the academics' concept of 'the people' developed from having been abstract imaginings or theoretical constructions belonging to other times or dimensions to that of seeing 'the people'

as consisting of living, thinking individuals who demanded their own space and their own rights. In former descriptions the phenomenon of the people meant folk who no longer existed, who in the distant past had made weapons, tools and buildings: folk who could only become physically present to the beholder in the form of buried or burnt skeletons. During the enlightenment the people existed, albeit at an inferior cultural level. They were the ones who were in need of enlightenment and it was their unscientific superstitions which needed to be eradicated. During the brief but influential existence of the Götiska förbundet the people became once more invisible to contemporary eyes. Instead the concept of the people became an idealised abstraction which did not belong in another age—since the romanticised Viking era of the members of the Götiska förbundet never in fact existed—but in another thought dimension.

When the ideas of the Götiska förbundet were confronted with contemporary reality in the shape of the field work of the first folk tale collectors, they had to be revised. Burgeoning sophisticated modernity provided intellectual spectacles which showed that the contemporary peasantry—and the collectors were clearly able to meet and converse with them—belonged to a different mental and ideological era, namely the traditional one.

Of the collectors I have mentioned here, the Brothers Grimm can be said to speak for the people when they edited and arranged that which they considered many generations of storytellers had neglected. Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius helped the people to translate inelegant expressions and language into elegant, archaised ballad language with a medieval ring to it. Djurklou's informants were allowed to retain their dialects and Eva Wigström's storytellers existed firmly in the centre of their daily reality.

August Bondeson alone of the collectors I have described makes a serious effort to give the reader a realistic picture of how the storytellers actually sounded. We get the closest to reality by reading Mickel i Långhult's stories. But neither are these totally authentic examples of how oral renderings may have sounded. Mickel availed himself of a type of written language and made use of some literary turns of phrase. Nevertheless his tales give us the best idea of how folk tales might have sounded in everyday contexts: strong, eccentric, humorous, satirical, self-assured and hostile to the urban elite and its image of the peasantry as museum-worthy examples of ancient tradition.

The development of Swedish society during the second half of the nineteenth century made it impossible for a small academic elite to maintain their position as outside observers who studied the people from on high. With increasing knowledge and political awareness the so-called people were now on the march. They threat-

ened to penetrate the academics' protected environment, to undermine the established ideologies and to challenge the academics' sole right to describe reality.

Snip, snap, snout, now the tale was out. . .

'The European folk tale' is a synthetic cultural form created by intellectuals together with such concepts as folk memories, folk poetry and folklore under the general heading of 'tradition.' The ideal mould for a folk tale was an art form which could easily be combined with the image of a heroic and traditionally minded people. Protagonists were readily allowed to be archaic and uneducated. The image of the folk tale as a complete, immutable genre with a fixed form and with fixed, stylised turns of phrase was punctured by August Bondeson's story-telling old men and by Mickel i Långhult. Mickel and Bondeson's story tellers demonstrated eloquently that the folk tale was an effective and flexible tool for dealing with everyday events. It could easily be adapted to popular dialects and mindsets.

The coarse, indecent, satirical stories, which were critical of society, were very unsuited to making role models of the idealised, home-grown yeoman and of the traditional, authentic peasantry. They would doubtless have been better suited to the self-confident attitudes of the burgeoning popular movements, workers' movements, temperance movements and the free churches. But presumably they were too peasant-like for the workers, too condoning of alcohol for the temperance movements and too immoral for the free churches. Popular movements at the end of the nineteenth century required other stories.

The folk tale died out with the coming of industrialisation, it is commonly said. In the course of my work on nineteenth century collections of tales, I have increasingly asked myself what exactly it was which died out so suddenly in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Perhaps it was just the synthetic, idealised image of the folk tale, constructed by collectors and editors, which became redundant. Perhaps it might also be said that the contrived, stylistically pure, well-composed and refined folk tale which we come across in the printed collections has never actually existed anywhere in a living oral tradition? Perhaps the fragments of tales which the Brothers Grimm considered they had rediscovered have never been anything but fragments? Do we come across the modern descendants of these fragments nowadays as facetious text messages, sexually provocative e-mails, satirical or ironic mass mailings on Facebook or video clips on YouTube? ■

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New editor-in-chief of Folklore Fellows' Communications



