Limited Sources, Boundless Possibilities

Textual Scholarship and the Challenges of Oral and Written Texts

A special issue of RMN Newsletter

Edited by
Karina Lukin, Frog and Sakari Katajamäki

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RMN Newsletter is a medium of contact and communication for members of the Retrospective Methods Network (RMN). The RMN is an open network which can include anyone who wishes to share in its focus. It is united by an interest in the problems, approaches, strategies and limitations related to considering some aspect of culture in one period through evidence from another, later period. Such comparisons range from investigating historical relationships to the utility of analogical parallels, and from comparisons across centuries to developing working models for the more immediate traditions behind limited sources. RMN Newsletter sets out to provide a venue and emergent discourse space in which individual scholars can discuss and engage in vital cross-disciplinary dialogue, present reports and announcements of their own current activities, and where information about events, projects and institutions is made available.

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*RMN Newsletter* is oriented to constructing an informational resource and discourse space for researchers of diverse and intersecting disciplines. It welcomes and encourages its readership to engage in that discourse space and also promotes an awareness that such participation will support, maintain and also shape this emergent venue.

For further information on guidelines for submission, please visit [http://www.helsinki.fi/folkloristiikka/English/RMN/contributors.htm](http://www.helsinki.fi/folkloristiikka/English/RMN/contributors.htm)

Please submit contributions to *RMN Newsletter* electronically in *.doc, *.docx or *.rtf formats to:

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*University of Helsinki*  
*editor.rmnnewsletter@gmail.com*
Editor’s Note

The present volume is a special issue on the theme of textual scholarship. ‘Texts’ have provided a central site of interest and attention for a remarkable range of scholarship. ‘Texts’ have also been a nexus in the development and use of retrospective methods throughout the history of disciplinary scholarship. Methodological discussions in this area touch to the heart of the interests and concerns on which RMN Newsletter was founded. We therefore welcomed the proposal by Karina Lukin and Sakari Katajamäki that a special issue be organized on the theme of textual scholarship. Limited Sources, Boundless Possibilities: Textual Scholarship and the Challenges of Oral and Written Texts is the fruit of that cooperation. We anticipate that this special issue will lay foundations for discussions that will resound through future issues of this journal.

Across the latter half of the 20th century, the dimensions of ‘text’ stretched from the purely verbal to multimodal and even non-verbal ‘texts’ – ‘texts’ understood, for example, as “any coherent complex of signs” (Bakhtin 1986: 103). Nevertheless, verbal texts have remained a center of textual scholarship in all its breadth, treated with ever-increasing sensitivity. General developments in this arena have involved, on the one hand, an awareness that every text is a contextual product of expression with agency behind it, and, on the other, that every text is inevitably received and interpreted in relation to (potentially quite different) contexts and perspectives. This is highlighted through the articles in this collection. These diverse contributions are united by an interest in triangulating relationships between texts, agents and culture in order to produce information about the historical social environments and more particular circumstances to which particular texts are related.

Today, textual scholarship is a vital multidisciplinary arena engaged by a wide range of disciplines. The range of disciplines has been complemented by the diversity of corpora as well as the research questions with which these are interrogated. These factors have stimulated a rich and yet disparate development of methods, research tools and methodologies relevant to textual studies. There is now a burgeoning awareness of the potential for testing and adapting these methodological resources for research, analysis and interpretation across disciplines and across corpora. A corresponding awareness has grown around the potential for studies made in different disciplines to be reciprocally informative. Limited Sources, Boundless Possibilities has the potential to stimulate scholarship and discussion in precisely these areas. Individual articles offer valuable contributions to their own respective fields of study, but the venue simultaneously invites and promotes scholars working in different fields to set the particular studies in dialogue with their own work.

Methods, approaches and insights presented in this volume may have potential to shed light on quite different materials and aid in looking at them in different ways. For example, Jukka Saarinen’s methodology for reconstructing the ‘voice’ of an oral singer behind archival transcriptions can be placed fruitfully in dialogue with other oral-derived texts where supporting information is sparse. Saarinen’s contribution highlights the negotiations between performed and dictated poetry and between dialects and registers that may be involved in these situations but are easily overlooked. Niina Hämäläinen examines the transposition of oral-poetic expressions and strategies of different genres for a new, literate environment, conforming them to a particular individual’s ideological aims in a text that would later become iconic of the tradition itself. The insights enabled by the corpus on which Hämäläinen’s study is based can then be reflected against works and traditions where corpora are more limited. Lukin’s exploration of relationships between these and the sources or models of different types used in research (not all of which had equal status or received equal documentation) can be
fruitfully considered against both modern scholarship as well as in relation to medieval authors. Christian Etheridge turns attention from verbal to visual ‘texts’, focusing on formal continuities in textual transmission in spite of changes in the ideas about the visual representations and their relationships to one another. Etheridge’s analysis of manuscript transmission traditions highlights the multimodality of text reproduction, especially in pre-modern cultural arenas. Anna Rajavuori shifts to approaching the structures and social dynamics of performances through different types of texts. Rajavuori’s treatment of politically oriented performance can be readily adapted to approaching ritual, religious or other ideologically and emotionally charged historical performance traditions. Aaron Mulvany offers an overview of the use of rhetoric, phraseology and visual accent as emotionally expressive emphasis and as indicators of emotional investment in a discourse otherwise characterized by dispassionate formal expression. Mulvany’s contribution offers a useful look at the potential significance of sometimes quite subtle variations that can be brought forward and productively analyzed under close reading. Together, the articles in Limited Sources, Boundless Possibilities offer a range of approaches, perspectives and insights, among which no doubt all readers of RMN Newsletter will find things of interest and value. Perhaps you will also find among these pages sparks of inspiration that incite a continuation of discussions into future issues.

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Works Cited
LIMITED SOURCES, BOUNDLESS POSSIBILITIES

Textual Scholarship and the Challenges of Oral and Written Texts

Textual Trails from Oral to Written Sources: An Introduction
Sakari Katajamäki, Finnish Literature Society (SKS), and Karina Lukin, University of Helsinki

Regarding almost all cultural phenomena, a fundamental aspect of their transmission through space and time seems to be variation not only in content, but also transitions and variation in the mode or manner through which they are transmitted. This is obvious with regard to both oral culture and the discourses circulating via digital communication, but materially stable, handwritten and even printed texts are also apt to all kinds of intentional and accidental changes, relative to its preceding versions.

This transmission of oral or written texts and the variation of these texts form the basis of an interdisciplinary branch of scholarship called textual scholarship. Textual scholarship, or textual studies, is an umbrella term for disciplines that deal with describing, transcribing, editing or annotating texts and physical documents. Textual research is mainly historically oriented. Textual scholars study, for instance, how writing practices and printing technology has developed, how a certain writer has written and revised his texts, how literary documents have been edited, the history of reading culture, the relationship of oral and written texts, as well as censorship and the authenticity of texts. The subjects, methods and theoretical backgrounds of textual research vary widely, but what they have in common is an interest in the genesis and derivation of texts and textual variation in these practices.

Disciplines of textual scholarship include, among others, Textual Criticism, which studies the origins and variation of texts, Stemmatology, which is concerned with the oral or written reproductive transmission of texts and creates family trees of text traditions, Paleography, which focuses on the material practices of handwriting and the dating of written documents, Critique génétique, which is interested in the genetic processes that lead to (modern) literary works, as well as other dynamic fields like Bibliography, History of the Book and Scholarly Editing. Some disciplines of textual scholarship focus on certain material sources or text genres, such as Epigraphy, concerned with texts on stone, clay or other hard materials, Codicology, addressing writings in codex form, Diplomatics, handling historical documents, and Analytical Bibliography, with concentration on the physical characteristics of books and bookmaking. As an interdisciplinary field of research, textual scholarship brings together historians, folklorists, literary critics, linguists, musicologists and scholars of Translation Studies who are interested in the genesis, transmission and variation of oral or written texts. (Greetham 1994: 1–12; 2009; Katajamäki & Kokko 2010; Hallamaa et al. 2010.)

The historical roots of Textual Criticism and Bibliography date back to the 3rd century BCE, when the scholarly activities of copying, comparing, describing and archiving texts became professionalized in the Library of Alexandria. Many other disciplines of textual scholarship have also belonged to the humanist research for centuries. However, the term textual scholarship was only launched a few of decades ago. A key point in the genesis of this concept was the foundation of the Society for Textual Scholarship and its journal Text (now Textual Cultures) at the dawn of the 1980s, followed a decade later by
the first general overview of the discipline in David C. Greetham’s Textual Scholarship: An Introduction (1992).

Later textual scholars have built research centers for the discipline, such as the Centre for Textual Studies (De Montfort University) and also the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (University of Birmingham). In 2001, European textualists founded a society of their own, The European Society for Textual Scholarship, which organizes annual conferences and publishes the journal Variants. Nordic scholars now also have their own network, Nordisk Netværk for Editionsfilologer (NNE), which also organizes conferences and has its own publication series dedicated to editorial matters. In addition, many other societies and networks have been founded on specific topics or on a national level, such as the Finnish network Variantti. (Dilts 1997, 76; Greetham 1994: 1–12, 297–298; Greetham 2013.)

From Texts to Performance – and Sites in between

Methodological challenges and scholarly objectives associated with textual scholarship are shared by different scholars of many disciplines in the Humanities. Further research and collaboration is necessary in order to more fully understand these methodological challenges, and there is, in addition, a growing need for an analytical history of the relations between disciplines in their confrontations with these issues in the past. A valuable example of the sort of nature that these historical relationships can have is provided by Folklore Studies and Philology, which have a common history that was at times nevertheless divergent.

Folklore Studies began as an endeavor of textual scholarship. All of the basic procedures of textual scholarship are characteristic of the basic activities in Folklore Studies, from collecting and transcribing textual sources to comparing and publishing these in scholarly editions, although these were initially texts borne out of performances, within the contexts of which they contained much more than ‘pure’ linguistic text.¹ The systematic collection of folklore began within the development of comparative paradigms in linguistics and in the study of mythology.² The early collections of folklore were made with the aim of collecting the cultural heritage of nations in textualized forms, frequently treating epics, legends and even tales as sources for national (ethnic) history in a framework that did not always question the truth value of oral tradition. Especially in the Nordic countries, the accumulation and uses of these textual materials eventually led to the development of a historically oriented comparative method that came to be known as the Historical-Geographic Method (see Frog, this volume). This method or rather methodology was based on a vision of different aspects of culture moving across geographical spaces and across different cultures in a way similar to linguistic features, such as lexems and syntax – especially the ‘migration’ of cultural texts along with images, motifs, beliefs and so forth that were associated with them.

historical and comparative studies were closely related to Textual Criticism and especially to Stemmatistics. This research came to be known for its reconstructive searches for Urformes and for propagating a method that was almost too clear, which also served as an engine to produce uniform studies on all different kinds of folklore. The Historical-Geographic Method subsequently became ‘demonized’ by later scholars for its overly narrow understanding of folklore as ‘text’ or as an objectifiable entity that should be studied independent of its context, be that context social or performative. As Frog’s article in this volume shows, the understanding of folklore in the historical and comparative method was never as restricted as has been understood by many critics, nor does it have to be. On the other hand, it is fruitful to view the critique of this historical and comparative methodology within its own context of a much broader paradigm shift called, in retrospect, the performative turn – a paradigm shift that has all the qualities of a Kuhnian scientific revolution. In that context, it was only to be expected that the revolutionary scholars would feel a need to create a sense of rupture and juxtaposition between the old, unilateral historical-
comparative models and the new performative focus. However revolutionary the ‘performative turn’ may have been, the ‘text’ never vanished from the field. Instead, the relationship between texts produced in oral performances and the co-texts with all of their diverse contexts came into focus (e.g. Silverstein & Urban 1996; Foley 2002). Analysis shifted concentration to the meanings conferred on performances and the traditions realized by the performers themselves and the listeners or participants of those emergent performances. The focus shifted from the historically ‘original’ text to the event and the emergent nature of folklore. This shift in focus was partly due to technological developments that made it easy and practical to record the audio and visual aspects of performances without isolating and objectifying the text that was realized in performance. However, the reactive aspect of the performative turn was not without consequences. On the one hand, it also produced an exaggerated concentration on certain performances over others, and on the other hand, it exaggerated the emphasis on the importance of first-hand fieldwork materials as opposed to archival sources. Although this turn opened many significant new insights, perspectives and understandings, it was simultaneously characterized by narrowing focus in the opposite direction of historical comparative studies, and such narrowing was not necessarily entirely fruitful.

In parallel with these developments in Folklore Studies, the in many respects similar discipline of Philology underwent its own struggles with changes in paradigm that became known as so-called ‘New Philology’, a process realized through debates that were sometimes “heated – and not always civil.” Classic Philology had been particularly oriented to the historical reconstruction of texts and recovery of ‘original’ forms and meanings of texts and textual products – with priorities and methods that had been adapted quite directly as foundations for the development of Folklore Studies as a discipline. Whereas emphasis in the latter shifted to performance with its contexts and many co-texts of production as practice, researchers in Philology turned interest and attention from the reconstruction of lost manuscript exemplars to variation in manuscript transmission – the contexts and co-texts of manuscript production and reproduction. At the same time that the outcry rose against the inappropriateness of isolating folkloric ‘texts’ from their contexts of production and analyzing them as objectified entities, a corresponding outcry rose against isolating texts from the contexts of other texts with which they were copied into manuscripts or of analyzing these texts in isolation from the artifacts of manuscripts in which they are preserved. Attention was given to social and economic conditions under which manuscripts were copied or commissioned and even social and personal motivations of scribes, patrons and associated communities in copying, compiling and varying individual texts. Here, too, the effects on the discipline were revolutionary, and they were not without their own consequences. However, Classic (or ‘Old’) Philology was extremely well established as a discipline, and grounded by the wide range of historically oriented disciplines that still relied on it for the critical handling of their sources. Consequently, the controversies never resulted in the sort of comprehensive transformation seen in Folklore Studies.

Folklore Studies and Philology were intimately linked from the outset and the changes that occurred in each isolated them from one another owing to changes in interests and emphases. Nevertheless, these changes were in many respects remarkably similar. They shared parallel interests and have been ever more inclined to converge as studies of medieval manuscripts become increasingly concerned with the social activity of the texts that these contain in relation to their producers and users, and even developing a performance archaeology of medieval entextualization. Correspondingly, methods for the analysis of the contextual and emergent nature of performance in archival materials have also been developed and discussed in Folklore Studies (e.g. Timonen 2004, Tarkka 2005; Siikala & Siikala 2005). Archival materials have also been used together with first hand ethnographic sources
in order to deepen the understanding of contemporary practices of *homo narrans* around the world (Siikala & Siikala 2005; Kaartinen 2010). Meanwhile, the historical and comparative methodology never completely ceased (e.g. Napolskikh 1992; Siikala 1992 [2002]; Valk 2000; Stepanova 2011), and as proposed in this issue, it has also continued its being among the performance scholars. The methods for organizing research materials, for example, might still have their legacy in the former ‘Finnish School’. The tools and perspectives that have been developed in Folklore Studies and Philology are complementary and can produce reciprocal insights when brought together. What is more, a thorough understanding of the possibilities of comparative studies and of the contextual and emergent nature of folklore provides tremendous possibilities for future Folkloristics. (See Frog 2012; 2013.) At the same time, Folkloristics has the resources and insights into phenomena as cultural practice that can provide a frame of reference for exploring the interests and concerns that have gained prominence in Philology.

Another significant progression that might be symptomatic of recent convergences in the interests of these fields has been in the discussions surrounding written texts that were produced by the ‘folk’ and became the objects of research of Folklore Studies. These include among other things so-called ego-documents – i.e. letters, diaries, autobiographies and handwritten newspapers as objects of research (Kuismin & Driscoll 2013; cf. also Rajavuori, this volume). These discussions serve as an important bridge spanning orality, literacy and textuality that brings us to consider not only the texts but also the circulation of textual styles and genres, their overlaps with oral forms of expression and the overall interaction of speaking, writing and thinking. The interaction of the printed and spoken word is connected e.g. to the handwritten papers that were printed in form, but were often written to be read aloud in public meetings (Salmi-Niklander 2013). Correspondingly, the agitation reports interpreted by Anna Rajavuori in this volume move between public performances and their printed forms in newspapers. In their turn, the letters discussed by Aaron Mulvany elsewhere in this volume show how the dispassionate form of a formal letter also leaves space for expressions of emotions.

**Tools Old and New**

One of the fundamental areas of textual scholarship has been rendering versions of text from one or many sources and forms of representation into publishable form. Perhaps the most widely familiar manifestations of this are critically edited texts of historical works ranging from, for example, Homeric epics, the Bible and medieval literature to works by Shakespeare, Goethe or James Joyce. However, some of the most vital work in this area has been in Folklore Studies and Linguistic Anthropology. The documentation and publication of texts collected from oral traditions has been one of the central spheres of activity in Folklore Studies since the early development of the discipline. Fieldwork and transcribed oral texts have provided source material for researching the collective past of a culture and thereby building that collective past, often from national perspectives (cf. Lukin, this volume). The editorial goals and methodologies of documenting and publishing folklore have varied greatly. This is especially apparent in, for example, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by the Brothers Grimm (1812–1857) or *Srpske narodne pjesme* [‘Serbian Folk Songs’] by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and his colleagues (1841–1862). Today, these might be seen less as editing and more like rewriting and reinventing traditional ‘texts’, although these works were produced in milieux where critical standards for editing any text were quite different. By the end of the 19th century, Folklore Studies was also producing critical editions as basic printed ‘tools’ for research, such as the *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* I–XV [‘The Ancient Poems of the Finnish People’] in 34 volumes 1908–1948, 1997). The principles of folklore editing have been dependent on scholars’ current objectives and prevalent paradigms, such as the Historical-Geographic Method and Oral-Formulaic Theory, which were rooted in Philology from the start. Then, as
technologies later enabled the documentation of audio and visual aspects of performance, the change in research emphasis sought to integrate the diversity of relevant information into representation. This included the development of innovative new strategies for textual representation associated with ethnolinguistics, ethnopoetics, and the ethnography of speaking. (Foley 1997a; Foley 1997b; Foley 2004; Anttonen 2012; Niles 2013.) However, the pursuit of ever more accurate and comprehensive representation was never an exclusive aim in the field. Folklorists have maintained a prominent role in editing diverse non-scholarly anthologies of folklore for political or educational purposes, as well as modernizing old national epics and in some cases even compiling and writing them for large audiences, as was the case with Elias Lönnrot and the Finno-Karelian epic Kalevala, or more recently Bui Viet Hoa and the Vietnamese national epic Con cháo Mon Mân ['The Descendant of Mon Man']. In many ways, these expansions from purely academic editing belong to the scholarly history of Folklore Studies and to Philology more generally.

The scholarly and non-scholarly editions of folklore and national epics – their genesis, transmission and cultural history – have themselves gradually become the objects for many kinds of research. For instance, researchers have been interested in the textualization process of Kalevala from oral kalevalaic poetry as well as of Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot and other publications. There are roughly 150,000 items of kalevalaic poetry preserved in the Folklore Archive of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) and extensive information surrounding both the historical context in which it was created as well as concerning Elias Lönnrot who created Kalevala. This has produced a long and rich discussion concerned with ‘authenticity’ and makes a very fruitful area for investigating relationships between printed editions, original manuscripts and oral performances, as well as for examining different textualization strategies – including critical editions – that reciprocally construct images of the traditions which they set out to represent. These issues flow into investigations of the later life of various revised or abbreviated editions of Kalevala, as well as its translations and diverse adaptations, extending into the cultural and political history of Kalevala and its reception more generally. The richness of this material has also made Kalevala and its creation a central point of reference in the study of the textualization of other epics, and the insights offered by these more recent phenomena have subsequently been carried back into more philologically oriented discussions of textualizations of vernacular poetry in, for example, the medieval period (e.g. Tolley 2013).

Much as the practicability of audio and video recording revolutionized the ways in which ‘texts’ were documented, represented and imagined especially across the second half of the 20th century, technological developments have again impacted the possibilities of representing and working with different forms of texts today. These developments are producing resources that are being made good use of especially in comparative studies. The nearly 90,000 items of kalevalaic poetry in Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot was reissued in its open-access searchable digital edition already in 2002 (SKVR-tietokanta), and the more recent open-access Skaldic Database has rapidly become the most important resource for the study of Old Norse poetry and continues to rapidly develop. New technologies are also used to develop digital editions of old materials that have been otherwise difficult to access, as in Manuscripta Castreniana that aims at publishing digital scholarly editions of the folklore and linguistic materials collected by Matthias Alexander Castrén in Northern Russia and Siberia in the mid-19th century (Lukin, this volume). To give one example, markup languages enable scholars to enrich transcribed oral and written sources with many textual, contextual and explanatory layers supplied with metadata of the current scholarly activities. TEI (Text Encoding Initiative), now collectively defines a standard XML format for the scholarly representation of all kinds of texts in digital form. It also provides solutions for enriching the transcribed text with information on the
The material and structural features of the sources, as well as for instance on performative, genetic, revision-historical, linguistic (phonetic, orthographic, lexical, syntactic), editorial and comparative layers of the text. The document as text can then be presented with metadata and explanatory features, as well as links to manuscript images (like that shown in Figure 1), different manuscript variants or even audio and visual material for more recently recorded examples.

The new digital technologies are opening possibilities that lead once more toward global visions of oral tradition research, uniting researchers working with oral texts to enthusiastically create new databases and with a growing interest in and attention to networking those databases in the future. The discussions about the technical details, such as markup languages, are focal for the new digital era. Nevertheless, understanding the corpora also as editions, carefully looking at the editorial or textual histories behind the texts in the new digital corpora, remains fundamental.

**Limited Sources? – Boundless Possibilities!**

This special issue of RMN Newsletter started from the Finnish network Variantti’s annually organized colloquium in Helsinki in May 2012. The seminar concentrated on non-linearity in texts, emerging for example in parallel variants in manuscripts, in emendations open to various interpretations, and in gaps in the material – all features quite often encountered by textual scholars. Analysis enables possibilities to overcome these gaps, but as shown in the issue, the gaps lie in different places depending on the frameworks employed by researchers and the questions that they pose. The call for papers intrigued scholars working with interpretations of multiple forms of textual and visual sources. Limited Sources, Boundless Possibilities encouraged the contributors to focus on different textual perspectives accessible through their own research, and to immerse their attention in exploring and elucidating those perspectives, opening them to the multidisciplinary arena that characterizes textual scholarship.
The present volume affords a broad spectrum of perspectives on editorial processes, scholarly histories and current interpretations of texts. Some of the gaps overcome in the articles are related to manuscripts and their elliptic notes as well as to different versions of texts in different editions and the possibility of knowing why certain emendations were made, and by whom, and in which order. However, the gaps are also found in the possibilities of interpreting performative, social and psychological dimensions in written texts. In the praxis of scholarly work, the gaps rarely remain uncrossed or unfilled. They rather seem to serve as possibilities for further questions, methodological puzzles and even inspiring answers.

Notes
1. In Peter Shillingsburg’s dichotomy linguistic text versus material text, the former refers to the “words and punctuation in a particular order” whereas the latter also contains the material aspects of the text, such as paper and ink quality, typographic design and size (Shillingsburg 1991: 53–54). This dichotomy is useful in Folklore Studies, too, especially when research deals with handwritten and printed texts. Consider also Matthew Driscoll’s (2010) distinction between ‘work’, ‘text’ and ‘artefact’. Regarding oral performances, however, the concept of ‘oral textuality’ also needs to be distinguished from the linguistic text (as Shillingsburg defines it) and strategies of composition of the text in performance (on which see Honko 1998; Hymes 1981, Tedlock & Tedlock 1986; Silverstein & Urban 1996).
2. For the collection in Europe, see e.g. Briggs and Bauman 2003; Ó Giolláin 2000; Sarajas 1956; Kuutma & Jaago 2005.
3. On this rupture, see e.g. Bauman 1978; Foley 2002: 60; Lehtipuro 2000; Wolf da Silva 2010.
4. See Dégh 1995. For further discussion, see e.g. Briggs 1993.
5. Quotation, with specific reference to Old French studies, from Keith Busby’s (1993a: 1) introduction to a collection of occasional articles that were expressions in this debate (Busby 1993b). For an accessible overview of the debate, see Driscoll 2010; see also, for example, the 1990 special issue What Is Philology? in the journal Comparative Literature Studies, and the 1990 special issue The New Philology of the journal Speculum.
6. E.g. contesting Classic Philology’s dismissal of copies of otherwise extant exemplars produced a counter-position that every manuscript was or should be recognized as (equally) interesting (cf. Driscoll 2010).
7. Already in 1993, Busby observes: “Many scholars are left, at the moment, with the suspicion – comforting in its way – that the whole polemic may have been false, and with the hope that there is no great divide. Upon rereading, many of the articles in the January, 1990 Speculum do not actually say what they were perceived to say [at that time] (although some do) and, by the same token, some of the targets they took aim at had long since ceased to exist.” (Busby 1993a: 3.)
8. E.g. considering marginal speaker notation as an indicator of the performative practice of dialogic poetry (Gunnell 1995), symbolic notations as signifiers of performative actions to accompany text performance (Fisher 2013), changes in transcription and transposed expressions as potential indicators of disruption in the context of verse documentation (Frog 2011), and even reflections of verbal elocution in transcription according to metrical rather than lexical units (Frog forthcoming).
9. One of the most interesting disputes concerned with the orality-literary continuum has been the discussion surrounding fairytales and their early forms. See Apo 2007 & 2012; Bottigheimer 2010; Vaz da Silva 2010.
10. On the other hand, Ülo Valk (2012) has noticed that printed, not only oral, media are and should be studied as natural contexts relevant to variation in genres that are primarily studied only through archival documents owing to their supposed oral origins.
11. On the history of scholarly editing among American folklorists and in the Nordic countries, see Fine 1984; Solberg 2013.
12. On the political and cultural aspects of editing literature and folklore, see van Hulle & Leerssen 2008; Henrikson 2010; Söderlund 2013.
14. See Saarinen and Hämäläinen in this volume. One of the aims of earlier scholars has been to identify the transcribed or printed text from which every line of the Kalevala derives at each stage of its development (Borenius & Krohn 1891–1895; Niemi 1899; Kaukonen 1939–1945; Kaukonen 1956), but more recently the interest has centered on the ideational backgrounds of Lönnrot (see e.g. Dundes 1985; Anttonen 2012; Honko 1987; Honko 2002; Hämäläinen 2012; Hyvönen 2008a; 2005b; Karkama 2001; Siikala et al. 2004; Apo 2010).
15. See, for instance, Aarnipuu 2012; Anttonen & Kuusi 1999; Apo forthcoming; Piela et al. 2008; Siikala et al. 2004; van der Hoeven 2012.