Photo by Pekka Tolonen

PEKKA HAKAMIES graduated with an M.Phil. in 1981 at Helsinki University, majoring in folkloristics or 'Finnish and comparative folk-poetry research' as the subject was then officially known. His minor subject was Russian language. This combination influenced Hakamies in taking up a place as assistant, then as researcher, in the Karelian research department of Joensuu University in eastern Finland, as an eastward-looking orientation was natural in a university situated close to the Russian border. Hakamies took his doctorate in 1986 on the subject of the influence of Russian proverbs on Karelian and Finnish proverbs. The Soviet Union collapsed, and in its place came a new, more open Russia in the early 1990s, when collaboration increased noticeably. Hakamies carried out field work both in Olonets in Russian Karelia, and in Udmurtia, in the centre of Russia beyond the Volga. This work has given rise to writings on modernisation in Soviet Karelia and the position of Finno-Ugric peoples within the multi-ethnic imperium. The topic of his latest research is the memories and experiences of Soviet citizens as they arrived in the regions and homes deserted by Finns in areas of Karelia ceded to the Soviet Union as a result of the Second World War. Apart from the orientation towards Russian Karelia, Hakamies has been interested in research into Kalevala poetry and paremiology. Hakamies worked at Joensuu for 22 years and moved to his present post as professor in folkloristics at Turku University in 2006, when he also became director of the Kalevala Institute. Hakamies has worked as editor-in-chief of FFC since the beginning of 2010.

The Kalevala in the Contexts of Regional and Global Culture

EILA STEPANOVA

Petrozavodsk, Republic of Karelia, Russia, 2–4 June 2009

In the summer of 2009, scholars from many different fields but united in an interest in Elias Lönnrot's *Kalevala* arrived in Petrozavodsk, the capital of the Republic of Karelia, for a conference celebrating the 160th anniversary of the publication of the *New Kalevala* in 1849, organized by the Institute of Language, Literature and History (ИЯЛИ/ILLH), Karelian Scientific Centre, which is the leading centre of Finnic folklore studies in Russia, and supported by the Russian Scientific Foundation for the Humanities.

Elias Lönnrot constructed the *Kalevala* from hundreds of oral poems collected by him and others in Karelia, Finland and Ingria. This ongoing work produced five different versions of the *Kalevala* across three decades. The first published version (the so-called *Old Kalevala*) appeared in 1835. The second published version (the so-called *New Kalevala*) was almost twice as long, and appeared in 1849.

In the Republic of Karelia, the *Kalevala* is considered both Finnish and Karelian. It is literally referred

to as карело-финский народный эпос 'the Karelian-Finnish national epic'. As in Finland, this work was very important for constructing Karelian identity, both ethnic and regional. Every year, Kalevala Day is celebrated in both Finland and the Republic of Karelia, and jubilee anniversaries of the publication of both the *Old* and *New Kalevala* have been celebrated on a national level. Finnish and Karelian artists, writers, poets and composers have long been inspired by the *Kalevala*. The *Kalevala* has also provided an inextinguishable source of interest and inspiration to researchers in the fields of folklore, literature, art, music, linguistics and ethnography.

The Karelian Institute of Language, Literature and History has an established tradition of organising conferences to commemorate *Kalevala*-publication jubilees. The first took place in 1935 to celebrate the centenary of the *Old Kalevala*. The second was held in 1949 for the centenary of the *New Kalevala*. The most recent was in 1999, the 150-year jubilee of the *New Kalevala*. In the opening speech of this year's conference, the director of the Institute, Dr Irma Mullonen, head of the conference's organising committee, pointed out that interest in the *Kalevala* has been on the rise in Karelia over the last decade—that this has been a 'renaissance' for the *Kalevala*. For example, all five of Lönnrot's *Kalevalas* have been newly translated into Russian, the *Old Kalevala* has been translated into Vepsian, and new collections of documented oral poetry have begun to be published again.

The organising committee described the concept of the 2009 conference thus: 'the *Kalevala* is a whole world, which includes a traditional worldview and its mythological wellspring, the semantics and poetics of folklore motifs and images, a special language which mediates a linguistic worldview, the problems of folklore text translation, the interpretation of Kalevalaic images and figures in folk and professional arts'. In line with this concept, the conference sections were organised around five different themes: 1. The *Kalevala* in the context of world folklore and literature; 2. Epic, lyric-epic and lyric genres of folklore: the semantics and poetics of mo-

Dr Irma Mullonen, head of the conference's organising committee, welcoming the participants to the conference. Photo by Eila Stepanova.



tifs and images (typological parallels to the *Kalevala*); 3. Mythological perspectives in cultural traditions of the inhabitants of the European North; 4. The language of folklore, the linguistic worldview (on the basis of folklore and dialectal lexica); 5. Motifs and images of the *Kalevala* in folk and professional arts.

The conference took place over three days. The first two days were very work-intensive, with two opening and closing plenary sessions and more than 70 papers presented in the thematic sections in between. The third day offered us all the opportunity to recover and continue academic and social exchange on excursions to Kizhi Island and the Vepsian Ethnographic Museum. The welcoming addresses at the opening of the conference included the Chairman of the Kalevala Society (Kalevalaseura, Finland), Professor Seppo Knuuttila, the Chairman of the Juminkeko Foundation (Juminkekosäätiö, Finland), Markku Nieminen, and the representative of the Ministry of National Affairs of the Republic of Karelia, Elena Bogdanova.

In the plenary sessions, keynote speakers represented both Russia and Finland. They discussed variously general, abstract issues and concrete problems of folklore, literature, mythology and art. Professor emerita Aili Nenola (Finland) carried us from ceremonials into academic discussion with her paper 'Folklore as Cultural Heritage', in which she pointed out that the concept of cultural heritage refers primarily to material things, regarded as nationally or otherwise important, to which a meaning has been collectively assigned by a group or nation; in most cases the meaning is connected to concepts of identity and continuity with the past. Cultural heritage can also be interpreted anew—given a new meaning—and this is particularly relevant to folklore and oral tradition which has been transformed into a part of material cultural heritage through textualisation, as in the case of the *Kalevala*. According to Nenola: 'To understand the meaning of the *Kalevala* yesterday or today, we must know both the history of its making and the recognition and signification processes it has gone through.'

Dr Neonila Krinichnaya (Republic of Karelia), a student of Vladimir Propp, discussed 'The Mytheme of Transformation in Karelian Epic Songs'. Krinichnaya addressed the history and evolution of this mytheme, tracing it back to representations in palaeolithic art. She considered its relationship to archetypes and the factors which had an impact on its development and transformation.

Prof. Aili Nenola and Prof. Seppo Knuuttila exchanging views on the conference. Photo by Valentina Kuznecova.

Professor Vladimir Petrukhin (Moscow) in the title of his paper posed the question: 'Did the Myth of the Heavenly Hunter Exist in the *Kalevala*?' In an extremely engaging presentation, Petrukhin explored the history of a widespread cosmogonic myth about the creation of the sky through a hunter pursuing a mythic elk and its reflection in the Kalevalaic hero Lemminkäinen. Drawing comparisons from mythologies ranging from ancient India to the Finno-Ugric cultures of the sub-Arctic, he concluded that this cosmogonic myth was superseded in Finno-Karelian culture by the world-egg myth.

Armas Mishin, the famous Karelian poet and one of the most recent translators of the *Kalevala* into Russian, gave a very emotional talk entitled 'Elias Lönnrot's *Kalevala*: from Folk Poetry to Literary Poem'. His talk developed into a commentary on the use of the *Kalevala* as a source of folklore traditions and vernacular mythology. This type of use for the *Kalevala* has a long history in the discourse of research outside Finland and Karelia, particularly in comparative studies by scholars from other fields. Although it is understandable how this happened in research from the end of the nineteenth century, it was remarkable to encounter it in even a few papers in this 2009 conference.

Professor Seppo Knuuttila (Finland) spoke lucidly on 'The *Kalevala*, Myths and Fine Art'. Knuuttila emphasised the visual aspects of myth, dazzling us with wonderful examples of interpretations of the *Kalevala* found in modern fine art. He discussed the diversity in interpretations of the *Kalevala*, but he showed that the strategies of visualising and representing the *Kalevala*'s mythic world exhibit continuities in patterns of representation throughout the history of fine art.

Following this first plenary session, the conference divided into five parallel sessions. Section 1, The *Kale-*





Dr Elena Soini presenting on the Kalevala's images in Analytic Art.
Photo by Eila Stepanova.

In Section 3, Mythological perspectives in the cultural traditions of the inhabitants of the European North, there were thirteen papers focused on the problem of the relationship between the ethnographic realities of traditional epic poetry and the epic of Elias Lönnrot, such as mythic conceptions and perspectives on rituals, and also the *Kalevala's* effect on ethnic stereotypes. Also addressed were present-day mythic traditions of the European North.

Section 4, The language of folklore, the linguistic worldview (on the basis of folklore and dialectal lexica), included ten papers. These gave perspectives on specific linguistic aspects of Kalevalaic poetry, Karelian lullabies, Karelian proverbs and Vepsian laments. One presentation drew attention to Finnic lexical features in the language of Russian epic poetry (bylinas). A paper on the linguistic and lexical problems of translating the *Kalevala* into Vepsian was exceptionally provocative for discussion.

There were fifteen presentations in Section 5, Motifs and images of the *Kalevala* in folk and professional arts. The focus of this section was unusual for a conference concentrating on the *Kalevala*, but it aroused tremen-

vala in the context of world folklore and literature, included thirteen papers centred around three themes. Scholars of literature primarily discussed the *Kalevala* in the light of literary traditions of the Romantic period and the transformation of images and motifs from the *Kalevala* in Russian and Finno-Ugric literature. The problems of translating the *Kalevala*, for example into Komi or Russian, were debated. Questions about creating new national epics, and whether a nation needs an epic as a form of ethnic identity and ethnic memory were also addressed, as well as the process of creating epic itself (e.g. Vietnamese, Ingrian and Udmurt epics).