Abbreviations
SKS = Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
SKST = Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia.
Revisiting the Historical-Geographic Method(s)
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Up through the first half of the 20th century, the study of folklore was dominated by the hegemonic view that it was necessarily comparative with a historical orientation. This was formalized by the so-called Historical-Geographic Method (HGM), Geographic-Historical Method or Finnish Method, which was fundamental to the emergence of Folklore Studies as an internationally recognized discipline. At the same time, the HGM became emblematic of this orientation and associated ideologies. In the latter half of the 20th century, there was a revolution in the field. In some national scholarships, historically oriented comparative approaches were so predominant that rebellion was likely a prerequisite for change. The hegemonic model that was characterized by ‘the’ HGM became marked with a stigma as it was overthrown and Folklore Studies sought to reinvent itself, liberated of such original sin as had given birth to it. Many scholars today recall encounters with this hegemonic model (e.g. Wolf-Knuts 2013: 15). However, the younger generation never felt the yoke of the HGM’s authority. Biases against it now circulate like clichés, yet the controversy is far more complex than that the HGM simply ‘does not work’. The present paper turns attention specifically to the methods in question and the value and uses of these methods as tools in research today. Controversy surrounding the HGM has remained characterized by bundling the methods with theories, research questions and how the methods were used by different scholars. Separating ‘Methods’ from ‘Methodology’
The HGM took shape at a time when ‘methods’ were generally considered an integrated aspect of what would be described as a ‘methodology’ today. It was advocated and circulated as a methodological ‘package’, inclusive of methods, research tools, theories and quite narrowly prescribed research questions. The controversy surrounding the HGM has in general concerned the theoretical principles or ‘laws’ with which it was employed, or the goal, associated with its use, of (re)constructing the Urform [‘original form’] of individual traditions – a goal which often produced idealized heritage-objects that could be employed as tools in the service of nationalism. ‘Methods’ have tended to be treated as an integrated part of the package of the HGM, which was itself referred to as a ‘method’.

Bundling ‘methods’ with ‘controversy’ is most evident in extreme cases, where it results, for example, in the identification of certain methods as ‘racist’ owing to how they have been used (Peterson-Lewis 2013). In the case of the HGM, the bundling with ‘controversy’ can extend to the research questions of diachronic inquiry more generally. Such conflation easily leads to throwing out the baby with the bathwater. However, scholarship has had difficulty making a distinction between the methods and the methodology. This was a problem common across the 20th century rather than being something unique to the HGM. It can also be seen, for example, in Oral-Formulaic Theory’s origin as a relatively simple premise behind using statistical surveys of formulae to demonstrate the orality of Homeric and medieval epics, and the subsequent debate in which methods, theory and research questions were bundled (see e.g. Foley 1988). In that case, both the theory and methods advanced beyond their bundling and have a longstanding continuity in the research, even if their relationships to one another have changed and they are applied with different research questions. In contrast, the controversy surrounding the early HGM as a methodological package had ramifications for comparative methods more generally, especially in the wake of a shift in research emphasis from the social to the individual,
and from continuity of resources to their variation in unique synchronic contexts.

In the case of the HGM, untangling ‘methods’ from ‘methodologies’ will require prefacing discussion with a technical distinction of some terms. The first problem is that the term ‘Historical-Geographic Method’ is understood and used in different ways. In Finnish scholarship, ‘HGM’ is identified specifically with the original methodological package advocated by Kaarle Krohn (esp. 1918; 1926) as exclusively relevant to diachronic study for the single aim of (re)constructing the Urforms of individual traditions – focusing on the use of methods rather than on the methods themselves as tools.\(^1\) This methodological package will be distinguished here as the Classic HGM. In other national scholarships, the term ‘Historical-Geographic Method’ has remained associated with the methods even when these are applied with different theories (e.g. Dundes 1982; Goldberg 1997; Mieder 2009; see also Wolf-Knuts 2000). This not only includes later adaptations of these methods in the so-called Finnish School; it is even used with reference to scholars who actively contested the methodological package of the Classic HGM but are nevertheless seen as advancing the use of methods in relation to theory and research questions (e.g. Pöge- Alder 2007: 94 on von Sydow 1934 and Honko 1981; cf. also Noyes 2012: 23 on Dégh & Vaszonyi 1975). As the Classic HGM maintained not one but several methods that can be combined and adapted in different ways, we can shift focus from a monolithic ‘HGM’ to HGMs in the plural, concentrating attention on the methods.

In order to break up the bundle of methodology, it is necessary to define terms that will enable the different parts of the methodology to be distinguished. A method is here considered a prescriptive procedure or series of procedures for activity or interpretation – i.e. it is a prescriptive model for what you do. Methods may be quite complex, but they may be quite simple – e.g. throwing a dart at a map is a method for ‘randomly’ selecting a location. Methods are employed to answer research questions or to achieve research aims – i.e. what a use of the method is intended to do. Particular methods tend to be conventional for accomplishing certain goals in a particular historical and intellectual environment, and they will inevitably be better suited to answering certain research questions rather than others. The same method may also be employed with different research questions or aims. A theory is an explicit or implicit set of postulates on which expectations and understandings are based. The implementation of a method is inevitably in relation to a theory or theories (even if the procedure is executed by e.g. a computer). Information is produced in response to a research question at the intersection of theory, research materials and method implementation. HGMs can thus produce different information with current theories than was possible a century ago. A methodology is here considered a practically and intuitively constituted matrix of methods, theories and related resources contextualized in, and conditioned by, valuations and ideologies. It is a culturally and historically situated framework that interfaces with the researcher’s worldview – the ‘box’ in which a researcher thinks and works, complete with predispositions and prejudices, research standards, ethics, and so forth. Although a methodology is subjective, it is nevertheless possible to abstract a socially circulated methodology as a phenomenon (like a ‘belief’), much as the Classic HGM was circulated as a methodological package.

**Background on the Historical-Geographic Method**

The Classic HGM emerged in the late 19th century as an adaptation of philology (a broad field that combines history, linguistics and literature) to folklore. The convergence of several historical and cultural circumstances in Finland and Karelia were particularly amenable to its development in Finland (cf. Borenius 1873). Its proto-form was Julius Krohn’s (1883) Geographical Method, later said to be *eigentlich eine historisch-geographische* (K.Krohn 1910: 39) [‘really a historical-geographic’] method, and referred to more generally as *die finnische folkloristische Method* [‘the Finnish method for Folklore Studies’] (K.Krohn 1910). This
gave rise to what became known as the ‘Finnish School’ of Folklore Studies, characterized by an international network of scholars. Kaarle Krohn became in many respects the center of this network, owing not least to his own activities, energy, enthusiasm and inspiring personality in the promotion of folklore research. (See further Hautala 1969: 139–171). The Classic HGM was formalized in Kaarle Krohn’s dense, rich and accessible handbook of methods, tools and theory, oriented to students, sometimes referred to as his “manifesto” (e.g. Wolf-Knuts 2000: 262): Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode: Begründet von Julius Krohn und weitergeführt von nordischen Forschern (1926) [‘The Working Method for Folklore Studies: Founded by Julius Krohn and Further Developed by Nordic Researchers’].

Born in the aftermath of Romanticism, the Classic HGM was bound up with the construction of national identities. It was nurtured on scientific positivism and evolutionism (Hautala 1969: 63), which meant that all theories and interpretations should be firmly grounded in evidence (something taken for granted today), while the historical development of any phenomenon was anticipated to be governed by scientific laws in relation to the environment. Thus, researchers sought, according to the paradigms of the day, to identify scientific ‘laws’ of folklore that accounted for variation as a rule-governed process. These idealized laws were conceptualized as no less inviolable than any other laws in linguistics or natural sciences (cf. Dundes 1965: 129–130), and they implicitly assert that folklore is governed by a distinct set of scientific laws (even if they did not hold up as universal scientific ‘truths’). Similarly, the direct applicability of philological methods to folklore was rejected: Folklore Studies required distinct methods and could not rely directly and exclusively on the methods of other disciplines. Kaarle Krohn’s research was certainly not innocent of nationalist inclinations (cf. Wilson 1976: 247; Žirmunskij 2004; Ahola forthcoming), yet he does not present Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode as a ‘Finnish’ method (cf. K.Krohn 1910). This work lays out Folklore Studies as a distinct discipline in relation to other disciplines, defining ‘folklore’ as an object of research (K.Krohn 1926: 16–25). Rather than a nationalist emphasis, it advocates the development of centralized international infrastructures on a global scale (K.Krohn 1926: 36). Today, Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode may appear unilateral, dogmatic and even naïve. At the time, it unambiguously outlined the scientific laws and methods specific to Folklore Studies, and this implicitly asserts that Folklore Studies qualifies as a distinct field of scientific research. However controversial the Classic HGM, it seems to have been fundamental in the establishment of Folklore Studies as a disciplinary field of study. The unilateral diachronic emphasis was partly the emerging discipline’s heritage from philology, but it simultaneously enabled the clear distinction of Folklore Studies from other fields such as Anthropology and Ethnology. Had it not been for the HGM, folklore might have remained a subject and object of study within another field or across several fields, such as Philology, Anthropology or Ethnography, as remains the case with ‘mythology’ today.

Folklore traditions were generally addressed in terms of textual products. The textual products were conflated with the tradition itself while the goal of research was to reconstruct historical aspects of culture conceptualizing traditions as ‘texts’. Folkloric texts were viewed as heritage-objects: it was implicitly necessary to recover these from among das Volk, to restore and polish them for posterity, and to publicize these relics of ethnic identity just as other heritage objects would be displayed in a museum. Variant folklore texts were subjected to a philological comparative method advanced by Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) which has become known as ‘stemmatology’ or ‘stemmatics’. This method was founded on the hypothesis that a copy of any manuscript will (more or less mechanically) reproduce the mistakes and variations in the copied exemplar. Manuscripts were grouped into families of relations (redactions) according to these variations; comparison sought to identify these variations, the stages at which they
occurred, and to resolve them for the best possible reconstruction of the earliest exemplar (cf. Figure 1). (See further Maas 1957.) Combined with attention to dialect and palaeography, this method could be used to identify the date and location of the ultimate exemplar’s original production. However, philological stemmatics could not be directly applied in the comparative analysis of folklore because the transmission process was conditioned by social factors rather than mechanically copying a single exemplar (Anderson 1923: 397–411).

This method took shape in dialogue with the conceptualization of ‘folklore’ through the *kaleidoskopische Veränderlichkeit* [‘kaleidoscopic variability’] (Anderson 1923: 406) of its textual products. The Classic HGM turned attention away from the individual to produce analytical descriptions of local conventional forms of folklore traditions and these were approached in a hierarchy of expanding scope according to a sort of ‘fuzzy stemmatics’ (cf. Figure 2). Models of a tradition’s localized conventions were compared, grouped and analyzed according to a stemma rather than attempting to stemmatize individual variants. Local omissions, additions, transpositions and alterations were identified and sorted to reconstruct the ultimate form of the ‘original’ tradition. The method was, like stemmatics of that period (but not today!), unilaterally oriented to the reconstruction of an original, unique and ultimate ‘text’ according to its formal elements. Individual sources and informants were qualitatively assessed (K. Krohn 1926: 43–46) but formal continuity and conservatism were the focus. Local conventions of variation and variability initially remained incidental and unexplored. Nevertheless, the fuzzy stemmatics model acknowledged that innovations could also spread laterally across multiple established redactions, increasing the need for care, detail and interpretations of data in analysis.

The Classic HGM was presented as a methodological package for Folklore Studies and research questions were fully integrated into that package (which was rather like defining Linguistics as the study of etymologies). Consequently, shifts in focus and the development of theory were effectively challenges to that package and its definition of the research discipline. Thus from the perspective of today, C.W. von Sydow’s (e.g. 1932; 1934) advance in focus and the biological metaphor in Folklore Studies remained fundamentally embedded in the theories, methods and ideologies of the time (cf. Honko 1985: 57). However, in the era when Folklore Studies was being defined
in terms of a full methodological package, advocating the examination of *synchronic* variation as von Sydow did was a challenge to the otherwise unilateral identity of the discipline and the questions it should try to answer. Paradigm-shifts carried in the wake of Post-Modernism (cf. Honko 2000: 7–15) eventually led to the reinvention and redefinition of the discipline. This involved an inversion of research orientation that had characterized the Classic HGM *a*) from diachronic to synchronic emphasis; *b*) from decontextualized formal elements to contextualized meanings; *c*) from continuity of resources to variation as practice. The result was a fundamental – but unrecognized – change in the object of study, so that the opposite features of any individual text became the focus of research. Following the metaphor from linguistics, the difference can be compared to Ferdinand de Saussure’s *langue* [‘language’], the abstracted and ideal system, as distinguished from *parole* [‘speech’], the forms and variations through which *langue* is realized in use – categories that Saussure asserted were the objects of research of different disciplines and should never be conflated (Saussure 1916: 36–39). More than two millennia of language study had laid foundations for Saussure’s perspective, in comparison to which Folklore Studies was scarcely an infant: approaches to the *langue* of folklore were simply regarded as over-idealized abstractions removed from, and misrepresentative of (the *parole* of) folklore as the authentic object of disciplinary research. Acknowledging contextual variation produced new understandings of folklore transmission that, alongside an associated rise in source-critical standards, pulled the rug out from under earlier HGM research. The controversy resulted in the widespread abandonment of the Classic HGM and its stigmatization in many countries (cf. Honko 1986).

**Folklore as an Object of Research**

The Classic HGM’s distinction between ‘folklore’ and archival textual products has become a site of misunderstanding. How ‘folklore’ was conceptualized in the Classic HGM therefore warrants some clarification, particularly because this is fundamental to understanding the development and use of HGMs as tools and it also stands at the foundation of conceptualizations of folklore today. Folklore was defined by Kaarle Krohn (1926: 16–25) as a category of *Volkwissen* [‘folk-knowledge’]. Translated into today’s terms, ‘folklore’ appears as:

> the resources for representational and/or communicational expression and behaviours that have been socially shaped by ‘imagination’ and have been conveyed and internalized through social practices of tradition.

Qualifying the definition with the role of ‘imagination’ (*Phantasie*) distinguishes ‘folklore’ from more fundamental resources for communication, such as language. This also distinguishes ‘folklore’ from forms of knowledge communicated through cultural practices that are not connected with either communication or conceptual models (i.e. ‘beliefs’) that structure behaviours (like how to use a hammer or to shear a sheep as opposed to how to avoid being struck by lightning). ‘Resources for representational and/or communicational expression’ (i.e. signifiers and constructions) is used here to mark the disciplinary boundary/distinction between ‘folklore’ and ‘folk music’ as different objects of study. These may intersect, overlap and sometimes converge, but that does not invalidate a distinction between the role of music, melody and rhythms in connection with resources for representational and/or communicational expression on the one hand and the broader spectrum of resources identifiable as folk music (i.e. signals and constructions) on the other. ‘Folklore’ thus ranges from textual wholes to broad poetic modes of expression (including their language), and from cultural images and symbols to abstract metaphors and beliefs. These were centrally addressed in formal and structural terms – the resources from which ‘texts’ are generated – with focus on three, interconnecting areas: *a*) the first order of representation, such as language or iconographic systems; *b*) second order representation, such as motifs, narratives and so forth that are represented and communicated through language or
iconography; and c) conceptual models or ‘beliefs’, which it was considered impossible to address separately from traditional representations through which these are expressed, reflected and communicated. According to Kaarle Krohn, the folklorist’s job was to identify and sort ‘folklore’ from that which was personal or individual. Contextual variation was not relevant because it was not ‘folklore’. International folktales would gradually be stripped down to the ‘folklore’ – the bare bones of the narrative with no connecting tissue; in lyric poetry, the ‘folklore’ might be only at the surface layers of representation as poetic formulae, conventional images and motifs (and today also conventional melodies) used for individual expression. Following the linguistic metaphor above, ‘folklore’ was a langue as an abstract system, yet the criticism that the Classic HGM reduced tradition to textual products is not invalid per se. Technological advances in documentation were fundamental to transformations in thinking about ‘text’ in relation to ‘tradition’ by increasing consciousness of the number of variable factors connected to practice and performance (Katamajäki & Lukin, this volume; cf. Fine 1984), yet it remains important to recognize that questions of situational variation attributable to context-dependent usage, meaning-generation and even the significance of traditions for their users had no established place in the discourse of earlier research. Those questions can instead be seen as conditional on first developing a disciplinary infrastructure mapping the formal elements of folklore through textual products – i.e. it was necessary to develop perspectives on the signifiers before it was possible to approach their signifieds and significance. The turn from the langue of folklore to its parole as social practice was likewise enabled by the foundations provided by the earlier research as a unifying framework and frame of reference, turning attention from identifying resources and distinguishing them from variation to looking at how those resources are used and vary in living social practices. These are all complementary approaches. The Classic HGM developed tools for the imaging of social variation of a tradition along multiple dimensions (especially geographical distribution and diachronic change). The continued development of these tools has increased the dimensions along which variation can be imaged, and adaptations of these tools now extend their applications from the langue of folklore to its parole.

**What is the Value of Historical-Geographic Methods Today?**

HGMs are text-oriented comparative methods that enable the description or imaging of conventional features and variation of a folklore phenomenon of a certain type, or of multiple types in tandem. The primary HGM, or HGMₐ, produces a typological mapping of the data-set(s). This method is a tool for organizing the data according to degrees of similarity and difference. HGM₁ can be applied with concentration on any level of the tradition or its practice, from whole genres or mythologies to motifs and idioms, insofar as sufficient data is available. Individual items or elements called variants are grouped according to the degree of formal correspondences into redactions. ‘Redaction’ is a practical term to describe manifestations of socially established variant or competing compositional units (whether of a poetic line, motif or complete text-type). Potential redactions are groupings of variants that share in a prominent feature or system of features characterizing them as associated with one another in contrast to other variants. An application of the method does not mechanically produce conclusions about a potential relationship between variants or redactions, nor about the significance of such a relationship. HGMs only produce information that a researcher can assess and interpret.

Whether further analysis proceeds with a synchronic or a diachronic emphasis, any application of HGMs will normally subscribe to two basic principles:

1. Folklore is communicated interpersonally through social practices, which are bounded by space and time, and thus corresponding social practices among groups and communities without direct interpersonal contact will not be (or remain) identical.
2. Differences in the social conventions of two or more historically related folklore
phenomena are attributable to socio-historical processes.

It follows from the first principle that distribution across social groups, communities and their networks – ‘geography’ – is always a factor relevant to the commensurability and interpretation of compared data. It follows from the second principle that the cultural-historical background and context of items compared is always a factor relevant to the commensurability and interpretation of data, even where the focus is synchronic and typological. This primary method can be applied to organize and image potentially quite large corpora of data, while a small corpus may significantly limit the amount of information that the method can produce.

The information produced by HGM provides data for further analysis. This data may be investigated synchronically or diachronically and the directions of inquiry may be historical, dialectal (variation by region or social group) or generic and registral (variation by social practice). These three directions of inquiry are distinguished by emphasis, not by exclusivity.

The method is quantitative and should ideally be applied to as extensive a corpus of data as possible relevant to the research questions (cf. K.Krohn 1926: 33), although practicalities of research normally require delimiting the scope of that data (cf. Hall 2013). The method also has a qualitative aspect: every item of data should be assessed individually in terms of its value and relevance for the particular study, and not all items should be assumed to carry equal weight (cf. K.Krohn 1926: 43–46). Qualitative assessment should include the degree and type of commensurability for comparison – i.e. distinguishing what is being compared (e.g. image, motif, theme, plot, poem) – and comparisons should made according to consistent criteria. Although the Classic HGM focused centrally on formal elements in established combinations, this is complemented by structurally oriented studies (cf. Dundes 1986, adapting a structural approach based on Propp 1958) within which formal elements may vary or through which their meaningfulness is informed (cf. Dumézil 1958).

Mapping Continuity and Variation in a Corpus

The primary HGM is fundamentally structuralist. The preliminary step for use of HGM is the selection of a corpus as products of expression that reflect the object of study, whether this is a genre, text-type, poetic mode of expression, motif, image, conceptual model (“belief”) or some other social phenomenon. In some cases, multiple complementary corpora may be used. In modern terminology, all relevant elements and structures of each item of the data-set are tagged with a coding system of types and subtypes (variations on a type). Analysis will normally require multiple complementary typologies relevant to the particular object of study and research question. The research question(s) and scope of investigation condition the information included in the data-set to which the HGM is applied. For example, a study of a Kalevala epic poem would begin by identifying the particular epic narrative as a text type among other types in the construction of a corpus. The shape of the corpus might vary if the research question is concerned with a) formal representation of the epic in poetic form at the verbal level, which is found adapted as a resource across other epic narratives; with b) narrative content of the epic, which may be adapted as a plot-resource across other genres; or with c) intersections of form and content. The particular tradition and research question will condition how narrowly or flexibly the type is delimited, if multiple types are analyzed in dialogue (e.g. one formal and one of content), or if analysis is organized with a core data-set and a secondary data-set of supplementary material. Typologies are then generated for a content hierarchy such as: a) episode/adventure/act; b) theme/scene; c) motif; d) image/role/character identity (cf. Frog 2013b: 107–109). Especially at higher levels of the hierarchy, the internal structure of the unit may qualify for a distinct, complementary typology. Rather than delimited in advance, typologies are developed in a dialectic process with the data as ‘elements’ within the tradition as a system. Similar typologies are made for verbal representation – e.g. for key vocabulary (e.g. names), formulaic language,
lines and/or couplets, and the verbal systems called ‘multiforms’. The information produced by the method follows directly on the data to which it is applied. These typologies are formal, but additional typologies can be generated for interpretations, valuations, contexts of performance, performers, associated beliefs and taboos, and so forth. Together, the different typologies are compiled, compared and analyzed to produce an image of continuity, co-occurrence and variation in the corpus (conditioned by the quantity and quality of the specific data).

The research question(s) and scope of investigation condition the hierarchies according to which elements are compared. Comparison always begins according to a hierarchy, such as geographical distribution, social network or kin group, typology at the level of verbal representation, typology somewhere in the hierarchy of content, typology of use or interpretation, etc. In practice, the different typologies must be placed in dialogue and continuously tested against the corpus and against one another. In interpreting compared data, parallels can broadly groups in three categories (following Witzel 2012: 45): a) accidental and independent; b) genetic and historically related; or c) convergent as the result of social or historical factors that made unrelated traditions more alike. Where the distribution of potential redactions appears to be independent of social networks, correspondences become more likely attributable to contextual factors or accidental. Other factors should then be tested in order to determine where the social tradition centers, or whether it centers in different places in different networks. Comparison should also not be considered in isolation from the broader networks of traditions (cf. Honko 1985). Different typological elements should, insofar as is possible (and reasonable), be observed laterally across diverse traditions in the culture: as social resources for expression and representation, their occurrence in different contexts can offer insights into their patterns of use within the case under investigation. At the formal level, relative frequency enables the distinction between conventional and non-conventional elements, co-occurrence, sites of crystallization and variation, and so forth. Rather than isolating elements (e.g. images, motifs), patterns of co-occurrence with elements at other levels of the hierarchy (e.g. theme) allow the identification of variation by classes of semantic, functional or formal equivalence (cf. Dundes 1982).

Historical Investigations

HGMs are most commonly associated with historical analysis of the information produced. This has been much less prominent across the past half-century. Current understandings of folklore transmission and variation have made scholars sceptical of pursuing investigations into the history of traditions. The term ‘reconstruction’ is now generally avoided in Folklore Studies and the ability to identify a direction of geographical spread or cross-cultural exchange is considered quite exceptional without synchronic evidence from earlier periods.

The application of HGMs for the comparison of data does not necessarily presuppose a historical relationship between items compared. HGMs provide tools for testing the probability of such a relationship (cf. Terhani 2013 and Figure 3). According to the principle that conventionalized synchronic variation in historically related traditions is an outcome of socio-historical processes, HGMs can be employed as a tool for exploring causes and significance of synchronic variation.