Section 2, Epic, lyric-epic and lyric genres of folklore: the semantics and poetics of motifs and images (typological parallels to the *Kalevala*), consisted of seventeen papers. These examined questions of relationships which traversed generic and ethnic boundaries in folklore as well as problems in how to study the context of living epic traditions. Most of the papers in this section analysed the semantics of motifs and their interpretation, primarily in Finno-Karelian epic genres but also in Udmurt, Komi, Russian and in the mountainous regions of the Philippines.

Dr Pertti Anttonen concluding the conference.
Photo by Eila Stepanova.



Karelian National Kantele-Ensemble in performance.
Photo by Eila Stepanova.



dous interest at the conference. The first day was dedicated to illustrators of editions of the *Kalevala* and then more generally to the relationship of the *Kalevala* to visual art and to the role of visual artists in the popularisation of this national epic. The second day was devoted to papers on musicological research, discussing music, traditional epic melodies, rhythms and musical instruments related to the *Kalevala*. Some of these presentations were on the kantele as a musical instrument as well as an important visual symbol in the *Kalevala* and Kalevalaic poetry.

Discussions surrounding session papers continued during the coffee breaks, where drinks were served with traditional Karelian pastries. Every paper in these sessions provided useful and interesting contributions, which flowed from these various separate sections back into the common conference in the ongoing discussion which carried over from the coffee breaks into the lunches and dinners and on into the evening.

The final session of the conference was a plenary session with two keynote speakers, Elena Soini (Republic of Karelia) and Pertti Anttonen (Finland). Dr Soini offered a revelatory and inspiring presentation, 'The Interpretation of Images from the *Kalevala* in the Works of Analytic Artists'. The artists of Pavel Filonov's school of Analytic Art, founded in the 1930s, illustrated the first Soviet edition of the *Kalevala* (in Russian). Dr Anttonen's paper, 'The Relationship between the *Kalevala* Epic and Kalevalaic Mythic Poetry in Theoretical Perspective', concluded the conference. Anttonen offered an excellent overview of the different theoretical approaches to the *Kalevala* and folk epic from a historical perspective. He argued that the *Kalevala* manifests a dialogue between oral and literary traditions, between folk culture and the 'modern' culture of Romanticism, between different genres and different ethnic groups.

The working languages of the conference were Russian and English. There was, however, some degree of confusion as some of the participants did not speak both Russian and English. The organisers eased this issue by providing translated abstracts of several plenary papers, and simultaneous translation was available for some papers in parallel sections.

There were two concerts organised for the conference related to its main theme. On the first evening, we attended a performance by the Karelian National Kantele-Ensemble, which presented a dynamic programme of traditional music played on the *kantele* and tradi-

tional singing in Karelian, Ingrian, Vepsian and Finnish, as well as artistic interpretations. On the second evening, the concert 'Viva Kalevala' presented a musical poem for children based on Elias Lönnrot's *Kalevala* in Russian, with the conception and libretto by Armas Mishin, and the songs composed and performed by Jevgeni Shorohov. This piece combined colourful illustrations for children projected on screens with short popular song compositions, which came together to tell the basic story of the *Kalevala*. 'Viva Kalevala' was radically different from anything normally associated with the *Kalevala*—there were almost no traditional melodic patterns, or conventional visual representations—but from my perspective this is exactly what contemporary children need for the *Kalevala* to be accessible and interesting: it needs a translation, not of language, but of culture.

The conference made possible a meeting of three generations of *Kalevala* researchers from two neighbouring countries with different histories of research. The diverse scholars from many fields brought together their many discourses of research for the benefit of all. Conference proceedings consisting of 68 papers are forthcoming. I would like to extend my thanks to the organising committee of the conference for the wonderful job they did in coordinating such a large and complicated gathering. I would also like to thank Irma Mullenon for providing me with a copy of the conference report. I hope and wish that this tradition of *Kalevala* conferences will continue long into the future. ■

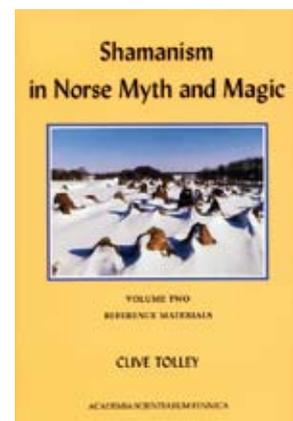
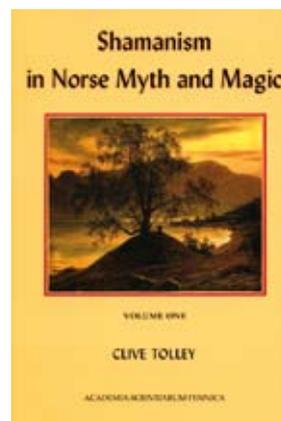
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Reviews

FFC 296–7. Clive Tolley,
Shamanism in Norse Myth and Magic. 2 vols.