Historical investigation will normally be concerned with the langue of folklore – the abstract system of resources. The Classic HGM model’s emphasis on geography or social network (cf. K.Krohn 1926: 47–53) in dialogue with typological patterns in the data (cf. Kuusi 1976) can, however, be complemented by conventionalized variation according to social practice – i.e. the structures of the parole of folklore according to genre and register (cf. Stepanova 2012; Frog 2013a). Principles of ‘fuzzy stemmatics’ (which might be called HGMs) continue to be used in dialogue with relevant historical data. However, this is now in relation to current theories of folklore and folklore transmission –
theories that have advanced considerably since the Classic HGM was founded more than one hundred years ago. Considerations of time-depth also incline toward relative rather than absolute chronologies (see Frog 2013b) and most do not extend generalizations significantly beyond the recorded data (e.g. Stepanova 2011). More recent applications of the principle HGM with synchronic emphasis will not necessarily acknowledge continuity with the Classic HGM (viewed as a methodological package) but will nevertheless concede a historical background of variants and reiterations (e.g. identified with a kin-group). This relationship can then remain a background when examining correspondence and variation in synchronic data without being pursued further (e.g. Tarkka 2004; 2013). Cross-cultural comparisons may similarly argue relationships between different traditions that derive from cultural contacts without attempting to determine a chronology or direction of influence (e.g. Stepanova 2011). Continuums of variation across the geographical distribution area of a tradition were frequently seen in terms of the progressive diffusion of the tradition in Classic HGM studies (since J.Krohn 1883). However, this may, in many cases, be a historical outcome of networks of communities in interaction producing a special type of ‘convergence’ associated with long-term contacts (Frog & Stepanova 2011; Frog 2011a; cf. the impact of long-term contacts on language discussed in Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001).

Attention to synchronic variation in relation to systems of resources current in a tradition environment (e.g. von Sydow 1934; cf. Honko 1981; 1985) led to significant advancement in diachronic applications of...
HGMs with the dynamic modelling of whole systems of traditions and their stratified developments according to a long-term continuum (esp. Kuusi 1963). On a continuum model, the ‘origin’ of a tradition occurred in a contemporary tradition environment, drawing on resources available in that environment at that time. Later variations and adaptations also occurred in relation to the synchronic tradition environments and these were placed in dialogue with social and historical processes. Rather than a single fuzzy stemma (HGM2), this approach can be described as a matrix of such stemmas that map text-types of one or several genres complemented with the intersections and distributions of their primary constitutive elements at different levels in a structural hierarchy (images, motifs, themes). The continuum model turns attention from a point of origin to stratification and processes of change, among which discontinuities may be as informative as continuities and new developments (Frog 2013b). Within such a matrix, patterns of change can then be explored laterally across traditions (Frog 2011b).

In general, the question of ‘where’ and ‘when’ a tradition originated have been displaced by questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ a tradition manifests in attested forms in relation to social and historical factors. Concern now often focuses on how this relates to social meanings, significance and patterns of use in living and historical communities (e.g. Goldberg 1997; Frog 2011a). Emphasis falls on core elements or features of the tradition, considering additional surrounding features (that may vary by e.g. culture) according to degrees of probability, but without an assertion that all features were necessarily present and in a specific constellation in an earlier period. Increasing attention has also been given to continuities in systems of elements and features, considering their stratification and history of continuity as a “kaleidoscope, in perpetual motion” (Siikala 2012b: 19) associated with their use as practice in relation to their relevance and significance for their users. This has been done for constitutive features of individual genres (e.g. Stepanova 2011), the historical stratification of networks and systems of images across genres (e.g. Siikala 2002a) and systems and cycles of narrative motifs as constellations of plot resources (e.g. Witzel 2012; Frog 2013c). The examination of continuity and variation in systems of elements has proven more amenable to diachronic analysis because findings concerning a complex system are not problematized by the ‘kaleidoscopic variation’ of practice (i.e. emphasis is on continuity of co-occurrence rather than on an invariable relationship of co-occurring elements), nor are findings dependent on any single constituent of the system.

**Dialectal Investigation**

Following the metaphor of language, variation in a tradition by region, local communities or social groups of users can be approached according in terms of *dialects* of a tradition (cf. Foley 1990). Dialects may be at the first order of representation – the language of a tradition or its ‘register’ (Frog 2010b; Steanova 2012) – or at a higher order of representation that is communicated through language, such as the systems of images, symbols and narratives forming a mythology (Siikala 2012a). As implied by the term ‘dialect’, focus is on traditions which exhibit a probability of a historical relation even if the different dialects “cannot simply be traced back to a single original form” (Siikala 2012a: 15). In this case, one outcome of the application of HGM1 is a descriptive mapping of dialectal variation. Even investigations with a purely typological concern cannot simply ignore factors of cultural context and the socio-historical construction of conventions when assessing the commensurability of data and its interpretation. Basic concepts and images may be produced independently in different cultures in response to natural and social environments, but ‘multigenesis’ becomes increasingly improbable in relation to the specificity and complexity of particular folklore phenomena (e.g. J.Krohn 1883; Witzel 2012). In other words, the examination of typological similarity requires some consideration of the socio-historical construction of conventions underlying those patterns; if patterns of variation are examined,
the possibility must at least be considered that variations reflect typologically similar but unrelated elements which may nevertheless remain unequivocally distinct for their users (like homonyms in language; cf. there, their and they’re in Modern English).

In dialectal investigation, emphasis is on the variations as synchronic outcomes of diachronic socio-historical processes: a shared historical background is considered, but the time-depth of that relation is probably not a concern, or need not be considered beyond a depth of more than a few generations. Fuzzy stemmatics may then be reduced to a simple, three-stage hierarchy: a) discernible evidence of immediate interpersonal contact with the same or adjacent generation is distinguished as direct relationships between variants or possibly as micro-redactions (i.e. distinguishing these relationships from common features of the dialect); b) emergent expressions of a particular dialect with a common historical foundation is distinguished from other dialects; c) dialects are acknowledged as socio-historical outcomes of a common tradition (cf. Figure 2 above).

Emphasis may vary considerably in dialectal investigation. Dialectal investigation may focus on the langue of folklore or it may focus on conventional variations in the parole of folklore by genre or register. It may focus on a single element (e.g. a poetic formula, motif, tale-type) or systems of elements and systems of genres. Application of HGM may construct an image of basic dialectal variation as a necessary platform for other directions of study. For example, some degree of dialectal investigation should be a precondition of any study of variability in the parole of folklore according to context or individual users. This will identify and distinguish social resources and their conventions of use as a precondition for approaching their meaningful deployment and variation as practice within a particular dialect. The Classic HGM approached dialectal variation in formal elements and structures as a point of departure for investigating the history of traditions (cf. K.Krohn 1903–1910; 1918; 1924–1928; Anderson 1923; von Sydow 1934). The changing intersections of method, theory and research questions now allows the same patterns to be approached in terms of, for example, the variation and equivalence in semantics or function of elements (Dundes 1982; Frog 2010a), their relationships to social practices or interpretations through different conceptual models (e.g. Siikala 2002a; Frog 2011a), the potential for individual authorities to impact social tradition (Stepanova 2012) or dialect variation in flexibility in generative use of whole genres and poetic systems (cf. Siikala 1990; 2002b; Frog & Stepanova 2011). The emphasis of investigation will shape the principles for determining a corpus and hierarchies according to which analysis begins. These choices by the researcher determine the factors or phenomena in relation to which dialectal variation can be assessed, analyzed and interpreted (which reciprocally condition the information produced).

Generic or Registral Investigation
The focus on the langue of folklore was characterized by constructing an image of folklore as a homogeneous and monolithic system that is only imperfectly reflected through countless realizations. The turn from the langue to the parole of folklore acknowledged that the monolithic ideal was only an abstraction built from social realities of living variation. A significant consequence of this was the recognition that multiple folklore resources did more than simply co-exist in interaction at a formal level. On the one hand, they were recognized as diverse resources for communication and meaning-generation. Accordingly, their alternation, juxtaposition and combination, which had previously been ignored, ‘resolved’ or corrected, became an object of research interest which could offer information and insight into how folklore resources function and their relationships to genres. More recently, there has been a corresponding increase in interest and awareness that genres not only vary according to formal features, but also that the functions and/or significance of elements may vary across genres. For example, individual terms may be used more or less flexibly or in different ways (e.g. Siikala 2002a: 158, 162), corresponding
images may have alternative functions in different conventionalized motifs, or images and motifs conventional to different genres may seem to be contradictory (cf. Stepanova 2012). Particularly significant in this development has been the adaptation of the term and concept register from Linguistics to Folklore Studies (esp. Foley 1995; 2002). The term ‘register’ was developed as a designation for a characteristic variation of language according to context and situation (Halliday 1978; Agha 2007). ‘Register’ is increasingly used to refer to the conventionalized, generative lexicon of signifying elements and constructions of their use that characterize a particular folklore genre (e.g. Foley 1995; 2002). The investigation of these types of variation has produced a new type of synchronic application of HGMs which focuses on socially conventionalized variations according to contexts of use, such as variation between genres and their registers of expressive resources.

In generic or registral investigations, ‘geography’ is still an essential factor for consideration, but focus is on variation within a geographical environment or social network, looking at contextual conventions of genres and their registers rather than across the spatial distribution of these networks in terms of dialects. As a consequence, HGM1 can be adapted to analyze complex synchronic variation and interaction of diverse genres and modes of expression within an isolated geographical area (e.g. Tarkka 2004; 2013). This is done quite simply by using genre or register as a typology for indexing data. It can also be used (with less detail) on sources from a more remote historical environment where data may not allow dialects and geographical distribution to be distinguished for the majority of the data (e.g. Frog 2013a). Analyzing variation by genre/register can be complemented by geographical distribution for information on how different registers relate or interact in different dialect areas (Stepanova 2012). Like dialectal investigation, generic or registral investigation does not exclude diachronic perspectives: these are complementary factors that need to be taken into consideration when approaching variation in a corpus. Historical investigations may explore interactions between genres (e.g. Siikala 1990; 2002b) or their registers (Stepanova 2012) and analyze variation across registers and genres as reflecting patterns of use or conceptual models rooted in different historical periods (Frog 2012; 2013a).

In these investigations, a corpus of materials will situate genre, register, mode of expression or social practice at or near the top of a hierarchy of typologies in comparison when beginning to map variation. Depending on the emphasis, scope and data available, it may be more practical to map variation of specific elements or features within different genres or registers individually and then to compare those laterally. As in other uses of HGMs, the emphasis of the investigation will shape the principles for determining a corpus and hierarchies according to which analysis begins. These choices determine the factors or phenomena in relation to which variation can be assessed, analyzed and interpreted.

Overview

HGMs are normally thought of in the narrow form outlined by Kaarle Krohn nearly one hundred years ago. This denies HGMs the better part of their history. Moreover, HGMs continue to be imagined through the Classic HGM’s unilateral research goal of reconstructing Urforms and identifying their date and place of origin. This is equivalent to imagining that Oral-Formulaic Theory has a unilateral application of determining whether Homeric and medieval epics were orally composed. The Classic HGM formalized by Kaarle Krohn was, in some sense, fundamental to the establishment of Folklore Studies as a distinct and independent scientific discipline. Although this began as a methodological ‘package’, the methods it propagated – the HGMs – provided and remain a foundational framework for the study of folklore as a social phenomenon. Those methods were designed to generate an image of the distribution of continuity and variation through a corpus of folklore material (HGM1) and then to extend that image through the analysis of the patterns of relationships exhibited in the data (HGM2) generating a multidimensional picture of
variation on synchronic and diachronic axes. As the study of folklore has advanced, so have the theories in relationship to which HGMs are applied. At the same time, the HGMs have themselves been adapted and refined in dialogue with developing theories and new research questions. These developments led to flexibility in the hierarchies according to which material is approached and analyzed, as well as to a gradual increase in the dimensions according to which variation is mapped. The basic network of HGMs continue to be applied and emerge today as a flexible system for mapping social patterns of continuity and variation in order to answer a range of different research questions.

Put in somewhat oversimplified terms, the Classic HGM constructed an image of variation in a tradition on an axis of space in order to project that image along an axis of time. Today, criteria of space (or social network) and time have become so elementary to the study of folklore that they easily rest in the background as implicit conditions of the social and cultural environment in which traditions are practiced and in which evidence of folklore is produced. New research questions have both complemented and refined earlier methods. Rather than projecting the image of variation from the axis of space onto an axis of time, it may be projected onto an axis of meanings, functions, genres, contexts, users – or all of these in dialogue with one another. In each case, corresponding basic methods of comparison are applied and tested against the corpus – ideally in different ways. Projection along different axes engages different aspects of theory or different theories and requires adapted or complementary methods. Nevertheless, these form a system. The primary HGM, employed to map synchronic variation, continues to stand at the heart of this system with the complementary principle of fuzzy stemmatics inevitably, if often implicitly, in the background.

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Notes
1. In Finland, uses of HGMs with updated theories and research aims are distanced from Krohn’s ‘package’ by referring to these as different ‘methods’ or as a broader ‘Finnish Method’ of the ‘Finnish School’ (cf. Harvilahdi 2012: 398–402), much as attempts have sometimes been made to distinguish ‘Oral Theory’ from ‘Oral-Formulaic Theory’ and the controversies surrounding it (cf. Acker 1998: xiv–xv, who identifies ‘Oral Theory’ with Foley although Foley uses the terms interchangeably). However, ‘Finnish Method’ began as a synonym for ‘HGM’ (cf. K.Krohn 1910) and continues to be used as a synonym for ‘HGM’ internationally (but cf. also e.g. Honko 1979: 144), especially in English (e.g. Wilson 1976; Bendix 1997: 67; Seljamaa 2008: 85; cf. de Blécourt 2008: 262), while the ‘Finnish School’ may even be regarded as a subgroup associated with the HGM rather than vice versa (e.g. Pöge-Alder 2007: 90; cf. Mieder 2009: 445).

2. Esp. Orlík 1908; K.Krohn 1918: 52ff.; Anderson 1923; K.Krohn 1926: 59ff. Kaarle Krohn (1891: 67) refers to ‘laws’ already when presenting his father’s research in an international arena. However, Julius Krohn (1883: 584–585) seems only to have identified particular processes that he referred to as ‘mechanical’ (koneentapainen) and that occurred ‘unconsciously’ (tisetajuttomasti, on which cf. K.Krohn 1926: 24).


4. See e.g. Lachmann’s discussion in “Reichenschaft über L. Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments” (1930; cf. also Müller-Sievers 2001). Lachmann’s methods were only formalized much later by Paul Maas (e.g. 1957). On the advance from Lachmann’s methods to so-called New Stemmatics, see Bordalejo 2003: 39–64; on computer-assisted modelling with phylogenetic software (“biological stemmatology”), see Salemans 2000 (quotation from p. 40) and also Howe et al. 2001. It should be noted that Lachmann and his work was not removed from studies on folklore: he was, for example, in direct contact with Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (see e.g. Leitzmann 1927) and Julius Krohn (1883: 575–576) refers to Lachmann’s work on Germanic epic. For an example of the more or less direct application of Lachmannian stemmatics to folklore texts as tradition, see Bugge & Moe 1897.

5. This sort of textual archaeology could construct a branch of a stemma reflecting complex manuscript transmission through the detailed analysis of a single manuscript text as the outcome of that hypothetical stemma (e.g. Lindblad 1954).

6. Lachmann’s method was founded on the premise that all texts were reproduced more or less mechanically by scribes (see e.g. Müller-Sievers
2001). Much as in Folklore Studies, manuscript philology was inclined to overlook or ignore the individual agency of people participating in the transmission process. Marco Mustert (2013) recently stressed that the ideal model of stemmatics only really works for the Bible, which was subject to quite stringently conservative copying practices, while copying practices of other works and genres could vary considerably. Both the validity and motivations of reconstructing ultimate exemplars of manuscripts has come under scrutiny (see e.g. Bordalejo 2003: 39-64). Although distinguishing types of variation in copying practice can be integrated into stemmatic analyses (e.g. Sävborg 2012), stemmatics are now applied with interest in and attention to copying and variation as indicators of, for example, the cultural activity of texts in contemporary communities and the networks of which text transmission provides evidence (see e.g. the comments in Hall 2013; Katajamiäki & Lukin and also Etheridge, this volume).

7. The nature of social ‘geography’ has been radically revised with the increasingly global networking enabled by the internet. Electronic technologies can be seen as transferring the social construction of spaces to virtual environments that complement physical geography, but the availability of access to the internet should not be confused with the accessibility of virtual spaces constructed there.

8. This will most likely be on a bell curve in relation to the research question and scope of investigation.

9. Following Niklas Luhmann, “an element [is] what functions for a system as a unity that cannot be further subdivided (even if, viewed microscopically, it is a highly complex compound)” (Luhmann 1995: 22); in other words it is a minimal unit according to the system within which it occurs or functions rather than an “ontological concept of the element as the simplest unit of being (the atom), one that could not be further decomposed into smaller components” (Luhmann 1995: 27; cf. Saussure 1916: 146).

10. Cf. K.Krohn 1926: 124-125; Frog 2013b; contra e.g. Honko 1979: 144. It may nevertheless be observed that positive findings are, in general, more likely to reach publication, whereas comparisons that suggest accidental typological similarity or historical convergence have been considered less historically interesting and seem for the most part to appear when contesting a historical relationship or when the possibility of a historical relationship otherwise connects with a broader argument.

11. This was effectively what redaction analyses at the verbal level of kalevalaic poems described, such can be seen visually represented in Kuusi 1975.

12. Regional dialect variation in dangers encountered by the hero in the kalevalaic epic The Song of Lemminkäinen can be seen visually represented as charted data in Frog 2010a: 377–395.

13. In Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode, Kaarle Krohn (1926: 28–29) asserts an opposing view: he advocated the working hypothesis that every motif in narrative traditions had a single, unique origin in a particular tale (although this hypothesis is complicated by not clarifying the minimum complexity of a ‘motif’ and leaves it unclear whether the ultimate origin of such motifs can in fact be resolved). This was a premise relevant to the interpretation of material when analyzing the history of individual narrative tale-types and mythology. His emphasis on the reconstruction of a unique and ultimate Urform of each folklore phenomenon has been described by Alan Dundes as founded on “The Devolutionary Premise of Folklore Theory” (1969). This view was the opposite of that advocated by Kaarle’s father, Julius Krohn. Julius Krohn (e.g. 1883: 341–350) approached developmental processes of narrative traditions according to models and metaphors of evolution, and his considerations of situational (re)production were in some respects closer to modern approaches today (cf. Anttonen 2005: 48–49). William Wilson (1976) has highlighted that Kaarle Krohn followed his father’s approach and then, in the first year of Finnish independence, “dramatically revised the major theoretical positions that he had spent his life developing” in his initial formalization of the HGM (in Finnish in Kalevalakysymysä, 1918), which was notably in the political environment of the First World War (Wilson 1976: 247). Kaarle Krohn’s extreme position is connected to “a new historical vision [that] also required a new interpretation of folklore transmission” (Wilson 1976: 247). The difference in approaches thus corresponds to a difference in the orientation and interest of research: whereas the mature Kaarle Krohn focused on the historical origins of folklore phenomena, Julius Krohn’s discussion of these same phenomena was less concerned with resolving ambiguities of their origins than developing an approach to their ultimate products. His approach to the tradition as an emergent and variable phenomenon required the role of an individual to formulate a coherent folk epic – hence the role of Elias Lönnrot in the creation of the national epic Kalevala and the choices he made were not simply warranted and justified, but also a necessary precondition of the formulation of the epic as a coherent and unified entity (see esp. J.Krohn 1883: 588).

Works Cited


Behind the Text: Reconstructing the Voice of a Singer

Jukka Saarinen, Finnish Literature Society (SKS)

This paper is connected to ongoing study on songs of the famous Karelian singer of kalevalaic poetry, Arhippa Perttunen. The source materials for this study are the texts collected by Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) in 1834 and later by two other collectors: Johan Fredrik Cajan (1815–1887) in 1836 and Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) in 1839. They recorded about 85 texts and text-fragments, 5995 lines of epic, lyric and magic poetry. The present article deals with the problem of building a research corpus for my own study, basing it on texts which were recorded in oral performances nearly 180 years ago.

When studying the poetics, structures and semantics of oral texts, it would be preferable to have the transcriptions as accurate as possible, and for these to be accompanied by a sufficient amount of contextual data. However, these goals are only rarely achievable with old texts. Transcripts are not accurate, there are gaps and the contextual data is quite often almost totally lacking. In order to be understood correctly, these early oral texts should be looked at against the background of the ideas and objectives of collecting, publishing and interpreting folklore in the period when they were recorded. To illustrate my case, I will describe the possibilities of reconstructing the phonetic appearance of Lönnrot’s texts with the help of linguistic data we have from the area, combined with collections made by other collectors about 40 years after Lönnrot.

The Corpus of Kalevalaic Poetry

Kalevalaic poetry is named after the Finnish national epic, the Kalevala (Lönnrot 1835). It is an oral poetic tradition common to most Balto-Finnic peoples: Finns, Karelians, Ingrians, and Votes; and also known to Estonians as regilaul. It is characterized by its metre, a trochaic tetrametre with some special characteristics, such as its non-stanzic structure, alliteration and extensive use of parallelism. Poems vary from short poems of only a few lines to long epic poems, some of them over 400 lines in length. An extensive corpus of these poems has been published in Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot ("The Ancient Poems of the Finnish People"), commonly


called SKVR. This large anthology of Finnish, Karelian and Ingrian folklore contains 89,247 texts of kalevalaic poetry. Its publication took place in 1908–1948 in 33 bound volumes, with an extra volume published in 1997. Since 2007, the texts have been available online on the internet (SKVR-tietokanta).\(^1\) The aim of SKVR was to give researchers of Finnish folklore easier and more organized access to all known source texts of this traditional form of poetic expression that were otherwise scattered in archives and published in books, newspapers and so on over a long period of time (see Hautala 1957). Though these poems were mostly performed by singing and the texts could be called ‘songs’ as well, their melodies have not been published in SKVR and for the most part the melodies are also missing in the collectors’ notes. (Kuusi, Bosley & Branch 1977: 21–79; Harvilahti 2012: 392; Honko 2002: 13–16.) With very few exceptions, all of Arhippa’s texts have been published in the first four volumes of SKVR, which comprise the texts from the Viena Karelia region (SKVR I, 1908–1921).

SKVR has been edited for scholarly purposes, and the texts were printed as accurately as possible in the form in which they were found in the sources. The texts are organized topographically and thematically and provided with some standard metadata: id-number, topographic information, name of the collector, reference to sources and, if available, the name of the informant. SKVR has served as a principal source material in studies of kalevalaic poetry for well over hundred years now, and its value as a source for material has never seriously been questioned. Although at least a few scholars have commented on the differences between transcriptions and the expected linguistic forms (Steinitz 1934: 24; Sadeniemi 1951: 25–25, 87), in general scholars have been using texts exactly in the form they can be found in SKVR.

Writing conventions used by individuals who have written these texts down vary greatly according to the time when they were written, the purposes for writing them down, and the individual skills of the scribes. The earliest texts are from the 17th century, but the bulk of the material is derived from the collecting activities that started in the 1820s. Only 1% of the texts are from before 1800. In these activities, the role of Elias Lönnrot, the compiler of *Kalevala*, is of great importance. There are 2,402 texts in SKVR taken from Lönnrot’s collection that is housed in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS). These texts, mostly collected by Lönnrot himself on his field expeditions between 1822 and 1844, were meant to be used by Lönnrot in his publications on old Finnish folklore, most notably in the national epic the *Kalevala* (1835; new edition 1849) and *Kanteletar* (1840), which is an anthology of lyric poetry. However, before the 1870s, collectors did not normally use phonetic transcription when noting down texts. Some collectors, like Cajan, paid more attention to the way the singers uttered the words, but their results were mixed even at their best. In 1871, Axel August Borenius (1849–1931), a student at Helsinki University, traveled with two companions, Arvid Genetz (1848–1915) and Axel Berner (1843–1892) to Viena Karelia to collect kalevalaic poetry. Their aim was, first, to prove the authenticity of the *Kalevala*, but their findings actually contributed crucially to the birth of modern Finnish scholarship of folklore. They were the first to use phonetic transcription to any great extent when documenting poems. Genetz later wrote one of the first grammars on the Karelian language (1881). (Harvilahti 2012: 391–397.)

**Elias Lönnrot and Arhippa Perttunen**

One of the most important informants or ‘singers of poetry’ for Lönnrot was Arhippa Perttunen from Viena Karelia. Arhippa was born, presumably, in 1769 in the village of Latvajarvi in the Vuokkiniemi parish, where he lived until his death in 1841. On his fifth expedition in April 1834, Lönnrot met Arhippa and spent three days with him, noting down his songs. (SKVR I: 1154–1155). Arhippa impressed Lönnrot with his good memory and his songs which were in good order. As a rule, names of informants are missing in Lönnrot’s field notes as his aim was not to study separate singers but to combine their texts into a larger whole.
However, after the first text he got from Arhippa, he added in clear Swedish the words “Af Arhippa i Latvajärvi by” [‘From Arhippa in Latvajärvi village’]. Arhippa was also one of the only two singers mentioned by name in the preface of the *Kalevala*.

When reading Lönnrot’s transcripts we have to bear in mind that Lönnrot made the transcriptions for himself only. His purpose was to make old Finnish and Karelian poetry available to a wider Finnish audience, and the transcriptions provided material he used by adopting plots, motifs and scenes and picking up lines and expressions to that end (Honko 2002: 17–18). As a rule, Lönnrot used two columns on every page of his field notes, and after going through a column, he drew a vertical line through it to indicate that he had taken what he wanted from that column and there was no need to go back to it. Thus, Lönnrot had no plans to fill in or refine the transcripts of the actual field notes but rather this was to be accomplished in his publications. He himself knew what there was behind his abbreviations, and that was enough. Most of the abbreviations pointed to lines and words he already knew. For example, the abbreviation “V. v. V.” would mean “Vaka vanha Väinämöinen” [‘Sturdy old Väinämöinen’], pointing to the formula depicting the most prominent hero in northern epic songs.

Although Lönnrot had intended the field notes for his own use, he donated the manuscripts to be saved in the collections of the Finnish Literature Society after he no longer had any use for them. The primary reason for this was that he wanted there to be proof of the authenticity of the *Kalevala* in case anyone had any doubts about it. In 1760, the Scottish poet James Macpherson had published a number of epic poems which he claimed had originated in oral tradition. The authenticity of these texts was questioned quite early, especially in Ireland which shares the same oral traditions with Scotland. Later, it became evident that these poems were not translations of original poems but rather that they were written by Macpherson himself. Although they were based on a certain tradition of ‘Ossianic’ prose and verse narratives, Macpherson was accused of forgery and the dispute was still alive and known in Lönnrot’s time. Lönnrot wanted to avoid being considered some kind of Finnish Macpherson.  

**Comparison across Generations**

Later, in the second half of the 19th century, A.A. Borenius met Arhippa’s son Miihkali, known locally as Arhippaini Miihkali [‘Miihkali (son) of Arhippa’]. Miihkali was a singer too, though not as famous as his father was in his time, and Borenius recorded 12 texts from him. In later years (1872 and 1877), Borenius managed to record another 75 texts from him. Miihkali knew most of his father’s songs, though his versions were in general shorter and differed in many respects. (Itkonen 1936: 20–21; Saarinen 1994.)

The comparison of texts written down by Lönnrot from Arhippa and by Borenius from Arhippa’s son reveals some striking differences. The two texts presented as example (1) below are the beginning of a song describing *Lemmin poika* [‘the son of Lempi’] or *Lemminkäinen* on a fishing adventure by the respective singers as these are found in the *SKVR* critical edition. The poem, commonly known as *Vellamon neidon onginta* [‘Fishing up the Maid of Vellamo’], is the opening scene in a longer poem of *Lemmin poika* in Arhippa’s repertoire, and a poem of its own by Miihkali. Both singers perform the opening lines in the same manner, except for some minor differences in order and wording.

The first thing to be noticed in Lönnrot’s transcription from Arhippa is that it contains a lot of abbreviations, even words written as a single letter. The editor of *SKVR* has chosen to fill in the gaps by putting the addition between square brackets: “s[aaren]” [‘island’s’] only appears as “s.” in the manuscript. This is a standard mark-up for these inserts throughout *SKVR*. Secondly, there are diacritical marks in Borenius’ transcript on some letters (ń, š, ȟ) giving the phonetic values more accurately. The third thing, apparent to those who know the language, is the difference in certain word forms in the transcriptions of Lönnrot and Borenius:
(1) The beginning of the same song by Arhippa Perttunen transcribed by Elias Lönnrot in 1834 (left column) and by his son Miihkali transcribed by A.A. Borenius in 1871 (middle column) following the SKVR edition, accompanied by an English translation (right column).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arhippa</th>
<th>Borenius</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oli lieto Lem[minkäinen],</td>
<td>Oli lieto Lemminkäinä,</td>
<td>There was wanton son of Lepi was fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oli ongella olova,</td>
<td>Oli onkella olija,</td>
<td>at a misty head-land’s tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kävyksillä aina käyjä</td>
<td>Kälükšillä aina käjä</td>
<td>at a foggy island’s end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nenäässä utus[en] niem[en],</td>
<td>Nenäässä utuisen niimen,</td>
<td>the copper rod trembled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Päässä s[aaren] t[erhenisen];</td>
<td>Peääššä şoaren therhentäisen.</td>
<td>the silver line whined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vapa vaskinen vap[isi],</td>
<td>Hopieini śiima śiuku,</td>
<td>as son of Lepi was angling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopieinen ś[iima] śiuki</td>
<td>Voapa vaškiśi tärösi,</td>
<td>On one day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemmin pojan onkiesa.</td>
<td>Pojan lemmen onkiesšša.</td>
<td>on some morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jo p[aivänä] muutamena,</td>
<td>Huomena monikahana</td>
<td>A fish stuck on his (fishing rod’s) hook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puuttu k[ala] o[nkeena],</td>
<td>Kala puuttu onkheęni,</td>
<td>a trout on his fire steel (lit. ‘tinder iron’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taim[en] talka rautansa,</td>
<td>Taimen talka-rautahańi.</td>
<td>(SKVR I; 251:1–12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SKVR I; 251:1–12)</td>
<td>(SKVR I; 253:1–10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arhippa’s native language was Karelian, which is a language closely related especially to eastern dialects of Finnish, but which is still distinctive. The same poetic tradition was living on both sides of the language border (which was, and is, almost coincident with the state border in the northern areas). Although the spoken languages were quite distinct from one another, they shared a common poetic language. In poems, both languages share vocabulary and syntax, and they were mutually comprehensible. Nevertheless, in phonetics and morphology, texts from the Karelian area show quite distinctive Karelian features, as transcripts from Miihkali and from many others testify (cf. peääšša, vaškiśi, hopieini above). It is not at all likely that the local language had changed so much during the 40 years between the documentation of songs by Lönnrot and by Borenius. It is also very improbable that Arhippa would have been able to make his texts more Finnish in a collecting situation in order to make it more understandable for his visitors. It is therefore quite clear that Lönnrot’s texts represent a somewhat ‘Finnishized’ version of the language of the poems as singers performed them. The same can be said of other early collectors’ materials as well.

When publishing the poems, Lönnrot deliberately rejected certain forms that the singers used. He mentions this very clearly in the preface of the Kalevala (Lönnrot 1835: xxii). The reason for this was that he preferred to use forms which would be more easily
understandable to the Finnish public in general. He was well aware of the various forms and their importance for linguistic studies, but in his opinion, the poems were not meant for linguists only (see Lönnrot’s review of the anthology of ‘old poetry’ by Zachris Topelius in 1829;⁴ also Honko 2002:18–19; Hämäläinen, this volume). Lönnrot did not aim to transcribe the words as the singers had sung them but wrote them down in a more understandable way, or at least part of them. There are many instances where Lönnrot wrote down the dialectal form in his notes and later changed this for publication. Example (4) illustrates that Lönnrot discards the distinctive form of Karelian consonant gradation in the Kalevala.

(4) Two examples of Lönnrot’s transcription of Arhippa Perttunen (SKVR 12.759.44–45), followed by a line with the same noun in the corresponding inflection from Lönnrot’s 1849 Kalevala (poem 26.219 and 453).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mata-lla-s} & \quad \text{tulin[en] koski} \\
\text{way-ADE-2SG.POSS fiery rapids} & \quad \text{‘On your way fiery rapids’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Matka-lla} & \quad \text{iso-t imehe-t} \\
\text{way-ADE big-PL wonder-PL} & \quad \text{‘On the way big wonders’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{matka : matalla (Ka.) > matkalla (Fi.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kose-ssa} & \quad \text{t[ul-inen] k[oiivu]} \\
\text{rapids-INE fiery birch} & \quad \text{‘In the rapids a fiery birch’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Koske-ssa} & \quad \text{tul-inen luoto} \\
\text{rapids-INE fiery islet} & \quad \text{‘In the rapids a fiery islet’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{koski : koskessa (Ka.) > koskessa (Fi.)}
\end{align*}
\]

As already mentioned, the editors of SKVR filled in the gaps in the case of abbreviations and lines that had only been transcribed in part. Without filling in these gaps, texts would be almost impossible to understand for anyone except the experts who know this tradition well. Filling in these gaps raises the basic question of how it should be done. Should one use the same system or level of transcription that the collector has used? Or should one fill in the gaps using the local dialectic forms? The difficulty with either of these solutions is that Lönnrot was not very consistent in his transcriptions: he could write the same word in several ways. There is no correct answer because Lönnrot did not mean his notes to be read in a certain way—these were raw materials for something else. Lönnrot had also written some words, or parts of the words, in a more Finnish way. There could be a lot of incongruity when some words would be in Finnish and others in Karelian, or even words beginning in Finnish and ending in Karelian.

In many respects, Cajan’s and Castrén’s collections share the same features, though there are differences as well. Cajan, who was Lönnrot’s companion and assistant on Lönnrot’s trip in 1836, was more keen on (although not consistent in) representing the pronunciation of the singer, and for that reason his notes are very important for reconstructing Arhippa’s voice. For example, he would write consistently ‘oa’ or ‘eä’ instead of ‘aa’ or ‘ää’ in words like moassa [‘on the ground’] or teällä [‘here’], following the Karelian idiom. Cajan actually made a collection of folktales on the same trip, where he used words in their dialectic form. Castrén is more problematic, as his original notes are missing and he was in the habit of adding ‘variants’—versions of lines from other singers—to the text. In Arhippa’s case, the ‘variants’ seem to be between brackets or in margins, but of course it leaves us a bit uncertain.

**From Comparison to Reconstruction**

In my own study, I have chosen to attempt to reconstruct Arhippa’s words in the form he most probably sang or dictated them to the collector. That means not only filling in the gaps in the linguistic form of Karelian used in the poems, but also editing letters written by the collectors and preserved in original sources. I also correct some lines where the collector very obviously has missed the wording and wrote something incomprehensible or incoherent in the context, as illustrated in example (5) below, where the transcription in (5a) should be (5b). In this way, I am hoping to better represent the singer’s voice and to make the poetics of his performances more discernible. It also helps in searching, organizing and comparing features in the texts.
It is clear that this kind of reconstruction will contain errors and it cannot be correct in all instances. Nevertheless, I am convinced that it is closer to the words that the singer uttered almost 180 years ago than the textual hybrids that are published in SKVR. I am in no way trying to dispute SKVR’s value as a source for material because it would be impossible to reconstruct all the texts, as it invariably requires a great deal of detailed textual study. I am just going a bit further in the case of this special singer. Reconstruction also requires that the edition is marked in the corpus in some consistent way and that the original forms found in the manuscripts are easily accessible. All the changes should be properly argued and principles guiding the reconstruction made available.

I have accomplished building this reconstructed corpus by dividing the lines in SKVR into words, and classifying and organizing these morphologically in order to make orthography consistent with the Karelian language and later phonetic transcripts from the same area. I have also completed all defectively recorded lines to be metrically valid. I have utilized especially the Dictionary of Karelian Language (Karjalan kielen verkkosanakirja), and texts collected by Borenius, Genetz and Berner as well as those published in SKVR. The result is a corpus of 5,995 poetic lines and 18,923 words. The texts resemble those recorded by Borenius and others, except for the use of diacritical marks. In general, leaving out the diacritics does not change the meaning at all. In the dialect, ‘soari’ and ‘šoari’ [‘island’] do not have different meanings; ‘s’ and ‘š’ are not different phonemes; they are allophones. There are only few cases where use of the diacritical marks makes difference, for example ‘villa’ [‘wool’] and ‘vil'la’ [‘corn grain, crop’]. For the sake of clarity, I have chosen to transcribe /l̥/ with ‘j’, though this represents the Finnish orthography and pronunciation.

Example (6) gives the lines presented in (1) with interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, following loosely the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Leipzig Glossing Rules), for
which a list of abbreviations can be found in
the Appendix 1. This presents the exact form
of SKVR I1 251.1–12 found in Lönnrot’s
notebook (Lönnrotiana 5:66:1–12) and is
presented with my reconstruction of the
original ‘voice’ of the singer directly below it
in italic font, followed by the glosses and the
translations based on this reconstruction.

Text Verses and Original Voice

Kalevalaic poetry was performed by singing,
except for incantations which could be
performed by recitation. Relevant questions
are therefore whether Arhippa sang to
Lönnrot, and whether Lönnrot was able to
transcribe directly from singing. We do not
know for certain what Lönnrot’s techniques
were when he wrote down the texts. When
kalevalaic poetry is dictated, texts show
morphological features closer to the spoken
language and different from those texts
transcribed from singing (Itkonen 1936: 63–
65; Lauerma 2004: 24–32). As these
differences most often occur at word-endings
as shown in example (7), they are not
discernible if there are many abbreviations.

(7) Dictated — Sung
tulo-u — tulo-uve ~ tulo-opi
‘(s)he’

mere-h — mere-hen
sea-ILL
‘into the sea’

However, there are certain points at which the
texts seem to indicate a sung performance. A
sung performance of kalevalaic poetry
neutralizes syllabic stress and vowel length.
Rhythmic stress in singing does not
necessarily follow the stress in spoken
Karelian or Finnish language, where the stress
is always on the first syllable. On the other
hand, the meter quite strictly regulates how
the long and short initial syllables can be
positioned in the line. Normally, this helps in
recognizing words in the line, but in the
absence of the regular word-stress, this might
also give rise to misunderstandings. This is
illustrated in example (8), where Lönnrot has
originally written kyveh or kyvehe (8a), which
is a word with no meaning, and then he has
corrected the word by striking it through and
writing above it, dividing the word into two
words “kyyt veestä” (8b), a change that makes
the line totally comprehensible (SKVR I2 758:
229):^5

(8a) Vesi kyvehe-stä nost-i
water “kyveh?”—ELA raise-PST.3SG
‘He raised from water-kyveh’

(b) Vesi kyty veje-stä nost-i
water adder-PL water-ELA raise-PST.3SG
‘He raised water-adders from the water’

Although cases like this are not very frequent,
they show that at least some of the poems
were presented by singing to Lönnrot and also
to Cajan. In the absence of original field
notes, nothing can be said for certain of
Castrén (cf. Lukin, this volume). Along with
Lauri Honko (2002: 18), I have come to the
conclusion that Lönnrot’s technique was a
combination of writing from singing in very
abbreviated form and subsequently filling in
those words which were not obvious to him. It
is impossible to know whether completing
those words happened after the completed
performance or perhaps partly during the
performance itself. It is equally impossible to
know whether Lönnrot did this by himself or
with the help of the singer, because Lönnrot
did not describe his technique in detail
anywhere.

How reliable then are Lönnrot’s texts as
source material for the original voice of the
singers? Are we sometimes listening to
Lönnrot’s voice when reading the texts, or has
he made changes to texts that are irreversible
and that would make reconstruction
impossible or at least very uncertain? We
have some proof that his notes are quite
reliable. First, the manuscripts by Lönnrot and
Cajan are field notes, containing
abbreviations, lines in margins and quite
messy corrections. Secondly, parts of the
songs have been transcribed more than twice
by different collectors. Although there are
only seven or eight texts of which we have
more or less full forms in more than one
variant, the texts are so uniform that we can
rule out any major editing on behalf of the
collector of the original notes. Only in the
case of M.A. Castrén, whose field notes are
missing, can we see some traces of editing in
his text copies, especially in a manuscript
which he donated to the Finnish Literature
1. **Kuka lie** minu-o luo-nut
   who be-POT.3SG I-PART create-PERF
   ‘Whoever created me’

2. **Kuka kurjo-a** suven-nut
   who wretched-PART make-PERF
   ‘who made the wretched one’

3. **Täällä inha-lla ijä-llä**
   this-ADE bad-ADE times-ADE
   ‘for these bad times’

4. **Niin *Ei* luo-nut sana-n sepä-kse**
   *no* create-PERF word-GEN smith TRANSL
   ‘so has created *didn’t create* to be a wordsmith’

5. **Pan-nut virre-n portaha-kse**
   put-PERF song-GEN step-TRANSL
   ‘put me as the step of song’

6. **Parempi minu-n poloise-n**
   better I-GEN poor-GEN
   ‘It would be better for poor me’

7. **Sana-n seppä-nä ol-isi**
   word-GEN smith-ESS be-COND.3SG
   ‘to be as a wordsmith’

8. **Ol-la virre-n portaha-na**
   be-INF song-GEN step-ESS
   ‘to be as a step of song’

9. **Kuin on suo-lla portaha-na**
   than be-PRS.3SG swamp-ADE step-ESS
   ‘than as a step in the swamp’

10. **El-köäte hyvä suku-ni**
    NEG-IMP.2PL good kindred-POSS.1SG
    ‘Do not you, my good kindred’

11. **Soojot[?] suo-lla portaha-kse**
    wish-IMP.2PL swamp-ADE step-TRANSL
    ‘wish me to be a step on the swamp’

12. **Sillo-i-kse** *lika siijo-i-lla**
    bridge-PL-TRANSL filth spot-PL-ADE
    ‘a bridge over the filthy spot’

Lönnrot, through his dedicated work, aimed at understanding and preserving the oral tradition of Finland. He was able to capture the essence of the songs and stories that had been passed down through generations, but the inaccuracies and mistranslations that were found in his first edition of **Kalevala** are a testament to the challenges of documenting such a rich cultural heritage. The emendations made, as seen in the example above, were crucial in refining the text and ensuring its accuracy. Lönnrot’s approach to the folk material he collected was both a reflection of his own ideological and methodological perspectives and a demonstration of the complexities involved in the process of folklore documentation.

**Appendix 1. List of glossing abbreviations**

- **ADE** adessive (case)
- **COND** conditional (verbal mood)
- **ESS** essive (case)
- **GEN** genitive (case)
- **ILL** illative (case)
- **IMP** imperative (verbal mood)
- **INE** inessive (case)
- **INF** infinitive
- **NEG** negative
- **PART** partitive (case)
- **PERF** perfect (tense)
- **PL** plural
- **POSS** possessive
Notes
1. For more information on the SKVR-corpus, see Saarinen 2001.
2. See e.g. Lönnrot’s letter (in Swedish) to Léouzon Le Duc 30.3.1851 (Lönnrot 1993: 471–477); on this topic see further Hautala 1957: 7–8; Mulholland 2009; Ö Giolláin 2012: 412–413; Honko & Nyman 2001: 41–42.
3. The examples are glossed following the general guidelines set out in the Leipzig Glossing Rules, on which see http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php.
5. Editors of SKVR have, as a rule, been quite pedantic and provided footnotes accounting for all of the corrections and inserts that are to be found in the original manuscripts, yet, for some reason, this one is missing!

Glosses and translations by author, Keith Bosley (Kuusi, Bosley & Branch 1977) and Lotte Tarkka (2004).

Sources
Manuscripts of Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS KRA):
Cajan, J. Fr. 1:1–38. 1836.

Works Cited

The Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) in Helsinki, contain, among other archival materials, 150,000 texts in the Kalevala-metre recorded from the 16th to the 20th century (epic, lyric, charms, wedding songs, proverbs, riddles, tales, songs of common people). The systematic collection of Kalevala-metric poetry began in the early 19th century and it was widely inspired by Elias Lönnrot’s journeys in Finnish and Russian Karelia. Once the so-called Old Kalevala was published in 1835, the principles of collecting oral poetry changed. Elias Lönnrot and his collaborators transcribed oral tradition at a time when there were no established archives or institutions which could preserve the material appropriately. The purpose behind collecting folk songs and their further usage were not necessarily explicitly described to the persons singing the songs and most of the collectors noted down songs without any contextual information regarding the singers. (DuBois 1994: 141–142.) A major part of the poetic material that was gathered under these conditions is published in the volumes of Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot [‘The Ancient Poems of the Finnish People’], 1908–1997 (SKVR). However, only a narrow portion of this material has been selected to represent the nationally valuable tradition in publications such as the Kanteletar (Lönnrot 1840) and the Kalevala (Lönnrot 1835; 2nd rev. edn 1949). The Kalevala will be at the center of the present article.

Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884), who created the national epic Kalevala (1849) for the Finns, was a medical doctor and one of very few native Finnish speakers of his time to be educated at the university level. At the university and in academic circles in the Grand Duchy of Finland, nationalistic interest in oral tradition was growing at the beginning of the 19th century, and Lönnrot conceived the idea of compiling a Finnish national epic based on oral poetry that he himself had collected, and he continued to collect material, making a total of eleven journeys around Finland and Russian Karelia from 1828 to 1844. Using the collected folk poetry, he published different folk poetry collections comprised of selected poems and verses that were considered in his time to represent the Finnish oral tradition authentically and completely. The Kalevala, published in 1849, took shape in Lönnrot’s mind across thirty years. Lönnrot made five versions of the epic in total, of which the so-called New Kalevala in 1849 received the most respect, best reception, and status as a national epic. In addition to the Kalevala and its different versions, Lönnrot also published other folk poem collections based on this material, such as the Kantele Leaflets (1829–1831) and the Kanteletar (1840), which were anthologies of folk lyric songs.

Lönnrot aimed to present a diverse spectrum of folk-poetry in a widely available written form. While seemingly loyal to his principles and maintaining great fidelity to oral sources, Lönnrot did more than make oral tradition readable by modifying different dialects, as discussed in Jukka Saarinen’s article in this volume. He also amended and moulded diverse expressions of folk poetry. Lönnrot’s fame in Finland was not based on his faithfulness to the oral material in every detail. It was based on the products of his textualization processes that created distance from the orally performed poetry, its dialectical language and its rural, everyday context. Unlike others who produced cultural publications, Lönnrot’s way of representing the oral poetry was highly acclaimed because he amended oral texts so that they became closer to the aesthetic and conventional
conceptions of a 19\textsuperscript{th} century readership (Hämäläinen 2012: 59; see also Anttonen 2004).

In this sense, Lönnrot’s textualisation work can be characterized in relation to his contemporaries, whose limited knowledge of oral tradition he attempted to complement. Lönnrot collected, published and redefined oral poetry in his textual productions and discussed it with his contemporaries. He lived on the boundary between two worlds. He belonged primarily to the Swedish-speaking urban culture, but he was Finnish-speaking by birth, the son of a tailor, and grew up in modest circumstances. He gathered, edited and defined oral tradition by publishing various literary collections of poetry for a cultured readership. At the same time, he participated in contemporary discussions of society by publishing articles and educated tales. (Karkama 2001: 88–100.)

In Finland, where both Finnish and Swedish were spoken, collecting and editing practices were strongly combined with the idea of constructing a national unity (see Anttonen 2012: 334–338). Swedish was the official language (until 1892) and used by the intelligentsia, while Finnish was widely spoken among the common people. Thus, textualization practices, collecting, and editing oral tradition into collections, were intended to represent a Finnish tradition which could be shared by all of the people of Finland. Despite many other collectors before and after him, Lönnrot was the first and only to receive a respected status for his publications. As Pertti Karkama (2001) has pointed out, Lönnrot was working with a concern for the whole Finnish nation. Even though Lönnrot’s work also received criticism and stimulated discussion, his editorial choices were at the same time dismissed in the light of national-romantic purposes (Hautala 1954).

The documentation of oral poetry and analogies between oral material and the \textit{Kalevala} have been studied in Finland since the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century. Affected by the Historical-Geographic Method (see Frog, this volume), the tendency was to identify which oral verse was found behind the \textit{Kalevala}. In the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, \textit{Kalevala} research was mainly done within literary research, which has produced some significant studies on the epic (Kaukonen 1956; Karkama 2001). The idea of the \textit{Kalevala} as a piece of literature has resulted in a situation where, for decades, all of the textual works of Elias Lönnrot have rather been regarded as an irrelevant and uninteresting object of research in Finnish folkloristics. The new wave of research on the \textit{Kalevala} approaches Lönnrot’s editing work from the perspective of textualization processes (Anttonen 2004; 2012; Hämäläinen 2012; Hyvönen 2008). Within this new perspective, Lönnrot’s representational work on oral folk poetry is studied as an editorial and ideological practice that highlights the contextual choices behind selecting, omitting, combining and adapting folk poetry texts in the production of national publications like the \textit{Kalevala}. Textualization thus is not only an indication of the collection and transfer of oral tradition into a written form, but also of conscious intentions and objectives relating to the historical and ideological processes of making folk poems into literary products (Bauman & Briggs 2003).

This article will discuss the textual practices of Elias Lönnrot in compiling his presentations of folk poetry by concentrating on the concept of textualization as an ideological aim to make oral texts into a written form. Lönnrot did not only make small and hidden changes, but also added direct messages to be able to guide the reception of the epic. Regarding Lönnrot’s objective to control interpretations of the readers and his aim to manipulate folk poetry, I will examine the explicit negative expressions in the poems about Aino and Kullervo in his master work, the \textit{New Kalevala} (1849). The poems of Aino and Kullervo are mainly developed through Lönnrot’s composition and there are neither poems nor characters identical to Aino or Kullervo as such in the folk poetry tradition. Behind these characters are several epic-mythic oral poems which tell above all about a giant boy of Kaleva and about a young maiden, Anni, who meets a mythical wooer and hangs herself. The Kullervo poems in the \textit{Kalevala} have been regarded as concerned with certain tendencies; poems in which
Lönnrot emphasized the destiny of a mistreated child and the role of parents as educators. The Aino poems describe a relationship between a daughter and her mother underlined by customs of marriage agreements. Both of these cycles of poems have been regarded as having a pedagogical tendency (Kaukonen 1956: 461, 492).