Vol. I, xxv + 589 pp. ISBN 978-951-41-1027-6 (hard), 1028-3 (soft).
Vol. II, Reference materials, xii + 286 pp + 5 maps and 13 plates.
ISBN 978-951-41-1029-0 (hard), 1030-6 (soft). Helsinki: Academia
Scientiarum Fennica, 2009.

Those who have made ‘shamanism’ into a shorthand for magic had better read this book. Its two volumes run to more than 900 pages. Ultimately Clive Tolley builds a description of magic in Old Norse myths and history, but the picture he gives first, of shamanism in its many past varieties in Eurasia, is monumentally bigger. In passing we learn that the word *shaman* comes to us through Russian from *sama:n*, possibly meaning ‘know’, in the language of the Ewenki, a tribe from eastern Siberia (I, 66, n. 1, and II, Map 5). Yet Tolley’s book, a matured and updated version of his 1993 DPhil thesis, is not about shamanism *per se*. If the Ewenki have been so well described that their word for a witch-doctor has trounced the alternatives, this is not an observation to detain the author. Tolley presents the rarer linguistic and cultural details without fanfare, because he directs them to a Norse conclusion. In Vol. I, he sets out a detailed list of contents in six parts. Further into the book, he defines shamanism slowly and cumulatively with texts from a galaxy of languages including any and all Scandinavian and Latin, Old English, Old Irish, Ancient Greek and Sanskrit, Lappish, Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian, Russian and Japanese, with more northerly Asian examples from all circumpolar territories between Norway and Greenland. In Vol. II, ‘Reference Materials’, Tolley gives a Who’s Who of Eurasian tribes, then a comprehensive list, quotation and translation of Norse and other texts which will long be useful to shamanists, as well as to all scholars of Norse mythology and archaeology. Vol. II also contains a bibliography and two indices and is lavishly illustrated by five colour maps and thirteen plates, all but four in colour. All this serves Vol. I, in which Tolley begins by judging the reliability of Norse texts (chs. 1–3); then tells us what shamanism looked like in both classic (i.e. undiluted Arctic, ch. 4) and general (i.e. diluted more southerly Eurasian, ch. 5) forms, how it fitted into its societies (chs. 6–7), what its spiritual mechanisms were (chs. 8–9) and with what cosmography (chs. 10–15), including cosmic pillar (ch. 10) and World Tree



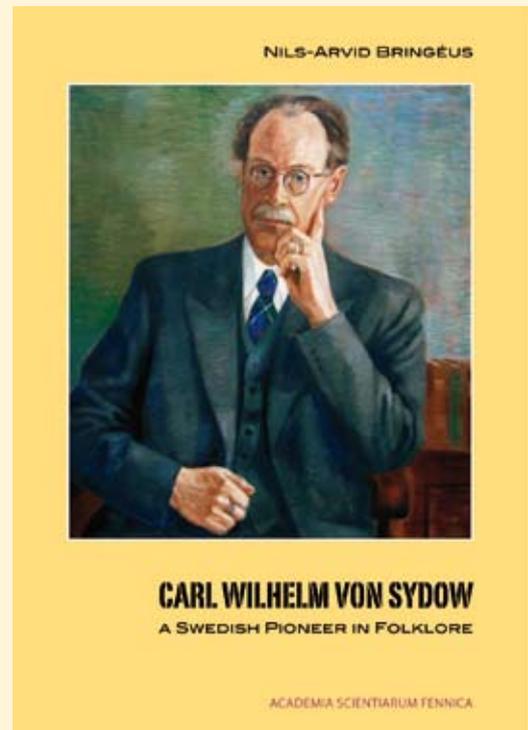
(ch. 13), the shaman’s vocation (ch. 16), how the rituals proceeded (ch. 17), what props to find around them (ch. 18), such as hats and drums, other things such as the smith (ch. 19) and the bear (ch. 20), and lastly what classic shamanism was not (ch. 22). Some readers will be disappointed to find that it was not Old Norse. Tolley demonstrates, instead, that if there was shamanism in Norse magic, it was so diluted as to be indistinguishable from wider European witchcraft; that the shamanism the Vikings thought they knew was really what they had seen with the Sámi next door; that if ‘battle-magic’ was ever performed for the Viking *Männerbund* on an outing to Lindisfarne or elsewhere, this cannot have been shamanism, or even their own *seiðr*, which appears to have differed from Sámi magic; lastly, that the *seiðr* described in Icelandic sagas owes more to bookish fantasy than to Norse magic as practised in the Viking Age.