The point of departure for this article is a consciousness of modernity embedded in the textualization practices that gave rise to these stories. Textualized collections of oral poetry were, at the time of their publication, often thought to be based on oral sources, ancient culture and tradition, even though they received their written form in discussions and discourses of the 19th century. In Finland, written representations of oral poetry were made in ways that were adequate for the 19th-century modern public in order to create a nationally shared knowledge of the historical past for an educated elite and largely Swedish-speaking audience who had a weak understanding of the oral culture of Finnish-speaking rural commoners. This article will investigate the kinds of limitations and changes to which oral poetic material was subjected when it received its written presentation, and also the extent to which these changes might still affect our apprehension of the oral tradition of kalevalaic poetry.

**Negative Expression in Lyric Songs**

Negative expressions and advice or warnings are commonly and intertextually used stylistic devices in the kalevalaic poetry tradition. Some of the genres, such as proverbs, that concisely describe some specific guideline or point of wisdom, abound with negative expressions. In this type of proverbial maxim, the negative can describe something essential about the moral views of common people. (Kuusi 1963; Stark 2011: 49–53.)

Lyric poetry, the discourse of emotions, includes many negative devices. The richness of the negative formulae and phrases is visible when looking at a table of contents of Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot. For example, in the volume of songs from Northern Karelia (SKVR VII2), there are 50 songs (under the titles “Worry”, “Disappointment” and “Young Maidens’ Mood”) that start with a negative line. These songs, called songs of sorrow, deal mostly with worry, sorrow and frustration. Negative formulae, such as *En minä ilolla laula, / enkä suurella surulla* [*I am not singing with joy / nor with great sorrow either*] (SKVR XIII1 1793) or negative instructions such as *Ålköön minun emoin / Ålköön emo kuluni* [*Let my mother not / Let my poor mother not*] (SKVR VI1 102) are different, yet representative stylistic devices which emphasize a message of the poem.

Negative expression belongs to the imagery devices of lyric songs. Usually, the negative is presented as a different kind of antithesis. Because of its concrete poetic style, lyric song communicates clearly by using an antithetical style regarding what is lacking and what is present. (Relander 1894: 283–284.) Negative expressions in lyric poems are often personal, expressed by a first person pronoun, whereas in short-style genres such as riddles and proverbs, the negative is expressed from a distance.

**Ei ne muut murettu tunne,**
**Kanna karvasta syäntä,**
**Mie musta murehen tunnen,**
**Kannan karvahan syämen.**

(*SKVR VII2 1780, recorded by Lönnrot.*)

No others know my grief,
Carry a bitter heart,
I am black to know the sorrow,
Worried to carry the bitter heart.

Besides message of the poem (here: sorrow), negative formulae emphasize a great (emotional) difference between the sorrowful singer, the ‘I’ or ‘self’, and others. Folk lyric style is concrete and explanatory. It does not carry unclear meanings or ambiguity, which is again typical in literary poetry (see Katajamäki 2002). It is neither unclear who is sorrowful (‘I’) nor who is opposite to the unhappy one (others).

Sometimes, a negative expression is used for repetition and the rhythm of a song. This appears especially in songs that consist of some kind of comparison. The pattern is the same: the worried one is approaching relatives and asking whether they mourn and whether they care about her/him (Kuusi 1963: 344).
Ei itke iso minua,
Eikä veikko vierettele,
Ei emo pane pa
haksi,
Ei kastu sisaren kasvot.
(SKVR VII 1773.4–7 recorded by Lönnrot.)

Father will not weep for me,
Nor my brother be sad,
Mother will not take it ill,
Sister’s face will not be wet.

The negative is also about denying an alternative choice or, in some cases, it is a dynamic way to show social injustice as well (Kuusi 1963: 263, 361). In the example above, emphasis is created by repeating a feeling of worry and abandonment: no one is crying for the worried one. The negative device also refers to unspoken knowledge. What is unsaid raises an idea of what is not present. Negative expression thus requires a contextual background of audience/readers for an interpretation of (unspoken) content. (Katajamäki 2000: 140−141.) A negative device can also be seen in the inclusion of a positive emphasis: an idea of utopia. In such cases, the negative device can consist of a conditional clause or various verbal claims (Timonen 2004: 377), even confrontation, as in this folk song example: Ei itke iso minua / vaikka joutuisi jokeen [‘Father will not weep for me / even if I were taken by the river’] (SKVR XIII 1 2108).

Negative expression is also present in many other lyric songs, such as songs of instruction, lullabies, and wedding songs. In lullabies, it expresses an uncertainty about the future, about a child’s destiny. A mother rocks the cradle and sings about her uncertainty, not knowing what life will bring for her child or what kind of fortune the child will have:

Ei tiiä emo tekiä
Eikä kantaja katala,
Mihin tuutiipi tyttäriä,
Kuhun lasta liekuttaapi.
Tuutiiko tuvallisle,
Vai tuutii turvattomalle.
(SKVR VI 560.1–6, recorded by Lönnrot.)

Mother, maker, does not know
nor the mean one who bore me,
to where she rocks her daughter,
wings the child to sleep.
Does she rock the child to one with house,
or to one houseless.

While the negative voices suspicion and worry in lyric songs, it can also be utilized directly as advice or warning. The imperative here is not necessarily direct or strict, but more often implicit, gentle and conversational: Elkä te hyvät imeiset, / Elkä ouoksi oteletko [‘Do not, dear ones / Do not find me strange’] (SKVR XIIIi 1914), or Ei vainen, emo, minua, / Toru toista työttöäsi! [‘Do not, mother, scold me / Do not scold your other daughter’] (SKVR VII 2 2549.) A negative device frames the mother’s songs of instruction to her daughter. In these songs, the mother prepares and instructs her daughter for marriage. The negative is an apparent method in songs of instruction because of the agrarian customs and rules for getting married. In the agrarian world, the aim of young girls was to get married. Young girls started to be prepared for the role of bride early, and their mothers sang songs of instruction about how to prepare for the role and how to get the right groom (Timonen 2004: 46).

Negative Expressions in Textual Representations of Elias Lönnrot

Presenting folk poetry as authentically and exhaustively as possible, Lönnrot also aimed at offering the poetry in an aesthetically or morally correct way. Lönnrot was primarily driven by the idea that the presentations of oral poetry should be shared by all the people in Finland. He had a two-dimensional task to educate, seeking to present folk poetry in a way that it would be understandable to middle-class readers and also to present texts that could instruct common folk with moral advice.

Lönnrot had a moral purpose not only in editing and publishing folk songs, but also in other writings as well. He wrote educational tales for the common folk and took part in contemporary discussions about the role of the family, emotions and religion (see Hämäläinen 2012: 100−104). Lönnrot’s morality was affected by his Lutheran faith, which strengthened in his later life. As many scholars have observed, Lönnrot was greatly influenced by different ideological and cultural tendencies of his time (Karkama 2001; Hyvönen 2008; Anttonen 2012). The bourgeois’ aims of enlightenment were
targeted to construct distance between themselves and the aristocratic class with their flighty ways of living. They also sought to see rural folk people as having decent habits in daily life. Several attempts to educate and instruct the common people were required. Lönnrot emphasized the control of the body and the avoidance of all extreme feelings, while he criticized alcohol consumption among the common people and their strong religious habits (Pietism) (VT 2: 207). In these other writings, he used the negative in advice and warnings in order to direct his readers as well. The negative was mainly used as explicit advice and proverbial maxims, such as Tehkäät hyvää ja elkäät suuttuko (VT 4: 418) [‘Do good and don’t get angry’]. These expressions often had a religious accent for of the public, common people – e.g. Hän elköön itseänsä murheilla vaivaksi, vaan luottakoon ja toivokoon kaikki Jumalan sallimisesta hänelle hyväksi olevan (VT 4: 132) [‘He should not let himself be troubled by sorrows, but trust and wish that all God’s favour do him good’]. (See further in VT 4: 402, 418, 426, 429.)

The Kalevala also includes a remarkable number of various negative expressions; in addition to negative formulae and phrases, it also has quite a few pieces of advice and warnings formulated with negative expressions. These are presented either in monologue or dialogue, by a narrator or a protagonist, such as when these are placed in the mouth of the great sage of the epic, Väinämöinen, or in the mouth of a mother (usually of a male hero). All of the pieces of advice in the Kalevala are stated at a distance from the narrative voice by attributing them to a different speaker or situating them on a different narrative stage (DuBois 2000: 136–137). Negative expressions, representative of folk lyric songs, are often included in lyric lines, but Lönnrot also added negative phrases and advice to poem sections where they did not traditionally belong.

The oral material accumulated across several collecting journeys and the idea of the Kalevala developed in Lönnrot’s mind. One of the genres that played an increasingly significant role in compiling the epic was oral lyric poetry. To facilitate the development of his work on the epic, an interlevened copy of the Old Kalevala was printed and Lönnrot gradually added lyric poems to the blank pages in the 1840s, at which time he also published the lyric anthology Kanteletar, and articulated the value and essence of oral lyric in his writings (Borenius & Krohn 1895). While the presence of the negative is typical of lyric poetry and presented in the anthology Kanteletar, it can be asked why there are negative expressions visible in the Kalevala, as well.

A textual analysis of different versions of the Kalevala reveals that negative expressions are more present in the New Kalevala than in the other versions. Textual analysis also shows that Lönnrot added content, messages, stylistic and linguistic features of oral poems for publishing purposes – i.e. to present folk poetry to wider audiences and, at the same time, to guide his readers aesthetically and morally. The analysis of these developments is based on the idea of metadiscoursive practices discussed by Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs in Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality (2003). In this context, the term ‘metadiscoursive practices’ refers to diverse meta-textual usages that enable oral text to become readable and comprehensible to its readers, who have limited knowledge of the oral tradition. These practices are often morally coded and can consist of direct discourse and quotation or the use of other genres within the edited oral-based text. (Bauman & Briggs 2003: 208–210.) Within that frame, attention can be turned to negative devices and warnings appearing in the Kalevala, using these to elucidating Lönnrot’s way of operating with folk lyric material.

**Negative Formulae**
The cycle of Kullervo poems is a synthesis of different traits and characters of the epic poems about Kaleva’s son, or about Tuurikkainen or about the hero Lemminkäinen in the northern singing regions (Viena Karelia). The poems of the Kalevala describe how Kullervo set off for war, and of the quarrel between Untamo and Kalervo, elements typical in the southern region of the poetry tradition. The Kullervo poems also
draw on elements of the narrative tradition about the giants of Kalevala (Lönnrot’s name for the land of heroes, from which the epic receives its name) and a strong boy who is described as a hybrid between an animal and a human being. Lönnrot humanized different poetic traits and deeds behind this character by using lyric descriptions inside the epic story and by creating a strong relationship between Kullervo and his mother (Hämäläinen 2012: 258–259, 263–264). In the Kalevala, Kullervo is described as an orphan who fails in his tasks and who has a tragic destiny that ends in his suicide.

The Kullervo cycle (New Kalevala, poems 31–36) includes several negative expressions. Expressions and formulae are presented either in lyrical monologues in which Kullervo describes his sorrowful mind, or, similarly, the negative expressions or formulae can be related to his dialogue with his mother. As in folk lyric poetry generally, the negative expression, here an antithesis, tells what is missing: happiness in life. One of the lyric songs that Lönnrot added to the Kullervo poems, Päivä pääskylle tulevi [‘Day Comes to Swallows’], describes one’s sorrow by comparing it to the birds’ joy. Usually the song depicts an orphan’s feelings: day comes to swallows, but not to me who is motherless, fatherless.

Päivä pääskyille tuloo,
Varpusille valkenoo,
Ilo ilman lintusille;
Ei minulle milloinkana,
tule ei päivä polvenansa,
ei ilo sinä ikään!
(New Kalevala, poem 34: 65–70.)

Day comes to swallows
whitens for sparrows
joy for the birds of the air;
but never for me
does day come in a lifetime
nor joy ever in this world!
(The Kalevala trans. 1999: 469–470.)

In the context of the Kalevala, the unhappiness is connected to a specific person, Kullervo. In the broader context of the Kullervo poems, Kullervo misses many fundamental elements in his life. An image of his life is related to home and to a lack of caring parents. In the Kalevala, Kullervo is homeless and an orphan. In this contextual frame, the antithesis clarifies the meaning. Furthermore, it relates allusions and messages about Kullervo’s mood and wishes (see Katajamäki 2000: 141). By replacing the word emottomalle followed by an extra negative tule ei päivä polvenansa [‘does day come in a lifetime’], Lönnrot requires a contextual background for the poem, but also addresses the destiny of Kullervo (he will not become happy). The lyric song of the Kalevala represents not only a collective knowledge of unhappiness, but connects the lyric motif to Kullervo as an orphan and the parents’ role in his life.

Negative formulae further describe uncertainty about Kullervo’s background. He does not know from where or with whom he originates: En tieä tekijätäni / enkä tunne tuojoani [‘I don’t know who made me / nor who brought me here’] (New Kalevala, poem 34: 66–70.)
34: 71–72). It is also used for underlining proximity to or distance between Kullervo and others by Lönnrot (see the section on Negative Dialogue, below) or a deviance of Kullervo:

vaan en nyt iällä tällä,
en mä vielä jouakana,
soille sotkuportahiksi.
(New Kalevala, poem 34: 87–89.)

But I shall not in this world
I shall not yet come to be
a causeway on swamps.

Negative formulae within lyric lines indicate Kullervo’s position as an orphan and as one who is homeless. This is stated over the original shape of Kaleva’s son, who is described as an extremely strong, mythical hero, even a giant in some oral poems (SKVR I\text{2} 936; XII\text{1} 120–122). Lönnrot explained his views on Kullervo’s mourning in a letter to an Estonian contemporary, Emil Sachsendahl, at the turn of 1850 and 1851:

Kullervo wandered alone for days and moaned his fate for having lost both father and mother right after birth and for drifting as an abandoned and homeless one in the forest. (VT 5: 467.)

With his textual changes and the explanation of the poem, Lönnrot highlighted a more understandable interpretation for readers: Kullervo’s sorrow results from his family background.

Negative Dialogue
Negative expressions in the New Kalevala are employed to elucidate dialogues in which Kullervo engages. Negative expressions do not necessarily mean something negative or bad, but rather they are used by Lönnrot to emphasize Kullervo’s status as an orphan or, more commonly, his close relationship to his mother.

For example, before Kullervo meets his mother again, he is wandering in a forest and begins mourning his sorrowful destiny (i.e. being without family). Kullervo wonders about his birth and homelessness as in lyric poetry that concentrates on describing emotions. Then he directs his words to God, complaining about God’s creation of an orphan child.

Ellöspä, hyvä Jumala,
elkösi sinä ikäni,
luoko lasta luonnotonta
eikä aivan armotointa,
isointa alle ilman,
emotointa ensinkään,
niinkuin loit minun, Jumala,
minun kurjainsa kuvasit,
loit kuin lokkien sekahan,
karille meren kajavan!
(New Kalevala, poem 34: 55–64.)

Do not, oh good God,
do not ever in this world,
create an unlucky child
nor one quite unloved,
fatherless under the sky,
motherless – that least of all–
as you created me, God,
shaped wretched me, created,
like one of a flock of gulls,
like a sea-mew on a reef!

Lönnrot possessed a folk lyric example of this text (SKVR XIII\text{1} 2102), which provided the basis for versions of the poem he published in the Kanteletar (II: 110) and in the New Kalevala. Lönnrot followed the folk poem text without making major changes to it. Nevertheless, he changed an allusion in the content for the Kalevala. In the context of the Kalevala, ‘unnatural’, ‘unlucky’, and ‘unloved’ indicate an orphan, a child without parents, or without family (see also charms SKVR VII\text{4} 1605, 2164). However, in oral tradition, on the contrary, it can also be related to temper – Karelian luonnotoin ['unnatural'] is defined “lauhkea, arka” ['tame, timid'] (KKSK: s.v. ‘luonnotoin’); cf. also the parallel expression luonnoton pakana, hävytön koira (SKVR VII\text{4} 1710.15–16) ['unnatural ill-bred one, shameless dog'].

Negative dialogue is frequently expressed between Kullervo and his mother. These are usually warnings or refusals, or they can describe something lacking in their relationship. In the example below, the negative expression is included in an epic passage and it is also present in the illustrative poems. The mother advises Kullervo to go into hiding after a seductive relationship with his sister. Kullervo refuses by saying: Enkä lähe piilemähän, / en, paha, pakenemahan!
['I’ll not go into hiding, / this evil one will not flee!'] (New Kalevala poem 35: 361–362).
When preparing himself for war, the mother forbids Kullervo to go into war: Ellös, poikani, poloinen, / saako suurehen sotahan ['Don’t, my luckless boy / get into a great war'] (New Kalevala poem 36: 8–9). The difference between the Kalevala and the folk epic poems lies in their context. Whereas the oral poem focuses on a specific act and an explanation for it (the mother advises her son not to go to war because the war will separate them), in the context of the Kullervo poems, going to war indicates more precisely going to war against Untamo, who took care of Kullervo badly when Kullervo was a child. Thus, Kullervo also refuses to go into hiding after the incestuous relationship with his sister because he is on his way to take revenge on Untamo for those particular bad deeds.

The strong relationship between Kullervo and his mother can be read from negative expressions connected to the lines of the poem that indicate closeness in how different characters listen to one another or by their inclination to weep for one another. For example, Kullervo asks his family members, Itketkö sinä minua, / koskas kuulet kuolleheksi ['Would you weep for me / when you hear I am dead'], and everyone except his mother gives the same, negative answer: En itkeä minä sinua ['I’ll not weep for you']. In contrast, his mother says:

Et älyä äitin mieltä,  
arvoa emon syäntä,  
Itkenpä minä sinua.  
(New Kalevala, poem 36: 135–137.)

You can’t grasp how a mother feels, nor guess the mother’s heart. Yes, I’ll weep for you.

In the folk poem, the expression ‘would you weep for me’ normally occurs in the context of the singer weeping for a romantic partner, not for his or her mother (Kuusi 1963: 344, 346). Lönnrot does not emphasize the relationship between Kullervo and his mother exclusively through negative expressions. He also brings forward the positive importance of mother’s role in the family by highlighting her importance in relation to the other members of family.

Negative Advice

The poems of Aino (New Kalevala, poems 3–5) describe Aino’s sorrowful state of mind and her relationship with her mother. Unlike the Kullervo poems, this cycle does not include so many negative expressions, but rather negative advice given by the mother. Aino’s mourning is not expressed to explain that something is missing (home, parents, joy). Rather, the poem depicts how unhappy Aino is. Her sorrow is buried, and her heart is hurting.

The poems of Aino tell the story of a young girl Aino, whom her brother (Joukahainen) marries off to the old man Väinämöinen against her will. Moreover, Aino’s mother is happy to get Väinämöinen as a splendid son-in-law. Aino reacts to her sadness by crying and weeping and, like Kullervo, she commits suicide in the end. Aino’s mother consoles her once: Elä itke tyttäreni, / nuorna saamani, nureksi! ['Don’t weep, my daughter, / fruit of my youth, don’t lament!'] (New Kalevala poem 4: 119–120). However, her dialogue with Aino is usually imperative and presented in negative terms or as prohibitions. There are negative pieces of advice in lyric poems as well, but in contrast to the Kalevala, these are usually comforting or potentially negative: Älköön itkekö emoini / Kantajaini kaihoelko ['Do not, my mother, weep for me / Do not long, my dear carrier'] (SKVR V1, 825.8–9). In the Kalevala, when Aino is weeping because she is supposed to marry Väinämöinen, her mother cries out:

Mene, huima, huolinesi,  
epäkelpo, itkuinesi!  
Ei ole syytä synkistyä,  
aihetta apeutua.  
(New Kalevala, poem 3: 567–570.)

Be gone, madcap, with you cares,  
good-for-nothing, with your weeping!  
There is no cause to be glum,  
no reason to be downcast.

Despite the mother being described by Lönnrot as, in some sense, a caring parent, she still asks why Aino is sad, and she does not understand her daughter until Aino is dead. Aino’s mother does not understand why her daughter is not willing to marry Väinämöinen, who is a great man and a seer.
On the contrary, one may say that the mother rather understands the life of the young girl very well, because she tries constantly to convince Aino to accept the proposal (see Kupiainen 2004). Without the status of a married woman, young girls had no respected future in the agrarian world. The problems of misunderstanding and unwillingness to follow conventional rules are also stated in the folk poem models such as *Hirtäyttynyt neito* [‘The Hanged Maiden’], but on different occasions. The unwilling relationship is also present in the other poem behind Lönnrot’s compilation, *The Hanged Maiden*. The poem tells about a strange, mythic wooer, whom a young maiden meets in the forest, but the maiden gets frightened and runs home weeping, where no one understands her and she hangs herself at the conclusion of the poem.

The folk poems can be regarded as telling about the unwillingness of a girl to get married and about her sexuality (Kupiainen 2004: 259, 264). In addition, they depict an unknown, suspicious wooer and a young maiden whose sexuality is at the focus of the poem. Lönnrot preferred to emphasize the status of Väinämöinen as a great sage and wise man in the *Kalevala* as opposed to the problems of marriage and its requirements. This was all combined with representations of the role of the mother within a family. Even though the folk poems also deal with social and moral requirements and individual needs, they do not elevate the individual over social rules. Thus, *Kilpalaulanta* [‘The Singing Match’] describes a contest between the young Joukahainen and old Väinämöinen. At the outcome of this conflict, Joukahainen promises his sister to Väinämöinen in order to save his own life. Joukahainen’s mother cheers at the news, but his sister remains outside of consideration. In contrast, the *Kalevala* identifies this sister as Aino in order to represent a modern contradiction between the young maiden and the social (family) expectations (Hämäläinen 2012: 205–210).

In the *Kalevala*, Lönnrot aimed to create a strong image of the mother and her moral status regarding her children. This is underlined in a contrast between the mother’s great sorrow and cuckoos singing following Aino’s death. The cuckoo has a special importance in lyric songs, and also in the Aino poem. It is considered possible to predict the number of years a maiden has to wait before marriage on the basis of a cuckoo’s call (*KKS*: s.v. ‘käki’). The song of a cuckoo is also used when addressing a long wait for marriage or a great sorrow. In the Aino poems, Lönnrot underlined the cuckoo’s singing in contrast to the loss of Aino and the weeping of her mother. (See Järvinen 2010: 11–12.) Her mother’s crying after Aino’s death creates the cuckoo’s singing: one sang to the loveless girl, another one to the comfortless bridegroom and the last one to the mother without joy (see *New Kalevala*, poem 4: 495, 499, 503). Lönnrot himself explained: “käen kukkuessa nousi lemmen, sulhon ja onnellisuuden ajatukseja mieleen, mutta nyt ainoastaan suuremmaksi rasiutukseksi” [‘as the cuckoo was cuckooing, thoughts about love, a suitor and happiness came to mind, but here they only brought greater strain.’] (Lna 121, 4: 12.) Therefore at the end of the cycle, Aion’s mother warns: *Elkähön emo poloinen, kauan kuunnelko käkeä!* [‘Let a luckless mother not, listen long to the cuckoo!’] (*New Kalevala*, poem 4: 507–508).

**Parental Warning**

Both the Aino and Kullervo poems of the *New Kalevala* contain educational instructions for parents. They are told to declaim what should not be done. Wise Väinämöinen is attributed with words of warning after Kullervo has committed suicide. The words are targeted at all parents so that they will know how to raise and care for their children. In this passage, the negative piece of advice ‘do not bring up a child crookedly’ is set in relation to the explanation that otherwise ‘a child won’t come to grasp things’.

Elkötte, etinen kansa,  
lasta kaltoin kasvatelko  
luona tuhman tuuittelijan,  
vierahan väsyttelijän!  
Lapsi kaltoin kasvattama,  
poika tuhmin tuuittama  
ei tule älyämähän,  
miehen mieltä ottamahan,  
vaikka vanhaksi eläisi,  
varreiltansa vahvistuisi.  
Do not, folk of the future, 
bring up a child crookedly 
with someone stupid lulling, 
a stranger sending to sleep!

A child brought up crookedly, 
or a son lulled stupidly
won’t come to grasp things, 
have a man’s understanding, 
though he should live to be old, 
or should grow strong in body.

In the Aino poems, after Aino’s death, Aino’s mother finally understands her own flawed reaction and attitude toward her daughter’s grief and consequent articulates a warning to all mothers. Here, Lönnrot uses an antithetic device typical of folk lyric, but connects it to the mother’s role to instruct her daughter and understand her.

Elkätte, emot poloiset, 
sinä ilmoisna ikänä 
tuuelko tyytäriä, 
lapsianne liekutelko, 
vastoin mieltä miehelähän niinkuin mie, emo poloinen, 
tuullin tyttöjäni, 
chasvatin kansiani! 
(New Kalevala, poem 4: 439–446.)

Don’t, luckless mothers, 
ever in this world 
don’t lull your daughters, 
or rock your children, 
to marry against their will 
as I, a luckless mother, 
have lulled my daughters, 
reared my little hens.

These kinds of warnings are not common in folk poetry, although warnings do exist there, too. More commonly, there are folk songs in which negative formulae are attributed to a mother instructing her daughter, or to parents instructing their children. A mother may even be attributed with such a formula to instruct herself, such as: Älköön emo tytärtä / Tuirvikseen tuuelko! [‘Do not, mother, your daughter, / lull her for your security’] (SKVR VI1,560.14–15) It is also, for example, prohibited to visit other villages or to laugh at another person’s partner or child. The negative is attached to a metaphoric, indirect comparison: Parents never forbade singing or being happy, but rather they forbade doing certain things or conducting oneself in a certain way, like laughing at other people. It is not only parents who give advice to children, but a singer also guides an audience, a child its mother, a young maiden other maidens. The imperative in folk songs is not necessarily direct or strict, but more often implicit, gentle and conversational:

Elkä te hyvät imeiset, 
Elkä ouoksi otelko 
Minun lapsen laulunani, 
Pienen pilpatuksiani. 
(SKVR XIII, 1914.1–4.)