It will be seen that these conclusions undermine the case presented in another big work on the subject, Neil Price’s *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia* (2002). Tolley admits their disagreement in various places, notably in his conclusion in which, after complimenting Price for the stimulus of his new graveyard evidence, he states that ‘archaeological artefacts are dependent on input from intellectual monuments

for their interpretation; adding, with characteristic understatement, that 'as we have seen, these sources are far from accommodating in the clarity of their meaning' (I, 582). His own monograph, which could be said to rival Asia in size and to fight for its meaning across a matching wilderness of semantic cruces and ambiguities, with many an acknowledgement of impasse, supplants Price on the question of how to evaluate literary sources. The latter's claim on p. 393 of *The Viking Way* that Viking Age shamanism (a kind of battle magic) was 'nothing less than a view of the nature of reality itself' was exciting, but now looks beside the point. The lesson to learn from Tolley is that the spells are lost. Whatever magic was like in the Viking Age, we are now in the position of having to guess at it through the stylisations of a few difficult Icelandic sentences in the piecemeal texts of a much later and problematic literature. The late iron age Norse mindset must be glimpsed through these prisms before it can either draw from, or build on, other scholars' interpretations of Viking Age artefacts. It is the same with the lost ritual behind the archaeology of the Sámi. East Siberian rituals are better documented than anything from among the Lapps, heathen or otherwise. At the same time, it seems that the Sámi and Norse pre-Christian religions, which were first formally compared in Thomas DuBois' *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age* (1999), were never the same or even all that similar, despite their sharing land in the northern Scandinavian peninsular. The same is more narrowly argued by François-Xavier Dillmann in work which includes his *Les magiciens dans l'Islande ancienne* (2006). Tolley's thesis, which was in any case a source for the other scholars, pointed out the differences in 1993. His scepticism dates back further, to Åke Ohlmarks (1939 and 1941), whose view he supports with a now-richer documentation.

A good place to start with Tolley is his discussion of a vexed passage in the *Historia Norwegiae* (4.13–23), a Norwegian work from the later twelfth century (quoted in II, 192–4 (no. 138)). This is the Latin record of a Norse witness of two Sámi shamans retrieving the soul of their hostess when she was suddenly robbed of it, at her own dinner-party, by the underwater shaman of an enemy tribe. Tolley argues that the author here uses the language of *seiðr*, which was familiar to him, to describe a type of magic which was not. Looking for a term for the wandering free-soul of a shaman, the Norwegian author found the nearest thing in *gandus* (Old Norse *gandr*), a Norse word for an independent helping spirit such as those consulted by *vǫlur* ('sibyls') for knowledge and prophecy (I, 246–71, esp. 258–68; cf. 513). A *vǫlva* is usually more dead than alive, like a working shaman, but nobody would want to confuse them after reading this book. Whereas shamans lived at the heart of their tribes, Norse poetry casts the *vǫlur* as social outsiders

A new publication in the FF Communications



Carl Wilhelm von Sydow A Swedish Pioneer in Folklore

by

Nils-Arvid Bringéus

In this book, Professor Emeritus Nils-Arvid Bringéus provides a detailed analysis of the founder of folklore research in Sweden, Professor Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (1878–1952). We are introduced to a fascinating personality and able to follow his persevering struggle to gain acceptance for a new academic discipline. Von Sydow took a highly active interest in international cooperation, not least within the field of folktale research. He taught at both Lund and Uppsala universities, establishing a taxonomy within the study of folklore that has been of great importance.

The book concludes with a causerie written by the actor Max von Sydow about his father, and a bibliography by Jan-Öjvind Swahn—one of von Sydow's last students.

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who send rather than travel to the spirit world, and then only to fulfil individual rather than communal wishes. The subtlety of Tolley's extensive analysis here well repays the time it takes to absorb the detail. To acknowledge the Norwegian's appropriation of sibylline *gandar* into the ritual he describes in *Historia Norwegiae* is to see that the *kamlanie* (i.e. the free-soul journey in which the shaman heals a person by freeing his soul from the clutches of other shamans in the spirit world) was alien to the culture of *seiðr*.