Do not dear ones 
Do not find me strange 
Little songs of mine 
My small singing

According to Väinö Kaukonen, who carefully studied all the referential lines and songs Lönnrot used in compiling the Kalevala, the song example behind the warnings goes back to the script of a lullaby from Lönnrot’s first collecting journey in 1828 that he transcribed in Kerimäki, in Eastern Finland (Kaukonen 1956: 41; see also Kanteletar II: 187). This was the example from a mother singing to her child, uncertain about her child’s future, which was already quoted above as the passage beginning Ei tiiä emo tekiä / Eikä kantaja katala [‘Mother, maker, does not / nor the mean one who bore me’] (SKVR VI1,560). In lullabies, the negative device and advice is usually combined with different wishes of the mother: the mother hopes that her child can support her in her old age or that her daughter will have a good man as a husband, or that a son will become successful. The advice in lullabies can also express desperate wishes, such as wishing for the child’s death, but they are always sung in a gentle way, emotionally and metaphorically (Timonen 2013). In this particular case, the last lines of the lullaby that Lönnrot records continue from the idea that the mother should not care for the child ‘for her security’ to the assertion that from this child Ei tuile emän tukia, / Eikä vanhemman varoa (SKVR VI1,560.17–18) [‘Will not come a mother’s support, / nor safety for a parent’]. The song expresses a hesitation that it is not worth hoping that her daughter will take care of her later in life, because the girl will get married and have a husband and family of her own.
When compiling the *Kalevala*, Lönnrot did not use this particular lullaby as such. (In fact, there are no lullabies at all in the *Kalevala*.) However, he exploited the idea in the advice in the lullaby, but he set at a distance the close, intimate relationship between the mother and the child that characterizes lullabies. Lönnrot did not utilize traditional wishes, worries or fears of a mother expressed in the lullabies, nor the mother’s emotionally touching relationship to the child. Instead, there is a direct, clinical (emotionless) lesson in both warnings of the *Kalevala*: Do not raise your children as I have done (the luller); this is what happens if (your) child is brought up crookedly. Both warnings indicate – by using the expressions of lullabies – that the mother, the one lulling children to sleep, has done something wrong. A difference between the *Kalevala* and the lyric note is incorporated here: Lönnrot did not describe the mother as the one who is nursing and looking after children, but presented her as an educator and director of children who makes them become good citizens. Lönnrot’s way of addressing an image of a strong mother is also present in the figure of Lemminkäinen’s mother in the *Kalevala*. By using lyric songs to deepen the relationship between the mother and her son Lemminkäinen, Lönnrot moulded the mother’s uncertain feelings about her child’s destiny found in the folk songs into a more neutral shape (Timonen 2002).

If we take a comparative look at these two warnings in the *Kalevala*, the difference in their stylistic devices reveals the difference in the messages as well. Denying something can be more revealing than something that is unsaid, and as such, it emphasizes the message itself (see Katajamäki 2000: 139–140), as is the case in the *Kalevala*. An important matter is not the prohibition, but the object that is prohibited. Thus, in the poems about Kullervo, the crucial object is the Kullervo-child who is brought up badly by his parents, whereas in the case of Aino, the central object of the poem is the mother and her unwise actions towards her daughter as underlined in the warning.

Attributing the warnings to a different speaker makes an allusion to a specific interpretation as well. Lönnrot exploited Väinämöinen as a moral messenger. The warning in the Kullervo poem increases in value as it is pronounced by the great leader of the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen. His words also carry substantial significance because they are articulated from a distance. Väinämöinen is a powerful sage and singer of kalevalaic poetry and he gives advice and warnings in the folk poems as well. Usually, his proverbial words, expressed as general lessons, are located in different speech acts inside the songs. As pointed out by Lotte Tarkka (2013: 121–123), the words attributed to Väinämöinen are representative of a traditional and collective authority, and this makes his negative expressions and warnings a collective norm (see also Kuusi 1963: 371). Lönnrot did not present a moral lesson through Kullervo’s mother, but through ‘sturdy old Väinämöinen’, whose distant words give a collective and authoritative frame for the advice. In this sense, it is not the message directed to the mother that indicates that she went astray in caring for her son, but instead it refers to the general morality of society, and the educative role of parents generally.

In Lönnrot’s version, the words of Väinämöinen are presented as an authoritative maxim: he is speaking for everybody. In the context of the *Kalevala*, that refers to the whole nation. In contrast, the words associated with Aino are personified in her mother; they are not necessarily referring to a collective feeling or attitude. Despite the articulation of the words directed to all the mothers (Elkätte emot poloiset [‘Don’t, luckless mothers’]), the expression of the message in the first person and a general problem bound up with the particular mother who is speaking make this a personal issue. It implies that the warning of the mother has – without authoritative distance – a more serious consequence than in the case of Kullervo. Lönnrot not only tells about the mother’s misunderstanding of her daughter, but also points out her failure as a mother to his contemporary, modern readership (Hämäläinen 2012: 263–264).

The role of the parents and the mother as an educator is present in all modes of the negative expressions in both the Kullervo and Aino poems. The parental warnings can be
defined as a poetic strategy Lönnrot used in handling the cautionary messages of these poems. Moreover, these two warnings do not connote an equal importance of Väinämöinen and the two mothers concerned, not only in the context of the poems, but also at the level of the composition and in a wider perspective, in the society. Through the lines selected from folk songs, Lönnrot indicates an educative role of the mother. Despite their traditional language and expressions, the warnings and other negative expressions are more filtered through the ideals of the 19th century family – i.e. the importance of parent–child relationships and the pragmatic role of the mother – than through the ideals of the folk songs.

**Modern Practices**

What is regarded as the Finnish folk poetry tradition is mainly based on a multidimensional background of texts which are collected, selected and interpreted presentations of folk poetry sources. The oral material is publicly accessible in the archives, but it has received its historical and ideological meaning and value as the Finnish tradition through its publication and presentation (Anttonen 2012), in spite of the fact that the most esteemed material was by and large collected outside of Finland from Karelians (cf. Saarinen, this volume). The textualization process that allows oral tradition to come into the larger awareness of a society does not only reflect the collection and preservation of the oral poetry, but also the contextualization of the oral tradition for different audiences and diverse publishing purposes. Lönnrot aimed at making oral poetry more understandable to his bourgeois readers, who often had poor knowledge not only of the kalevalaic language and its metonyms, but also of the singing practices and of rural culture.

Lönnrot inserted modern messages and details into his epic in order to reduce the distance between the rural culture from which the poetry derived and his modern readership. As I have analyzed in an earlier study (2012), Lönnrot took part in the contemporary discussions of family in his time and contextualized the oral poems and their allusions in relation to that discussion. The idea of a family as a moral and emotionally-bounded unit of parents and children took shape among the bourgeois class during the 19th century in Europe. Lönnrot reflected contemporary ideas of family in his compilation, aiming to bring a mythical epic world and its archaic language closer to the readers of the Kalevala. This was implemented through metadiscoursive practices of inserting emotional passages of lyric into the epic narrative, giving mythical characters to a more neutral, realistic shape, and loosening requirements of the traditional society in order to emphasize the roles in a modern family and the wishes of the individual. Different details and explanations given to the readers also aided their ability to comprehend the poetry Lönnrot represented.

As an editor of the oral tradition for the production of written publications, Lönnrot amended and removed traditional language, contents and contexts of the oral poetry in order to follow his textualizing principles. Negative devices and their usage by Lönnrot as discussed in this article made both the kalevalaic language and its messages more comprehensible. Traditional negative expressions were combined with modern questions adapted to the comprehension of the cultured readership. Thus Lönnrot emphasized that Kullervo was an orphan over his mythical status as a strong giant, he made a problem of marriage into a more individual issue in the Aino poems, and made the mother of both these characters into an important moral figure.

As Lönnrot followed examples from the folk songs carefully, he used traditional expressions and phrases, such as negative devices, to be able to present folk song material as authentically as possible. However, diverse negative devices of oral tradition augmented and proceeded to be a part of the specific epic story and its characters through his textual choices. Lönnrot reduced multifaceted contextual and implicative meanings of negative expressions to one particular theme of a child and a parent. Through the negative expressions, Lönnrot was able to broaden emotional and moral messages of the poems for his readers. Although negative expressions of the folk
songs might also, but not necessarily, express moral values, they were regularly used in addressing the relationship between a parent and a child in the *Kalevala*. More precisely, Lönnrot made an articulate connection between different negative expressions and moral allusions in the *Kalevala*.

**Notes**
1. “Lemminkäinen”, “Väänämöinen” and “Wedding Songs” (1833), the *Proto-Kalevala* (1833), the *Old Kalevala* (1835), the *New Kalevala* (1849) and the *Abridged Kalevala* (also called the *School Kalevala*) (1862).
2. There are also some songs of negative instruction to boys in the folk lyric tradition, such as *älä kihlo kirkkotieillä* [‘do not marry on the way to church’] (Timonen 2004: 46–47).
3. The moral and pragmatic role of parents as interpreted by Lönnrot is also exhibited in lullabies of the *Kanteletar*. As shown by Senni Timonen (2013: 8), Lönnrot combined the negative device of lullabies with warnings not generally familiar in lullabies to be able to emphasize a relationship between a mother and her child.
4. On the negotiable or conversational way of expressing negative phases in proverbs (*kieltosutkaus*), see also Knuttula 2013: 21; on lyric songs and utopic negative expressions, see Timonen 2004.

**Abbreviations**
KKS = *Kaarjalan kielten sanakirja*.
Lna = Lönnrotiana
SKVR = *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot*
VT 2 = Lönnrot 1990 (*Valittut teokset II*)
VT 4 = Lönnrot 1992 (*Valittut teokset IV*)
VT 5 = Lönnrot 1993 (*Valittut teokset V*)

**Archival Sources**
Lönnrotiana. Literature Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS).

**Works Cited**

Behind the Texts and Notes and the Edition: M.A. Castrén’s Lectures on Mythology
Karina Lukin, University of Helsinki

The Finnish linguist and mythologist Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) concludes his posthumously published lectures by reminding his audience of the limitations that historical and comparative studies on mythology had in his time, the first half of the 19th century. According to Castrén, Old Norse mythology was still too little studied, whereas the materials for Finnish mythology were not even sufficiently collected, which together would make comparisons between Finnish and Old Norse mythology “a slippery road leading too easily to delusions.” (Castrén 1853a: 324.) The limited materials and the ambiguities opening them to interpretations have provided rudimentary starting points, problems, but also a mine of inspiration for mythologists. Yet, the historical and comparative study of mythology has not been nor is about making hasty or intuitive interpretations, but has from the beginning been based on growing methodological understandings of the history, culture and psychology of mankind.

The two central keywords in these discussions, ‘historical’ and ‘comparative’, point to diachronic and synchronic levels and create the fundamental tensions of the studies on mythology. The idea of history as readable in monuments both material and immaterial – monuments that should be collected, preserved, studied and represented – was advanced in early 19th century Europe, especially in Germany. This idea was closely coupled with the idea of individual cultures or languages that should be studied synchronically. (Bunzl 1996; Crane 2000.) Most scholars emphasize either the diachronic...
or synchronic levels in their studies. Castrén represents an exception in this respect. His lectures include both historical interpretations of the mythologies of peoples speaking Uralic, Altaic and Paleo-Asian languages, and comparative observations about their religion both in the past but also in Castrén’s own time.

Castrén’s mythological lectures should be read alongside Lönrot’s *Kalevala*. Lönrot’s epic was both the ideational and scholarly point of departure for Castrén’s career. In the lectures, Castrén makes both interpretations about the *Kalevala* as a mythology and builds a new, wider mythology alongside the Finnish one. This could not have been done before, as there were not enough materials and the methodologies were not sufficiently developed. Notably, much of the later fieldwork and scholarly work, especially within folklore and religious studies in Finland, has been based on Castrén’s lectures about mythology.

Castrén’s work has been evaluated both from linguistic and folkloristic perspectives (e.g. Korhonen 1986; Hautala 1954). However, textual studies of Castrén’s work have not been made. This article will investigate how Castrén himself created his lectures on mythology. The investigation inevitably leads to Castrén’s fieldwork in Siberia and its background because Finnish mythology was one of the inspirations for Castrén to do fieldwork in the first place. It will look at Castrén’s lectures on Finnish mythology and the ethnology of the Altaic peoples. In addition to these, Anton Schiefner edited and translated into German the linguistic materials of Khanty (Ostiak) (Castrén 1858a), Tundra Nenets (Samoyed) (1854; 1855b), Evenk (Tungus) (1856), Buryat (1857b), Kamas and Mator (Koibal and Karagas) (1857c), Kot and Ket (1858b). Later, Toivo Lehtisalo edited and published Castrén’s notes on Tundra Nenets and Selkup folklore (Castrén 1940). Many of Castrén’s manuscripts, covering folklore, archeological data and grammars in their initial state, still remain unpublished, but they are available in the Finnish National Library. Moreover, while some of Castrén’s field diaries and notes remain in the National Library, the fate of some of them is uncertain: according to Timo Salminen, the historiographer of the Finno-Ugric Society, some unpublished field diaries were found in the 1951, but Gunnar Castrén, a professor of literature and M. A. Castrén’s grandson, did not consider them worth publishing at the time (Salminen 2008: 159). The story does not tell where the diaries were archived. Some documents in the National Library collection, (i.e. a calendar with interleaves and field notes from 1846) suggest that there might be more of these notes that would shed more

The Relationship of Texts
Castrén’s texts and manuscripts have been published posthumously in multiple forms and multiple languages. The Swedish and German editions will only briefly be touched on here, and focus will be on the Tundra Nenets folklore and ethnographic materials. The six Swedish (Nordiska resor och forskningar) and twelve German (Nordische Reisen und Forschungen) editions of Castrén’s works were published quite soon after his death. Five volumes of the German edition are based on the Swedish volumes. These consist of travelogues, letters and Castrén’s texts that had already been published in various Finnish or Russian papers and journals, and also include the lectures on Finnish mythology and on the ethnology of the Altaic peoples. In addition to these, Anton Schiefner edited and translated into German the linguistic materials of Khanty (Ostiak) (Castrén 1858a), Tundra Nenets (Samoyed) (1854; 1855b), Evenk (Tungus) (1856), Buryat (1857b), Kamas and Mator (Koibal and Karagas) (1857c), Kot and Ket (1858b). Later, Toivo Lehtisalo edited and published Castrén’s notes on Tundra Nenets and Selkup folklore (Castrén 1940). Many of Castrén’s manuscripts, covering folklore, archeological data and grammars in their initial state, still remain unpublished, but they are available in the Finnish National Library. Moreover, while some of Castrén’s field diaries and notes remain in the National Library, the fate of some of them is uncertain: according to Timo Salminen, the historiographer of the Finno-Ugric Society, some unpublished field diaries were found in the 1951, but Gunnar Castrén, a professor of literature and M. A. Castrén’s grandson, did not consider them worth publishing at the time (Salminen 2008: 159). The story does not tell where the diaries were archived. Some documents in the National Library collection, (i.e. a calendar with interleaves and field notes from 1846) suggest that there might be more of these notes that would shed more
light onto the working methods and places where the linguistic and ethnographic materials were collected (MAC XXVI: varia I; varia V: varia VI).

The relationship between Castrén’s manuscripts, published texts and later editions is generally clear, but there is still much work to be done on them. The manuscript materials consists of 34 volumes, of which two volumes, comprising materials for Tungus (Evenk) and Buryat, were left in St. Petersburg in the late 19th century and are now missing. The 32 remaining volumes comprise of 16,282 manuscript pages. (For details, see Mäkelä-Henriksson 1964.) Of the posthumously published materials, only one, the travelogue of 1838–1844 (Reseminnen) was written by Castrén and it is based both on his published travelogues in Finnish papers and on the correspondence between Castrén and his colleagues. The Swedish Reseminnen was edited by B.O. Schaumann, who also compiled the second volume of the Swedish edition, Nordsika resor och forskningar: Reseberättelser och bref åren 1845–1849 (1855a). This volume is also based on the travelogues and letters Castrén sent during his second Siberian expedition. The travelogues and also some letters were published in Bulletin de la classe historico-philologique de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg in German, and in Swedish mainly in the paper Morgonbladet and the journal Suomi. In the editions, the travelogues and letters are only lightly edited: only clear misspellings have been corrected. What is significant is that much of the correspondence is not published at all, although it will now be published within the Manuscripta Castreniana project. Moreover, the editions omit the numerous asides and notations made by Castrén. Thus it is safe to say that quite a range of material remains outside of these editions.
The mythological lectures, which are a central concern of the present article, were compiled by Carl Gustav Borg. Borg used Castrén’s thorough notes as a structural starting point and wrote in the preface of the edition that only light emendations were made. The chapters “Jumala” [Fi. ‘God’] and “Ukko” [Fi. ‘Old man’] are an exact copy of the article “Hvad beteckna i den Finska mythologien orden jumala och ukko?” ['What Do the Words jumala and ukko Mean in Finnish Mythology’], published in journal Suomi (1/1851) and later in Melanges Russes tires du Bulletin Historico-Philologique (1855c). The last chapter of the lectures, “Heroer” ['Heroes’], was written by Castrén last, at the time when he was already so weak that he was not able to write with ink, but instead used a pencil. The rest of the chapters in the lectures are edited from Castrén’s notes. As Borg tells us, Castrén read his lectures straight from the notes and the notes seem to be written for publication. Castrén himself states:

Jag läser neml. en timme i veckan myntologie, och anställer dervid jämförande betraktelser både öfver Finnarnes och andra beslägtade folkslags religiösa foreställningar. Hvad jag hittills nedskrivit, är i det närmaste tryckfärdigt, och jag har ämnat låta översätta deraf ett och annat för bulletinen. Under loppet af denna termin ämnar jag hänna gudalärän till ända och i nästa vår vore meningen att få hela mythologien ur händerna. (Sjögren 1854: 277.)

I am lecturing on mythology an hour a week and giving comparative considerations about the religious ideas of both Finnish and other kindred peoples. What I have written so far is almost ready for publication, and I intend a thing or two to be translated for the bulletin. I am going to complete the mythology (gudalärä) this season, and my intention is to get the whole mythology out of my hands next spring.

Borg has been very faithful to Castrén’s intentions: he has left out all the points that Castrén has crossed out. On the other hand, he omitted the small additions which Castrén had carefully written in the margins. This is well illustrated by the foreword, from which Borg has omitted a passage that was four pages long, in which Castrén ponders the nature of shamanism. It also comes forward in the chapters “Jumala” and “Ukko”, where many of the clarifications and additions made by Castrén were not added by Borg, who instead followed the published form of the article as it appeared in Suomi.

The Tundra Nenets folklore notes, consisting of 19 texts, were published in their entirety by Toivo Lehtisalo (Castrén 1940). Before that, Schiefner had published two of the Nenets epic syudbabts texts in the eighth volume of Nordische Reisen (Castrén 1855b: 311–338). Whereas Schiefner has been generally criticized for making too many emendations, eradicating Castrén’s system of marking phonetics and simplifying it (e.g. Aalto 1971: 86), Lehtisalo has been quite faithful to Castrén’s system. Nevertheless, he has also systematically replaced some signs with others. What all editions of Castrén’s folklore notes omit are the translations – either in Russian or Swedish – and the fairly large number of clarifications and comments Castrén had provided in his manuscript. It is reasonable to assume that the folklore notes are direct field notes: they are full of corrections and explanations and translations into Russian and sometimes into Swedish (see Katajamäki & Lukin, this volume: p. 13, Figure 1). Moreover, the dialect variants are written one above the other so that substitutive sign(s) are written above the sign(s) that have been crossed out. There are also clear mistakes in the first folklore texts, due to Castrén’s lack of knowledge of Tundra Nenets at the beginning of his expedition. If the notes had been made for publication, he probably would have corrected these mistakes.

**Devotion to Studying Finns and Their Relatives in Russia**

Castrén’s work has been both glorified within strong romantic rhetoric (e.g. Sihvo 2003: 103–106; Topelius in Sihvo 2003: 106–110) and also interpreted in romantic and nationalistic frameworks (e.g. Korhonen 1986: 50; Aalto 1971: 88). As Pertti Karkama (2001: 20–21), who argues for neohumanistic interpretations of Elias Lönnrot’s work, has observed, we should not dispel the romantic streams of the early 19th century Finnish
thinking too much. The present article will emphasize and focus on the neohumanistic tones that run through Castrén’s scholarly activities and that are also clearly readable in his lectures on Finnish mythology, although these lectures in particular have been evaluated as romantic (Haavio 1952; Stipa 1990: 311).

Neohumanism refers to a cultural movement that was born in the late 18th century to oppose the extreme rationalism and utilitarianism of the Enlightenment. Opposed to Romantic thinkers, the neohumanists did not emphasize the meaning of emotions or oppose rationality. Language was conceived as a natural ability through which human beings realize themselves as both individuals and collective beings. Folklore was seen to reflect how a nation or an ethnic group had engaged in the development of humanity and each nation had its own, as such, valuable place in this development. The older and more original the language or folklore is, the more it was thought to express the innate unity of the senses. (Karkama 2001: 15–17, 152–159.) These thoughts found an appreciative audience in Finland at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, as the emphasis of linguists and historians turned from the imaginary theories of the history of Finns towards the theories based on Finno-Ugric affinity (Häkkinen 2006: 293–296). However, the new theories also required new materials that would reveal the histories of the Finno-Ugrians scattered around the Russian empire.

The Finnish audience was not thankful only because of the needs of a young autonomous nation and an evolving sense of nationalism. Herderian thoughts and the strict methodological requirements set by many 19th century European scientists also fit quite nicely into Finnish academic traditions. Professor and historian Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804), who pioneered many fields in the humanities in Finland, proposed that extensive fieldwork should be done in Russia in order to map out the Finno-Ugric languages, their speakers and traditions. (Sarajas 1956: 268–273.) In Porthan’s time, some expeditions were made in Finland, but none in Russia. Expeditions were made in part by Swedish administrators and their interest was both in the antiquarian search for the history of the Swedish empire (that was thought to be found through Finnish) and in the rational interest of developing the country economically. Castrén’s fieldwork was a type of continuation of the systematic and holistic frame of these Swedish programmes, that had been partly applied to the conditions of Finland and eventually to Russia. (Sarajas 1956; Adolfsson 2000; Legnér 2004.)

Porthan’s vision of a series of Finnish expeditions was finally started by Anders Johan Sjögren in the early 1800s (Branch 1973). At the same time, expeditions were made in Finland and Russian Karelia, mainly by Elias Lönnrot, in order to collect and later to publish the scattered items of Finnish folklore and mythology in the national epic of Finland, the Kalevala, and other works. All these were inspiring to Castrén, who made his first field expeditions in Finnish Lapland in 1838 and in the Finnish Savo region and Russian Karelia in 1839. Whereas in Lapland, Castrén was able to collect material on Sámi languages and mythology, in Karelia, he concentrated mainly on collecting folklore. Collecting the Karelarian epic tradition ensured Castrén’s abilities to translate the Kalevala into Swedish (Lönnrot 1841), a work that made him one of the early experts in the Kalevala and Finno-Karelian mythology. Castrén undertook his main fieldwork in Northern Russia and Siberia during two wide ranging expeditions. The first (1841–1844) covered Eastern Sámi areas with Lönnrot, and Nenets tundra and Western Siberian taiga areas in the European and Asian parts of Russia alone. The second expedition (1845–1849), mostly with the assistant Johan Reinhold Bergstadi (1820–1850), extended to the Western Siberian taiga and tundra and also to wide areas east of the River Yenisei and Lake Baikal.

All of these journeys aimed at collecting material about:

den Finska och andra dermed beslägtade folkstammars språk, religion, seder, lefnadssätt och öfriga ethno-graphiska förhållanden. (Castrén 1852: 3.)

the languages, religion, manners and other ethnographic matters of the Finnish tribe and tribes related to it.
In addition to this personal devotion resembling Porthan’s research call (Porthan 1782, in Legnér 2004), Castrén’s Russian fieldwork had its background especially in the need of the Russian Empire to know more about the land and its inhabitants. The trips were organized and orchestrated from St. Petersburg within the Russian Academy of Sciences, which at the time had, in addition to Russian scholars, several German intellectuals working with geographic and ethnographic matters (Tokarev 1966: 220–221; Branch 1999). Moreover, it was the Finnish linguist and later academic Anders Johan Sjögren whose persistence in the matter enabled both the financial and scholarly support for the undertaking. Altogether, Castrén’s fieldwork was planned, organized and realized within what was, at the time, a modern, international intellectual atmosphere that formed the basis for the emergence of several new disciplines.

(Sjögren 1955; Stipa 1990: 299–311.)