Not that Norse myths relating to *seiðr* are totally dissimilar. They do include at least one underwater contest in quasi-shamanic form, namely the mysterious stanza in Úlfr Uggason's *Húsdrápa* ('2') in which Heimdallr appears to rescue Freyja's precious jewel from Loki in a sea duel for which both change into seals. Out of the mythologems at work (and there seem to be several) in these pre-Christian lines, this one resembles a Sámi shaman's retrieval of the souls of the sick from the underworld through a struggle with its inhabitants; he may even be identified with the animal spirits who help him; like a shaman, Heimdallr appears to be a guardian father, as he is in *Völuspá* and *Rígsþula*, in that in *Húsdrápa* he saves mankind's well-being from Loki's malign attempt to steal it. The name *Heimdallr* (something like 'world's burgeoning'), which associates this god with the protective role of the World Tree, particularly at three moments in *Völuspá* (I, 369–74, esp. 370), points to layer upon layer of rituals subsumed into time and virtually forgotten by the late heathen Norse poets who used him in various stylized ways. Although Tolley's analysis of Heimdallr speaks for certain shamanic elements native to Old Norse heathendom at one time, he is careful here, as everywhere, to point out that 'without a ritual engagement by practitioners, the shamanic aspect of the god remains unfulfilled. . . . If any such engagement existed, it has left no trace' (I, 393–405, esp. 405). This is also true of Óðinn, the Norse god usually appointed shaman to the *Æsir*. Óðinn's leading claim to this title is the nine-night self-sacrifice in *Hávamál* 138–41, which is apparently the heathen Norwegian core of a twelfth- or thirteenth-century Icelandic ensemble. In these stanzas it appears that Óðinn dies, gathers ancestral knowledge for the communal as well as his own good, and then returns, all while being hanged on the World Tree. A shaman's journey would be similar. Tolley remains cautious, however, for he concludes that, while it seems just about reasonable to classify Óðinn's self-immolation as being parallel to a shamanic initiation, it would be 'wrong to describe it as an example of such without being able to place it into a wider context of shamanic practice' (I, 427–34, esp. 434).

This lack of a wider shamanic context in Old Norse literature becomes a refrain, especially when Tolley considers the Icelandic prose of the thirteenth century or

later, in which most accounts of *seiðr* survive. The risk of taking these at face value is well illustrated in his analysis of Þorbjörg *lítivölva* ('little sibyl'). This woman, last in a line of nine sisters, is consulted for harvest prophecy in a Greenland séance in *Eiríks saga rauða* (ch. 4), a work of the later thirteenth century (I, 487–507). Her accoutrements are so vividly described as to foster an illusion of past reality, but no more than that. As Tolley succeeds in showing, not only is the gap between narrative setting and authorial present too wide for authenticity, at more than two hundred years, but Þorbjörg's stately costume, staff, and visitation, as it were, make her look more like an episcopal travesty than a seeress such the two or three in *Völuspá*. The *varðlokkur* ('songs that entice the spirits') which Guðríðr, an unwilling Christian, is made to sing appear more Norwegian than Icelandic; and yet, if they were ever cited with knowledge of the Sámi *juoigós* ('yoiks') that enable a shaman to make his trance journey, her chants are comparable only in the broadest terms. The impression from *Eiríks saga* is that a few traditional terms were sprinkled over this scene 'to evoke an air of antiquity' (I, 506), by an author more than usually clerical in his views. Moreover, it seems that Snorri, a mythographer who was not, tries for a similarly historicizing effect when he describes the god Óðinn as a spiritual traveller and shape-shifter in *Ynglinga saga* (ch. 7). On one hand, it appears that Snorri makes partial use of a shaman's trance to describe Óðinn's journeys, possibly using (a source for) the shamanic passage in the *Historia Norwegiae*, because he knows that Óðinn can ride to the world of the dead. On the other hand, shamans were not held to be gods but human, could go anywhere in spiritual fashion, and did not transform into animals, so much as get help from spirits who were themselves in animal form (I, 507–13). So once again there is a mismatch. This one tells us that Snorri used Sámi magic to adumbrate Norse *seiðr* precisely because he found the Sámi ways exotic, i.e. different to the myths he grew up with.

To sum up, this book is an outstanding achievement. It lays new foundations for the study of magic in Norse mythology, particularly with regard to the recent extension of this into Lapland. The subject is now wider, but henceforth the burden of proof will lie on those who continue to identify the Sámi *noaide* ('shaman'), or even the Siberian varieties, with Old Norse *seiðmaðr* ('wizard'), *seiðkona* ('witch'), or *völva* ('sibyl'). Few who try this will be likely to match Tolley in the depth and detail of their philology. Readers will find him to be constantly judicious and remarkably well organized in the face of an almost unnatural immensity of subject. It is abundantly clear that Tolley inhabits this subject from the roots up. His book seems all properly checked. There were no errors that I could find, in typography or anything else. In the circumstances, his use of the *wynn*-letter for 'w'