Sjögren wrote the instructions for Castrén’s second wide expedition. Sjögren had himself already made extensive field trips amongst the speakers of Finno-Ugric languages in European Russia. (Branch 1973: 256–257.) Sjögren’s instructions comprise a linguistic-ethnographic programme and a guide for holistic fieldwork that was clearly influenced by Franz Bopp and Rasmus Rask’s ideas on historical and comparative linguistics, further developed by Sjögren himself (Sjögren 1844). As Günter Johannes Stipa (1990: 310) notes, Sjögren’s instructions are also clearly following the routes (1720–1728) taken by Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt, a German geographer who worked for Peter the Great and ‘opened’ Siberia for travellers. This hints at the long-lasting Russian ethnographic traditions that framed both Sjögren and Castrén’s fieldwork and scholarly activities. It is important to notice that, whereas in other countries in Europe, ethnography and fieldwork methodology began to develop in the 1800s and mostly within colonialism, the need for gathering knowledge about manifold ethnic groups was born in the beginning of the 18th century in the Russian Empire. (Stocking 1992: 19–32; Hymes 1983: 29–30; Knight 2000.)

The early 18th century Russian ethnographic expeditions were based on the ideas of the Enlightenment and the need to “know every edge of the fatherland” in order to gain economic profit and to govern efficiently. Still, most of the scholars were devoted scientists, cleverly combining the practical and scholarly purposes of their trips. Messerschmidt was followed by several Siberian expeditions, led for example by Peter Simon Pallas, Vasilij Fedorovich Zuyev and Ivan Ivanovich Lepehin, who all were travelling partly in the same regions with Castrén. Apart from the works published on these expeditions, the four volume work of Johann Gottlieb Georgi (1776–1780) came to be read and appreciated widely both in Russia and Central Europe. The purpose of Georgi was to collect in one work all the results of the expeditions of the early 18th century and present them systematically and in a uniform manner according to, for example, the name of the group, its areas of residence, language, laws, way of life, housing, clothing, food, customs, beliefs, and so forth. (Tokarev 1966: 78–109.)

Collecting Data
Reading Castrén, one can sense this systematic ethos that has been interpreted as a continuation of Porthan’s thinking in Finland. This will not be argued against here, but it is nevertheless worth drawing attention to the Russian ethnographic sources that both Sjögren and Castrén knew quite well as a reasonably possible model for Castrén’s work. All in all, one can also read other international influences in Castrén’s texts, such as from the Brothers Grimm and the Humboldt brothers, all of which have their basis in the Herderian way of thinking (Kamenetsky 1992: 58–76, 99–110; Bunzl 1996). These ideas put novel emphasis on fieldwork methods and requirements for the data that should be collected. In his instructions, Sjögren emphasized the importance of collecting vernacular, spoken language, not scattered lists of words, and taking these from as many individuals as possible in the areas where they lived. The fieldworker could not content himself with only one language or dialect, but he should collect material on a language and also its
neighboring languages. Thus, the fieldwork should cover wide areas: Castrén was sent to study Western and Northwestern Siberia, to "open the Samoyedic world" (Vasilyev 1982).

In addition to the spoken language, the materials should be made up of folk songs, proverbs, historical traditions, archaeological sites and ethnographic data (e.g. the way of life, clothing, religious concepts, shamanism, Christianity, mythology). (Sjögren 1844.) Many of the wordings in Sjögren’s instructions come directly from the Central European discussions about fieldwork, such as the phrase an Ort und Stelle ['in situ'; lit. 'in place and location']:

Deshalb müssen denn auch die Angaben und Nachrichten, welche Herr Castrén an Ort und Stelle durch Kundige Personen und vorzüglich durch Individuen aus jenen Völkerschaften selbst über bedeutende Dialekt-Verschiedenheiten bei den benachbarten Stämmen erhält, in Vereinigung mit anderen Lokal- und Zeitumständen, vor Allem dazu dienen seine Reisetouren zu bestimmen, und die Wahl seiner Hauptstationen zu leiten. (Sjögren 1844: 326.)

Since Mister Castrén should collect the information and data on significant differences in dialect within the neighboring tribes and in association with other local and temporal contexts on-site and from capable persons, and especially from individuals from the nations themselves, he should decide and determine his route and its main stations himself.

What makes Sjögren’s programme different from the 18th century collections is the linguistic interest, but also the comparative concerns. The fieldwork was not done to build a Russian history or to enhance the Russian economy, but to construct a history of mankind through meaningful and justified comparisons between peoples, their languages, modes of expressions and material cultures. One can still observe that the interests of the Russian Empire are brought out in Sjögren’s instructions, but the emphasis is on the new methodological concerns of historical and comparative linguistics.

During the Russian and Siberian field expeditions, Castrén collected valuable and exact materials on Northern languages. He also proved that Finno-Ugric and Samoyed languages were related, and was after more extensive linguistic affinities extending into Indo-European languages (Korhonen 1986: 54–61). In his influential article “Hvar låg det Finska folkets vagga?” ['Where Was the Cradle of the Finnish People?'] (1849a), Castrén situated the roots of the speakers of Finno-Ugric, Samoyed and Altaic speaking peoples around the Altai and Sayan Mountains – a theory that not only garnered wide international attention, but was later passed on in nationalistic and religious styles in 19th and early 20th century Finland (Sihvo 2003: 109). These theories were based on Bopp’s, Rask’s and Sjögren’s theories and methods of historical and comparative linguistics. Most of Castrén’s work can be situated within this field of linguistics. (Korhonen 1986: 59–61; Stipa 1990: 311.)

As mentioned by Michael Branch (1973: 16), at the time of Castrén’s expeditions and scientific work, linguistics, ethnography and historiography or geography were about to develop into separate disciplines. The interests in historical detail served the will to understand the history of humankind or nations and ethnic groups, whereas the more contemporary details were studied and collected under geography. Both directions had their political implications as well. At the beginning of the 19th century there was especially an urge to get new materials both for the Russian empire and the developing historical and comparative methods that guided Castrén to carry on fieldwork amongst the non-Russian natives of the Russian North and Siberia.

Sources of Nenets Mythology

Tundra Nenets is a Uralic language spoken on both sides of the Urals by the Nenets who, at the time of Castén’s expeditions, were mainly nomadic reindeer herders, hunters and fishermen. They represent the largest group of speakers of the so-called Samoyedic languages that were one of the central research subjects of Castrén’s expeditions. While he collected material among all the Samoyedic groups in Western Siberia, most of the Samoyedic materials are comprised of a Tundra Nenets lexicon, grammar and folklore. The evidence of Nenets folklore in Castrén’s
notes is interesting, because the folklore notes seem to contain hardly any of the elements mentioned in the mythological lectures that Castrén held at the university. The initial interpretations that Castrén made concerning the Nenets epic texts were historical in the same manner as his historical interpretations of the *Kalevala*. Moreover, he thought that the heroic cycles of the *Kalevala* and Nenets epic singing both “ursprungligen härflutit ur samma grumliga källa” [‘have origins in the same murky spring’]. (Castrén 1855a: 168).

When looking at the comparisons that Castrén made in his lectures addressing Tundra Nenets mythology or shamanism, it cannot be said for certain exactly what kind of material stands behind it. It is only very rarely that he refers directly to his fieldwork material as such. For example, when discussing the spirits known among Samoyedic speaking peoples, Castrén names *tadebtsjo* (a shaman’s spirit helpers), *loh* (a guardian spirit), *los* (a guardian spirit), *koika* (a shaman’s spirit helper), *itarma* (spirits that are the souls of dead shamans) and *Siirtje* (spirits living underground) (Castrén 1853a: 191–192). Referring to the last of these, Castrén notes:

Hos Jurak-Samojederna har jag hört talrika traditioner om ett i jordens sökta levande släkte, som benämnes *Siirtje*. (Castrén 1853a: 192.)

Among the Jurak-Samoyeds [the speakers of Tundra Nenets] I have heard numerous traditions about a tribe living underground, called *Siirtje*.

None of the notes on these traditions are, for example, available to us today in Castrén’s materials. In other words, Castrén has not used his preserved notes on Nenets folklore as comparative material in his mythological lectures. The comparative material is based on his fieldwork observations and other materials that are not documented in the archived materials of Castrén. This is not to deny the legitimacy of Castrén’s interpretations or his fieldwork. One can read from his official travelogues and published letters that, on his expeditions, he sought the common people and took a lot of pleasure in ‘getting his hands on one of them’ (cf. “Då en lycklig tillfällighet nu för mig en Samojed i händerna” [Castrén 1855a: 66]). It is also very clear that throughout his journeys among the peoples of the Russian and Siberian North, he was very keen on meeting shamans and attended shamanistic séances when possible. (E.g. Castrén 1855a: 66; 150; 162–167; cf. Castrén 1852: 89–90.) It is, however, very probable that Castrén did not note down the prose narratives about the spirits word for word and that the data that he did put down is not available to us.

Herder and his influential ideas placed emphasis on epic singing and poetry, and on so-called heroic songs. It may therefore be revealing that the only original Nenets materials in the archives seem to consist of notes on Nenets epic songs. The Brothers Grimm were the first to comprehend the value of prose texts and Castrén also held fairy-tales to be a possible supplement for Finnish mythology (Castrén 1904: 3–4). Still, he did not consider it worthwhile to write down prose texts when among the Nenets and concentrated on poetry. The prose offered possible contents for the mythology, but was not structurally or poetically important when creating sources for comparative mythology or linguistics.

The most plausible reason for this might be limited time, but the reasons for the choices can also be traced back to the currents of thought presented above and to the tensions between diachronic and synchronic perspectives. The epic texts were thought to represent older and more original expressions of human kinship and thus were to be collected word by word, as exactly as possible. The ideas connected to the deities and spirits were certainly representative of the same kind of original thinking of the Nenets or human kin, but their form of presentation did not conform to the idea of poetry. Thus, it was enough to put down the idea of these beliefs that represented more or less the life of the mythology at a contemporary level.

**Historical and Comparative Interpretations of Mythology**

Castrén’s ideas concerning the history and comparison of mythology are observable in three patterns of interpretation apparent in his lectures. In the autumn term of 1851, as newly appointed professor of Finnish, Castrén
began to give lectures on Finnish mythology (Föreläsningar i Finsk Mytologi). The three patterns can be characterized as:

1. The historical-comparative interpretations of the names and different details related to gods and other spirits among the so-called Altaic peoples.
2. Ethnographic information and comparisons between idols, their names and characters among the Altaic peoples.
3. The historical-comparative interpretations of the Kalevala.

These patterns are overlapping and relate both to the materials Castrén uses and to the methods he applies and develops. The lectures on Finnish mythology are based firstly on Elias Lönnrot’s Kalevala and secondly on the extensive materials related to the so-called Altaic peoples. In addition to the Kalevala, Castrén uses the earlier works on mythologies of the Finns, written by Kristian Erik Lencqvist (1782) and Christfried Ganander (1835). His Altaic comparisons are based both on his own fieldwork materials and ethnographic texts as supplements to the Kalevala.

The model and methods for the comparative mythology have clearly come from historical and comparative studies of Indo-European mythology. This is not only observable in the comparisons between Altaic and Germanic mythologies. It is also readable in the overall framework and starting point of the analysis. Castrén is not after a history of Finnish mythology in any narrow sense, for example being nationalistic or patriotic; he is...
more concerned about a common history of
poetry and thinking identifiable with earlier
times (forn tid), Old Finns (Fornfinner), the
man of nature (naturmenniska), and the
childhood of the nation (folkslag i sin
barndom) that are represented in folk poetry.

For example, when shifting to the chapter
“Jordens Gudomligheter” [The Deities of the
Earth], Castrén explains:

Ganska många folkslag hafva i sin barndom
plägat betraka jorden såsom ett gudomligt
väsen och dyrtat den under bilden af en
huldrik moder, som förlänar föda och näring
både åt menniskor och djur. Det är
tvifvelsutan just för denna sin närande,
uppehållande, eller så till sågandes
moderliga egenskap, som jorden äfven hos
flera bland våra stamförvandter, såsom
Tunguser, Mongoler, Turkar o.s.v. åtnjutit
en gudomlig kult. (Castrén 1853a: 87.)

Quite many nations have, in their childhood,
thought of the earth as a godlike being and
worshipped it through the image of a
fairylike mother that gives food and
sustenance for both human beings and
animals. The nourishing and maintaining
features are beyond doubt the reasons for the
fact that there is also a cult of the earth
among many of our kinsmen, e.g. the
Tungus, Mongols and the Turks.

In the extract above, we can read how the
Herderian ideas of Naturpoesie as a strong
and dynamic reflection of the purity and
naiveté of a nation – and basically of the
whole of humankind – had an influence on
Castrén through the Finnish intellectual
climate, through Sjögren’s programs and
discussions of the Russian Academy of
Sciences, and naturally also through the
Central European studies that Castrén knew
well. (Karkama 2007: 417–483; Branch 1999:
130–134.)

In the chapters I–III of his lectures,
although based on the Kalevala, Castrén is
not simply presenting historical interpreta-
tions of the epics. Here, he is giving a
historical and comparative study of the
mythology of not only the Finns, but also of
the speakers of Finno-Ugric and Altaic
languages, as well as making comparisons to
Germanic mythology. In addition, chapters II
and III are primarily concerned with a
contemporary plane. Hence, the picture of the
mythology is built both on historical-
comparative and realistic-ethnographic
perspectives (Siikala 2012: 43).

Castrén’s contemporary ethnographic
comparisons (pattern 2) are based on his
knowledge of the ethnographic literature of
the 18th and early 19th century, but once again
also on his own fieldwork. Also, these
analyses cover the wide field of Altaic ethnic
groups and go beyond them to the
Scandinavian sources. The results of the
analysis constantly tend to point out the
differences and variations between regions
and ethnic groups. The differences become
manifest in the long passages that deal only
with images of one linguistic group – e.g. the
Sámi (Castrén 1853a: 207–215) or the Khanty
(Castrén 1853a: 221–228). In these analyses,
Castrén describes the sacred places and, to a
lesser extent, also rituals held in them.

Although indicating a connection between
myth and ritual, Castrén does not discuss it
explicitly in his lectures. Writing about his
own times in chapters II and III, Castrén often
returns to changes caused by Christianity.
Here, the Kalevala is no longer the starting
point, although Castrén mentions it here and
there, for example when discussing the
godlike pictures attached to animals (Castrén
1853a: 205–206.).

Although Castrén’s framework in chapter
II on “Gudabilder” [‘Images of Gods’] is not
explicitly historical, it is still built on the
understanding firstly of the environment’s
impact on mythology and religion, and
secondly on the stratification of the images of
the gods over time. Thus, he begins the
chapter by explaining:

Hos de altaiska folken ega gudabilderna ej
enna formella betydelse, utan de flesta bland
dem föreställa sig, att gudomen är i bilden
inneboende eller så till sågandes inkarnerad.
Gudabilderna äro således enligt deras åsigt
verkliga gudar, och man hyser om dem fullt
och fast den öfvertygelse, att de äro i stånd
att förläna menniskan helsa, välstånd och
andra lifvets förmåner. (Castrén 1853a: 197.)

The images of gods do not have this formal
meaning [that ‘we’ share] among the Altaic
peoples, but most of them think that the god
lives in the image or is, so to say, incarnated.
The images of the gods are thus from their
perspective real gods and one houses them
and holds the conviction that they give men health, well-being and other benefits in life.

In the lectures, the explicit interpretations of the *Kalevala* only (pattern 3) are presented in the fourth chapter entitled ‘Heroes’. This chapter, written on his deathbed, consists of interpretations that have been categorized as historical (as opposed to mythological ones), and he is indeed analyzing more or less Lönrot’s ideas, not Finnish mythology (e.g. Siikala 2012: 43; Hautala 1954: 152–156; Haavio 1952). It still has to be noted that he does not completely oppose symbolic-mythological interpretations either (e.g. Castrén 1852: 271–277; 295).

All in all, in the mythological lectures, the different kinds of interpretive models are constantly overlapping and interacting with the volumes of sources that Castrén is working with. In the first chapter, Castrén gives historical depth to the images of gods and spirits in the *Kalevala*, and at the same time develops a perspective and methodologies for historical and comparative mythology from the points of departure of historical and comparative linguistics. In the chapters dealing with ‘Different Kinds of Spirits’ and ‘Images of Gods and Sacred Natural Objects’, Castrén is widening the geographical coverage of the ethnographic knowledge about mythology and ritual. The historical interpretations made in chapter IV are focused on the actors of the *Kalevala*, the heroes, who, according to Castrén, were at the beginning gods and spirits, but were later conceptualized as human beings in the epic poems. In these historical interpretations, Castrén is making use of the developing field of comparative mythology and the sources that had been established at the time.

The different levels of time and cultural representations are mainly complementary to each other in Castrén’s endeavor to discuss the mythology and shamanism found among the Altaic peoples. A web of interrelationships is created from the both diachronically and synchronically fragmented pieces of knowledge. While the diachronic analysis is oriented deep into the history of mankind, the synchronic analysis does not go further than a hundred years beyond Castrén’s own day. The materials from his fieldwork enabled both levels of analysis.

**Satisfying the Appetite**

The enthusiastic spirit in the humanities of the early 19th century surrounded Castrén both in the Grand Duchy of Finland and at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. They both acquired their central ideas of Central European Herderian-based neohumanistic tones that emphasized the importance of collecting exact linguistic materials among the speakers of the languages. Moreover, the systematic nature of collection and the value of oral poetry were constantly repeated in the methodological writings of early 19th century scholars. The tension between diachronic and synchronic perspectives lay in the fast-paced development of the methodology. The new kind of gaze on the past required more systematic new materials in the present. Field expeditions naturally pointed toward the need to concentrate more thoroughly on separate languages and cultures. These tensions found their place in Castrén’s lectures, which connect both perspectives, creating a both historical and ethnographic description of the mythology and religions of the so-called Finno-Ugric and Altaic peoples.

Although Castrén’s motives for doing fieldwork can be described as National-Romantic, in his mythology, he was not after some history of the mythology of an ethnic group or nation. The scope of his comparisons was much wider and his phraseology points to scholarly models adopted from contemporary German researchers. Thus, it is not enough to interpret Castrén’s work in nationalistic or Romantic terms. A more plausible context can be found in the neohumanistic frames used in this article.

These tones are especially clear in the fieldwork methods that emphasized the value of speech material collected among the speakers and within multiple, neighboring dialects and languages. From the point of view of mythology, the value given to epic texts was also typical for the neohumanistic circles. While Castrén builds a historical interpretation of *Kalevala* in his lectures, he also describes a wider system of shamanistic and mythological conceptions that appear
amongst the speakers of the related languages and their Eastern and Western neighbors. This system was constructed around the understanding that the history of mankind can be found in language and poetic forms of expression. The focus on kindred languages and their speakers’ conceptions was a direct consequence of the new methodological currents and findings of historical and comparative linguistics and mythology. It was especially the Siberian languages and their speakers that were poorly known in the beginning of 19th century. Castrén set out to fill this gap. He collected an enormous amount of source material for the mythology, but unfortunately some of his notes are missing, preventing later scholars from evaluating the relationship between his fieldwork and his interpretations.

If we consider the Kalevala as an edition of Finnish folklore and mythology, Castrén’s lectures should be interpreted as a further endeavor to edit a mythology of Finno-Ugric and Altaic peoples based both on the Kalevala, previous mythologies, field expeditions and his own notes. Castrén’s sources were dispersed and fragmented, but they were also multifaceted in a way that prevented him from compiling a united mythology – a sin of which Castrén accused Lönnrot’s Kalevala.

The limited sources and Castrén’s limited time were, in part, a happy coincidence in the history of Finnish mythography. Castrén and Lönnrot’s work inspired generations of Finnish students to collect further materials on oral poetry, and already in 1914, Kaarle Krohn complained that:

considering the volume and disparity of the sources already collected and still to be collected, it would be an overwhelming task to properly finish the work [of writing the Finnish mythology] and thus it requires the cooperation of several specialists. (Krohn 1914: iv.)

The idea for the publication series Suomensuuvun uskonnot [‘The Religions of the Finnish Kin’] had been born, but even the series could not satisfy the appetite of the mythographers. Each generation creates its own mythology.

Notes
1. This article is related to a project called Manuscripta Castreniana, which aims at publishing scholarly editions of all the manuscript materials in the National Library and some unpublished letters. The writer of this article works with Castrén’s ethnographic and folkloristic materials on Tundra Nenets. These and the linguistic materials on Tundra Nenets will be published online as a database.
2. Texts in German, e.g. Castrén 1845; 1847a; 1847b; 1847c; 1847d; 1847e; 1848a; 1848b; texts in Swedish, e.g. Castrén 1844a; 1844b; 1846a; 1846b; 1847f; 1849b. The original Swedish manuscripts of the travelogues can be found both in the National Library and in the archives of the Swedish Literature Society in Finland (SLSA 1185).
3. Interestingly, Castrén has also noted down four individual songs.
4. Castrén also gave ethnological lectures on “the Altaic peoples”, but I will not touch them in this article (Castrén 1857a).

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XXVI Biographica & Varia I.
XXVI Varia V.
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A Possible Source for a Medieval Icelandic Astronomical Manuscript on the Basis of Pictorial Evidence

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The stars and heavenly bodies were of great interest for Icelandic writers in the Middle Ages. In addition to their use in numerous allegories in the Prose Edda and hagiographic works, they appear in a series of astronomical treatises. These anonymous treatises feature in about 23 different medieval Icelandic manuscripts that focus on aspects of the quadrivium. The quadrivium was the collective name for the four subjects of
arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music, of which the last of these subjects is not represented in these Icelandic texts. These treatises were aimed at a mainly clerical audience but were also accessible to laymen. This can be seen from the early 14th century manuscript Hauksbók (AM 544 4to), owned by a layman, Haukr Erlendsson, but containing early scientific treatises alongside saga material. The origin of these Icelandic astronomical treatises is only dimly understood. In this paper, I work within the theme of limited sources to work out possible source material and dating for one of these Icelandic treatises through pictorial comparison with similar insular and continental treatises. Most comparative work so far in this field has been textual. By also working with pictorial sources, I aim to use the limited sources available to expand the understanding of these works.

One of the most important sources is the compilation manuscript GKS 1812 4to, composed by four different scribes writing from the 12th to the 14th centuries. The manuscript consists of thirty-six 210mm x 140mm folio pages divided into four unequal parts. It is unknown when the four parts of the manuscript were compiled together. The manuscript eventually went into the possession of Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605–1675), who sent it, along with other manuscripts, to Copenhagen and into the collection of King Frederick III (1609–1670) in the year 1662. It was here that the manuscript obtained its shelf mark ‘GKS 1812 4to’ as it now resided in the Gammel Kongelige Samling [‘Old Royal Collection’] of the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Larsson 1883: III). It was eventually returned to Iceland in 1984 and is now kept in the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar [‘The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies’] in Reykjavík.

The GKS 1812 manuscript has been the subject of scholarly interest since the 19th century. There has, however, been little systematic work done on the manuscript and it has never been edited in its entirety. The manuscript and its component parts therefore remain poorly understood with the only major work of analysis and partial editing of the manuscript being Alfræði Íslenzk II: Rímtol written by Natanael Beckman and Kristian Kálund in 1916. In this work, Beckman analysed GKS 1812, along with several other Icelandic manuscripts containing astronomical material, to draw conclusions about the source material used in their compilation. Beckman came to the realisation that medieval Icelandic scribes had access to an extensive collection of scientific works ranging in scope from the works on time by the Venerable Bede (ca. 672–735), compiled in the 8th century, to the 13th century textbooks on astronomy by Johannes de Sacrobosco (ca. 1195–ca. 1256).

Since Alfræði Íslenzk II: Rímtol, the major studies done on the sources of the astronomical material contained within GKS 1812 have been those by Margaret Clunies Ross (1987), Rudolf Simek (1990, 2009), and Clunies Ross & Simek (1993). These studies mainly focus on the influence of medieval encyclopaedias on this manuscript. My own research on GKS 1812 has led me to detect other possible sources of the material contained within. I have been particularly interested in the illuminations on folios 3r–4r and 7v that depict fifteen of the constellations in pictorial form. Simek (1990, 2009) and Clunies Ross & Simek (1993) have previously noted these constellation images, but did not reach any firm conclusions as to their origins.

These constellation images represent a fragment of a treatise known as an Aratea. These were popular illustrated medieval text based on Latin translations of the astronomical poem Phaenomena [‘Appearances’], written by the Greek poet Aratus of Soli (315–240 BCE). The poem describes and names the constellations that can be seen in the night sky as well as telling some of the mythological stories that accompany the constellation image. The poem’s popularity lay in its use as a mnemonic device to interpret the night sky rather than for any technical value that it contained.

The popularity of the Phaenomena spread over the Roman Empire and it was eventually translated into Latin by a number of translators. The two most significant of these were made by the Roman orator Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) and the
Imperial general Germanicus Caesar (15 BCE – 19 CE). At some point in antiquity, the poem started to become accompanied by illustrations of the constellation images. None of these survive and the earliest extant manuscripts of the *Phaenomena* with images are from the Carolingian period. By this time, the Aratea manuscripts typically contained one of the Latin translations of the *Phaenomena*, illustrations of the constellations with accompanying descriptions of how to locate individual stars, astronomical diagrams, and parts of other scientific treatises. These Aratea treatises have been divided by scholarship into a series of related family types. The popularity of the Aratea treatises peaked between the mid-9th and mid-12th centuries, and their decline was connected to the influx of translations of technically more advanced Arabic astronomical works. The Arateas enjoyed a revival in the Renaissance, although more for their antiquarian value and their link with classical mythology than for their technical usefulness. Even today, the types of illustrations of the constellations that accompany books or computer programmes on star gazing have their roots in these Aratea treatises.