in Old English quotations is a forgivable eccentricity. Tolley always argues fairly, admitting lack of evidence where necessary and keeping the prose circumspect, as if aware that not everybody will agree with what he says. I find it nearly all convincing, although it is hard for me to believe that the poet of *Völundarkviða* characterizes his Sámi smith hero with Odinic motifs rather than with the outward forms of shamanic culture which this *Deor*-related poem seems to contain (I, 556–7). Another quibble for me concerns the name *Beo-wulf*, which Tolley, despite identifying this hero with the Sámi-linked *Bøðvarr bjarki* and noting such bearlike features in him as collude with ‘wolf of bees’ as a derivation, takes to mean ‘wolf of Beow (barley)’ (I, 566). One inference, however, to be drawn from these equally well-presented chapters is that Sámi culture was known not only to the Norse, but also to the West Germanic tribes from the earliest times, long before even the oldest surviving records. Another understanding dawned on me from surviving his many fact-finding tours through Siberia. This is the familiar idea that the divine cults that lay behind Snorri’s Icelandic mythography and behind even earlier syncretisms, such as *Völuspá* and the Norse poems for Earl Hákon, should be regarded as loose systematizations of clutter: something Tolley calls ‘a fragmentary kaleidoscope of notions. . .the ad hoc’ (I, 410). Any Norse mythologem resembling another in the extant Old Norse poetry or Icelandic prose has usually been identified with it so as to make a clearer construct of old Scandinavian religion. Now, however, from seeing so many varieties of shamanism in Eurasian tribes who are closely related, or even the same, it seems wiser to treat ‘Norse mythology’ as a reflection of religious differences in the Viking Age.

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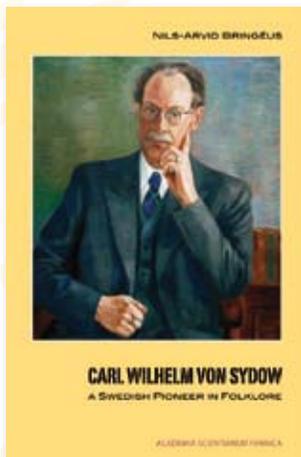
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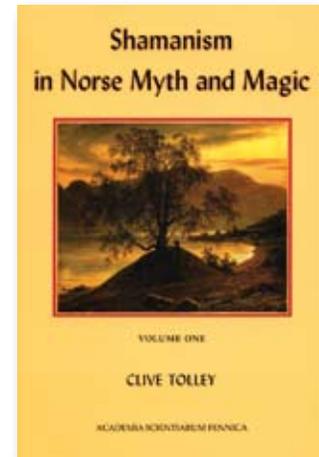
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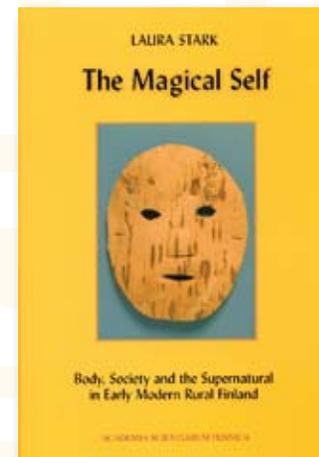
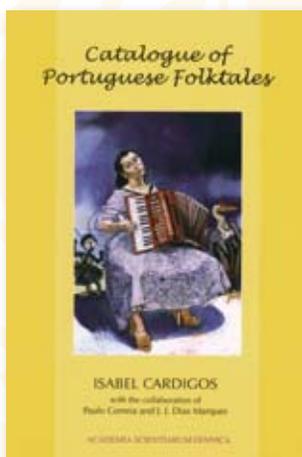
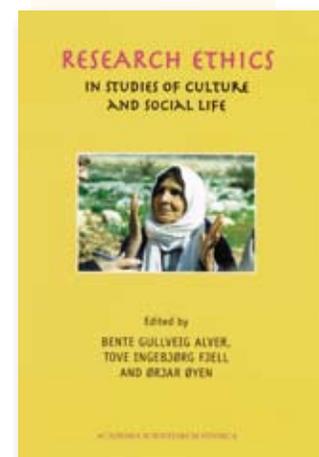
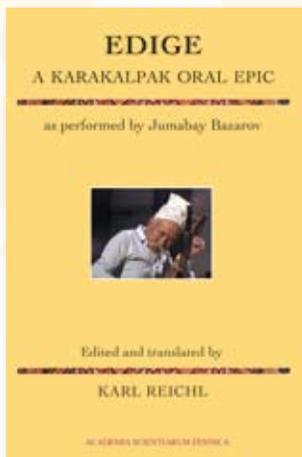


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