In making comparisons between the Icelandic Aratea contained within GKS 1812 and other Aratea manuscripts, I have been able to draw new conclusions about its source and date. Below, I will describe the GKS 1812 manuscript in more depth with special focus on its Aratea section. This will be followed by an explanation of what family the GKS 1812 Aratea belongs to, and detailed comparison with a possible exemplar.

**The Manuscript GKS 1812 4to: History and Provenance**

The GKS 1812 manuscript is a compilation of the works of four different scribes who wrote from the 12th to the 14th centuries. Each of these scribes has been allocated a Roman numeral to represent them (Kålund 1900). Confusingly, the scribes that wrote these different parts are not allocated a number in either chronological order or in order of appearance in the manuscript.

Scribe I wrote folios 1r–4v and 7r–13r in Old Icelandic in the 14th century, and this part of the manuscript is allocated the shelf mark GKS 1812 I 4to. Scribe II wrote folios 13v–23v in Old Norwegian in the 14th century, and this part of the manuscript is allocated the shelf mark GKS 1812 II 4to. Scribe III wrote folios 5r–6v and 35r–36v in Old Icelandic in the first half of the 13th century, and this part of the manuscript is allocated the shelf mark GKS 1812 III 4to. Scribe IV wrote folios 24r–34v in Old Icelandic at the end of the 12th century, and this part of the manuscript is given the shelf mark GKS 1812 IV 4to. Table I (above) shows the order of the scribes within the manuscript as well as a broad description of the content contained within. All four scribes cover the science of the calculation of the calendar known as ‘computus’.

Scribe I writes on a broad variety of other scientific ideas mostly focused on astronomy including the Aratea and includes a series of astronomical diagrams. The first diagram drawn by Scribe I can be found on folio 4v and is a *Divisio scientiarum* ['Division of Sciences’ or ‘Division of Knowledge’], a medieval schematic diagram that divides up knowledge into different categories, including the seven liberal arts. Folio 7r contains a wheel of the year diagram showing planetary orbits that is credited by Scribe I to the late Roman author Macrobius (5th century CE). Folio 10v shows the heliocentric orbits of Venus and Mercury. Folio 11v shows the geocentric orbits, epicycles and deferent of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Finally, folio 11v shows a zone map with incomplete phases of the Moon and folio 12v shows a diagram of...
The constellation illustrations drawn by Scribe I on folios 3r–4r and 7v are parts of an Aratea treatise. The Aratea treatise differs from the other parts of the manuscript as it is written in Latin.

The GKS 1812 Aratea is a small part of the evidence that we have for Icelandic works on the quadrivium and have been largely overlooked by scholarship. There also remains a strong possibility that the Viðey monastery may have been one of the major centres for the production of astronomical literature in medieval Iceland and this is where the Aratea could have been produced (See Lönnroth 1968; Kristín Bjarnadóttir 2006: 41–51). The quantity of Latin texts and Latin language capability in medieval Iceland was also much greater than is normally realised due to the general focus of research on Old Icelandic texts (see especially Gottskálk P. Jansson 2003; 2009; Raschellà 2007). This would allow for a learned environment where astronomical texts such as 1812 could be used, translated and understood.

The Aratea of GKS 1812 I 4to: A Physical Description

There are three main parts that make up the GKS 1812 Aratea. The first part, on folios 3r to 4r, consists of a series of coloured drawings of nine constellations, each one contained within its own roundel. There are three roundels per page, one above another. Latin text is placed on both sides of each roundel. In the roundels of Libra and Scorpio, there are computistical notes inserted by a 15th century Icelandic hand, these bear no relevance to the images (Beckman & Kålund 1916: 247–248). Each of the constellations represented on these pages is one of the zodiac signs (Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius and Pisces), with Aries, Taurus and Gemini missing.

The second part of the Aratea is on folio 7v. This is a drawing of six constellations together in one image (Centaurus, Lupus, Orion, Cetus, Canis Major and Canis Minor), with Latin texts accompanying each one. Along the side of the Orion image, the scribe has written the following probatio pennae ['pen test'] that says: “Malo me Galatea petit lasciva puella” ['Galatea throws an apple at me, the sexy girl']. The quote is from the Roman poet Virgil’s series of rustic poems known as the Eclanes (3, ll. 64–65), and shows that Scribe I had both a knowledge of classical literature and a racy sense of humour.

The third part of the Aratea is an Old Icelandic version of the text Excerptum de Astrologia Arati ['Excerpts from the Astronomy of Aratus'] that is found on folios 8v–9v of 1812. This has previously been recognised by Carlo Santini (1987) as a translation of this Carolingian text that is based on the Phaenomena of Aratus. The Excerptum was glossed and used extensively throughout the Middle Ages. The Old Icelandic version of the Excerptum has been established by Beckman & Kálund (1916: 249–250) as being influenced by a version of the Poeticon astronomicon ['Poetical astronomy'] of the Roman author Hyginus (64 BCE – CE 17). The Old Icelandic Excerptum has been edited previously by Konráð Gíslason (1860), Beckman and Kálund (1916) and translated into Italian by Santini (1987). The text has hitherto never been linked with the Aratea images that precede it in GKS 1812 and this present paper seeks to shed further light onto this part of the manuscript. The Latin text accompanying the Aratea images has not been edited until now.

De ordine ac positione stellarum in signis

The Latin text accompanying the constellation images are scholia from the Aratea family known as De ordine ac positione stellarum in signis ['On the Order and Position of the Stars in the Signs']. The De ordine is a catalogue of forty-two constellations. Each entry consists of the name of the constellation and sometimes its variants. This is followed by a description of the stars (these are occasionally named) which are described in terms of their position within the body of the constellation itself and sometimes in terms of visibility (Lippincott 2011: 2). Studies on the De ordine family have been on-going since the mid-19th century and it has been edited several times, most recently by Arno Borst (2006). Kristen Lippincott (2011) has identified fourteen illustrated versions of the text. Of these, eight
are from the 9th century and three from the 11th century with the majority originating from French scriptoria. The manuscript MS Ludwig XII differs since it originates from England in the early 13th century. (Lippincott 2011: 4.)

The Excerptum and De ordine texts form chapters 1 and 2 of Book V of the Seven Book Computus (Borst 2006: 1243–1260). In 809, Charlemagne (742–814) summoned a number of scholars to Aachen to compile a treatise on the computus. Carolingian monastic and cathedral schools required a handbook that would enable students and teachers to understand astronomical concepts (Ramirez-Weaver 2008: 9). The Aachen compilation of 809 contains 150 chapters divided into seven books, and therefore it is known as the Seven Book Computus (Lippincott 2011:7). The Seven Book Computus was completed in 812 and provided the foundation for many of the astronomical works that were to follow in the Latin West during the next few centuries. Books I–IV detailed computus, Book VI concerned itself with weights and measures and Book VII was Bede’s early scientific work De natura rerum. Of all the books in the Seven Book Computus, Book V was most concerned with astronomy; other chapters in this book detailed the movement of the planets and the moon and contained many excerpts from the Naturalis Historia [‘Natural History’] of the Roman scholar Pliny the Elder (23 CE–79 CE). Most of the material of chapter 2 in Book V was taken from one of the earliest sets of scholia to the Germanicus translation of the Phaenomena of Aratus, the so-called Scholia Basileensis.

Early versions of the Seven Book Computus have survived, such as the manuscript Madrid Biblioteca Nacional MS 3307. Later versions of the Seven Book Computus branch off into a variety of families that are still unclear to scholarship (Lippincott 2011: 4). To determine possible origins of the Icelandic Aratea, I have included two passages from the De ordine text, representing the constellations Scorpio and Libra. The first passage is as it appears in the edited version of Borst (2006) and the second is my edited version of the GKS 1812 De ordine (see also Etheridge 2012). The translation of the GKS 1812 passage follows that of the Ramirez-Weaver 2008 edition of Madrid 3307, except with regard to where the GKS 1812 De ordine text differs.

Scorpius habet stellas in singulis cornibus vel potius labiis binas, ex quibus priores clarae sunt in fronte tres, quam media clari est, in dorso tres claras, in ventre duas, in cauda quinque, in aculeo duas, summa septendecim. (Lib. Comp. V 2 p.1253.)

Scorpius habet stellas in singulis cornibus vel potius labiis binas ex quibus priores clarae sunt in fronte tres quam media clari est In dorso iii claras. In ventre duas. In cauda v. In aculeo duas summa xxii. (GKS 1812 4to fol. 3v)

Scorpio has a star on each claw [or, if you prefer, in both lips] before which there are three bright ones, of which the one in the middle is brighter; there are three bright stars on the back, two in the stomach, five in the tail, and two more stars in the spine. They total twenty-two.

Ex his priores quattor, quae in cornibus vel labiis, quae Chelae appellantur, positae sunt Librae asdignantur. Hic autem ob magnitudinem in duo domicilia, id est in spatium duorum signorum partitur. (Lib. Comp. V 2 p.1253.)

Scorpio has stars. Before these stars four more stars were placed, whether in the lips or the claws, which are called the ‘Chelae [of Scorpio]’ that were assigned under the circumstances to Libra. On account of its size it [Scorpio] was in two houses of the zodiac. So, it [Scorpio] was divided into the space appropriate for two zodiac signs.

The major difference between the two texts here is that normally in De ordine manuscripts such as Madrid 3307, the texts of Libra and Scorpio are combined into one text. The Scorpio text comes first and that is the only image that is represented in these manuscripts. In contrast, and following later
practice, the Icelandic scribe has split the text in two and assigned each half to its respective constellation. The Icelandic scribe has also duplicated the first few words of the Scorpio text and added it to the Libra text to show where it originally came from. Libra was located in the claws of Scorpio in the time of the ancient Greek astronomers and it only started to be depicted as a separate sign from around the 1st century BCE onwards. The text of Madrid 3307 folio 55v, for example, describes Scorpio and Libra in one continuous piece and is placed next to the illustration of Scorpio with no separate image of Libra.

Apart from the separation of the Scorpio and Libra texts, there is little difference between the GKS 1812 De ordine text and others of this family. Scribe I has made a scribal error in the final number of stars in Scorpio writing xxii instead of xvii. All the texts accompanying the other constellations in GKS 1812 have this close relationship to their related texts in Madrid 3307 and other De Ordine manuscripts. There is however no similar relation between the image of Scorpio in GKS 1812 and that in Madrid 3307. I would instead suggest that it was another exemplar that was involved. After the close examination and research of many diverse Aratea manuscripts, it would seem that the closest resemblance to the image from 1812 comes from images in two English manuscripts from the mid 12th century:
Oxford Bodleian Library MS Bodley 614 folio 20r and Oxford Bodleian Library MS Digby 83 folio 56r (see Figure 1).

The Image of Scorpio

In GKS 1812, the image of Scorpio is shown as a twisted humanoid figure with a curved tail. Its two outstretched hands reach up as if to grasp the top of the blue roundel that surrounds it (Figures 3; cf. Libra illuminated separately in Figure 2). Illustrations of Scorpio varied throughout the Middle Ages and depended on whether or not the artist had the opportunity to be able to draw a scorpion from life or from another accurate drawing. The Scorpio image that adorns folio 5v of the Old Icelandic calendar AM 249b folio from ca. 1200 is not represented as a scorpion, but as a dragon with another dragon’s head located at the end of its tail. The Old Icelandic word for a scorpion is sporðdreki [lit. “tail dragon”] (see Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957: 583). It was not unknown for other northern artists to depict Scorpio as a dragon (Fishof 2001: 127).

The twisted humanoid Scorpio with the outstretched hands is unusual and seems to be related only to the two Scorpio images in the Oxford Bodleian Library manuscripts. This strange version of Scorpio has been noted before by Marion Dolan (2007: 235) in relation to Bodley 614 and Digby 83, but the GKS 1812 manuscript was unknown to her. Dolan also points out that the constellation images in Bodley 614 begin with Aries, and instead of following the normal order of the Aratea manuscripts (following the original poem of Aratus), it completes the constellations of the Zodiac. The GKS 1812 manuscript follows this arrangement with the Zodiac constellations first and the other constellations later.

In Bodley 614 and Digby 83, the outstretched hands of the Scorpio figures hold the scales of the constellation Libra with the accompanying text describing both constellations. In contrast, and following later practice as explained above, the Icelandic scribe has split the text in two and assigned each half to its respective constellation. The GKS 1812 Scorpio has been illustrated as according to its exemplar images but its empty hands now grasp towards its roundel where the constellation of Libra once was (see Figure 2–3).

The English Aratea Manuscript Tradition

In ca. 985, Abbo of Fleury (ca. 945–1004), one of the leading scholars in Europe at this time, went to England for two years and taught at Ramsey Abbey. Abbo was one of the leading mathematicians and astronomers of his day. It was about this time that the first two Aratea manuscripts arrived in England, these being London British Library MS Harley 647 from Fleury, dating ca. 830, and London British Library MS Harley 2506, written in Fleury and illustrated in Ramsey Abbey by an English artist ca. 1000 and containing some of the astronomical works of Abbo himself. These manuscripts contain constellation images, excerpts from Pliny, Macrobius, Martianus Capella (5th century...
CE), Hyginus and the Cicero translation of Aratus. These in turn inspired the early 11th century English Aratea manuscripts Cambridge Trinity College R.15.32 and London British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V. Tiberius B.V. is considered the exemplar for the two related manuscripts from the 12th century, Bodley 614 and Digby 83 (see Figure 4). The production of Aratea manuscripts in England appears to terminate in the 12th century (Dolan 2007: 282–283).

The Oxford Bodleian Arateas
The Bodley 614 manuscript dates to around ca. 1120–1140. It contains framed descriptions of the constellations, De rebus in oriente mirabilibus ['The Marvels of the East'] and computistical works (Saxl & Meier 1953: 313–316). The combination of The Marvels of the East with astronomy is in the tradition of Tiberius B.V., and according to Kaufmann (1975: 77), the illustrations must descend from the same archetype. The artist of Bodley 614 often combines three, four or more constellations crowded onto one page (Dolan 2007: 236). The Cicero text has been supplemented by material taken from Hyginus.

The Digby 83 manuscript contains geometrical diagrams of the world, seasons and elements, drawings of constellations and excerpts from Aratus and Hyginus (Saxl & Meier 1953: 345–346). The compilation part of the manuscript is different from Bodley 614 but much of the text and all but a few of the astronomical illustrations are identical in the two manuscripts. The illustrations go back to a model similar to that of Tiberius B.V. which in turn was derived from Harley 647. Judging from the style of the illustrations, Kaufmann dated Digby 83 to the middle of the 12th century, perhaps a decade or two after Bodley 614 (Kaufmann 1976: 103). It is the last of the known English Arateas to descend from Harley 647 (Saxl 1957: 108).

How English Aratea Manuscripts Came to Iceland
The early Icelandic Church had need of computistical and astronomical material since this was needed to celebrate Easter and the other sacred feasts of the Christian year on the appropriate dates. Indeed, the very earliest Icelandic manuscript AM 732 a VII 4to, from around 1130, is a table used to date Easter. This calculation of Easter relied on the combination of calculation and astronomical observation that is called computus or rím in Old Icelandic. This was the same term as used in Old English and is itself derived from Old Irish ríma ['number'] and rimarius ['calculator'], and used specifically in Irish computistical manuals (Ó Cróinín & Walsh 1988). The late 12th century Old Icelandic Physiologus, a treatise related to the Marvels of the East, has also been seen as stemming from insular sources (Corazza 2005).

It seems likely that either the exemplar manuscript of the GKS 1812 Aratea was taken to Iceland from England or was copied in England and then taken to Iceland sometime in the 12th or 13th century. There was an early connection between the English and Icelandic Churches as is evidenced by English churchmen being recorded as active in Iceland in the 11th century. In the 12th century, Icelandic priests were chronicled as travelling and studying at English seats of learning. From the 11th century and the foundation of Bergen, English merchandise regularly found its way to Iceland from Norway. Documents of the 12th and 13th century show that direct trade between England and Iceland in falcons and wool was not uncommon, and English psalters and mass books are mentioned in Icelandic booklists from the 13th century. The translations of Ælfric of Eynsham (ca. 955 – ca. 1010), De falsis deis and De auguriis preserved in the 14th century Hauksbók show that English vernacular manuscripts were also available in Iceland. (McDougall 1989: 189–190.)

Conclusion
Using the limited sources available, and especially visual sources, I have attempted to explain the existence of an Aratea manuscript in Iceland and to give some idea both of its date and composition. The comparison of manuscript images has been instrumental in establishing another likely connection between Iceland and England in the 12th century. The Aratea as it stands is incomplete and it is probable that the manuscript was
damaged and the fragments were recopied by Scribe I in the 14th century along with other material. The Aratea illustrations, descriptions and the curious probatio pennae show a familiarity with Latin classical culture and mythology on the part of this scribe.

The Icelandic Aratea found in the GKS 1812 4to manuscript is another addition to the Aratea family of manuscripts. Dolan mentioned that areas such as Eastern Europe have yet to be thoroughly scrutinized for possible survivals of Aratea manuscripts, so the family may yet be extended further (Dolan 2007: 254). There is still much work to be done on the manuscripts that are known to scholarship since relationships between the texts remain far from clear. Of great importance to the growing field of Aratea studies is The Saxl Project led by Kristen Lippincott and run jointly with The Warburg Institute. This is a continuation and updating of the art historian Fritz Saxl’s pioneering work on the comparison of medieval astronomical images and is a useful database of Aratea manuscripts. So far, facsimiles have been published for three of the most outstanding Aratea: Leiden Voss Lat. Q.79 (Bischoff 1987); Madrid 3307 (Ramirez-Weaver 2008); and Tiberius B.V (McGurk 1983). Only a select few other Aratea manuscripts have been studied in any detail (Dolan 2007: 171–172). The Saxl database is a huge step forward in this field and it is an essential tool for future comparative Aratea studies.

Finally the composition of the GKS 1812 Aratea raises many fundamental questions. One of these is how the illustrations derive from one exemplar connected to the Cicero Aratea Bodley 614 and how the Latin text stems from a different De ordine textual exemplar. Further work must be done on comparisons of all the GKS 1812 Aratea illustrations as well as on the accompanying Excerptum text to place it in context with other Aratea manuscripts, especially with Ludwig XII. In the near future, I aim to publish the fully edited GKS 1812 De ordine text to help enhance academic understanding of this most interesting document.

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Internet Resources
Saxl Project. Available at: http://www.kristenlippincott.com/the-saxl-project/

Works Cited

Oral Agitation through Written Sources: On the Study of Verbal Performances of the Early 20th Century Finland

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In Finland, the progressive civil society formed during the 19th century. Popular movements, organizations and political parties considered themselves to be advocates of the Finnish people and of societal progress. The invocation of the people and a belief in progress were shared ambitions of many movements, which also led to rivalry between them. (Bergholm 2002: 184–185.) An important means to reach the people was the organization of speech evenings for various causes. Oral agitation was a powerful way to influence people’s opinions and also to reach those who did not read newspapers. The workers’ movement in Finland utilized oral agitation widely as a means of propagating socialist ideology in the early 20th century. After the general strike in 1905 and the parliament reform in 1906, socialism spread rapidly among the rural people. The Social Democratic Party had dozens of speakers traveling around the country.

Studies on verbal agitation nevertheless remain few, probably because of the lack of recordings of such speeches and of speech manuscripts. This article discusses how to examine verbal agitation on the basis of the limited and fragmented source material available. It is based on an ongoing doctoral study of contemporary history, which examines socialist agitators and agitation events in early 20th century Finland. The article presents the possibilities opened by utilizing a methodology of performance studies when researching verbal performances...
of the past. Focus here will be on the social roles of a socialist agitator in rural Finland. The source materials consist of local newspapers, travel stories by the agitators and also oral history. In this case, oral history refers to written memoirs, life-history writings and questionnaires collected by The Finnish Literature Society (SKS) and The Commission of the Finnish Labour Tradition (TMT) (Fingerroos & Haanpää 2006: 27).

Traveling Agitators

Oral agitation organized by the Social Democratic Party was at its height in 1908, during which there were over 10,000 agitation evenings in total (Ehrnrooth 1992: 302). Agitation was primarily organized by district organizations, which usually had a few paid agitators whose job it was to travel around the district, spreading the word of socialism and establishing workers’ associations. The Social Democratic Party had adopted the socialist view on how the development of capitalism in a society would gradually increase the number of the poor, who would inevitably become class-conscious and eventually unite to claim political and economic power. Within this view, it was seen as a normal and inevitable development in a capitalist society that the workers and the poor would become self-aware socialists. However, this development was only a theory in the Central Finnish countryside, because the ‘development of capitalist society’ had by no means yet reached those traditional and agrarian communities. Furthermore, political identities were nowhere near stable in the countryside at the beginning of the 20th century on any side of the political sphere. The political views of the people could shift rapidly with a good speaker (e.g. Ilkka 14.3.1907).

In the early 20th century, socialist speakers were not the only ones traveling around rural Finland. When studying socialist agitation, it must be kept in mind that Finland was swarming with speakers advocating various causes: different political parties had agitators of their own; various religious speakers, such as revivalist preachers, were also active, as were speakers for popular enlightenment, such as temperance speakers and farming advisors. Some traveling agitators also had a double role as folklore collectors. One correspondent of the newspaper Suomalainen [‘The Finn’] complained that there had been a surge of speakers in the village of Keisala in Soini. There were 4–5 speech evenings every week and these always had a full house. This was a large number in a village consisting of around 20 houses (Suomalainen 21.3.1906). The socialist agitator Onni Tuomi described a situation in which two additional speech evenings had been organized in the same village at the same time and competed with his own (SV 11.10.1907).

Agitators usually performed their speeches in private houses, but also in the houses of associations, or the speeches could even be organized in an elementary school. If a room was not available in which to speak, the agitation speech could also be performed outside in a yard or on a road. It was common for people from all social classes to take part in agitation evenings, so agitators could also expect people from the upper classes to participate in a speech event. (Laina Peijari, Kuorevesi, SKS.) Non-socialists often also engaged in argument. Speakers expected a heated debate and were also willing to incite it. (SV 23.9.1907.) The agitator actively asserted prestige and control over his audience. This rhetorical power of performance and its potential for social control has been widely documented (Bauman 1977: 44).

Textual Sources, Oral Performances

During the last decades a ‘performative turn’ has spread among various disciplines of cultural studies. Based on linguistics, sociology and anthropology, the performative trend has also become visible in historical studies. The concept of performance has been used in recent historical studies of ritual, festivals, gender and emotions. Focus is shifting from the assumption of social or cultural fixity to that of fluidity and from scripts to improvisation. Traditional historical explanatory models have assumed consistency in the behavior of individuals. Performance-centered approaches encourage emphasizing occasional factors in the explanation of human action. (Burke 2005:
The importance of occasions is a starting point of my study on socialist agitation. The focus of my study is in the occasions – the agitation events – which were realized through the interaction between the performer, audience and local context.

The power inherent in performance is able to transform social structures. This notion opens questions and considerations concerning the role of the performer in society (Bauman 1977: 45). Utilizing performance methodology can open some interesting perspectives from which socialist agitation and modernization in rural Finland can be considered. The important questions will concern, on the one hand, how the common rural people witnessed the socialist agitation and had an influence upon it, and on the other hand, whether it is possible to reach back to the interaction inherent in an oral performance in the past.

Richard Bauman’s (1977) basic analytical scheme for the study of cultural performances includes four essential situational factors that must be taken into consideration. These are: a) the participants’ identities and roles; b) the performance text and its meaning; c) the genre of the performance; and d) the structure of the event. As Bauman states, these factors are mutually interactive and interdependent, and any of them may be used as a point of departure in the analysis of the performance in a community. However, in order to make ultimate statements about the social performance as a part of social life, it is necessary to address all of these in the study (Bauman 1977: 31).

There are a lot of literary sources available from early 20th century Finland. However, the sources tend to be fragmented and occasional when the subject of research is oral performance among rural common people. There are no audio recordings of these agitation speeches available and only a few speech manuscripts have been archived. The lack of written texts of speeches appears largely attributable to the fact that speakers did not write their speeches down, mainly because a speaker who read his speech from paper was considered a bad speaker and the effect of the performance was weaker (SV 30.8.1907). Rather than concentrating on the text of the performances, this study focuses on co-texts – i.e. descriptions of the agitation written by speakers and people in the audience – with emphasis on cultural, political and social contexts. This approach allows many types of materials to be utilized. The source material of this study characteristically consists of descriptions of and opinions about the events in writings or reminiscences of the agitators or people who participated in the event, especially found in newspapers, local histories and archival materials of Social Democratic Party organizations, as well as oral history source material including written memoirs, life writings or interviews made by folklore collectors. The text of the speech act itself thus becomes a relatively small proportion of the material analyzed as compared to many folkloristic studies on performance. Whereas performance studies on the basis of archival folklore texts often suffer from lack of contextual information, the situation is the opposite in research on agitation.

The source material tends to consist more of texts about performances and texts that describe the whole event and its attendees. Attributes of the performance text can be accessed – mainly via direct citations and dialogues that appear in narratives. Written descriptions were produced for different purposes and are therefore multifaceted in terms of genre (e.g. newspaper articles and other publications, reminiscences, documents of the district organization of the Social Democratic Party). It is important to take the context of the production of this material into account (see Mikkola 2009). All categories or source varieties have their own limitations and special features which have to be acknowledged. On the other hand, gaps, limitations and defects of source materials can also be regarded as resource, not as problem. The researcher’s task is to ask why sources tell different stories. (Heimo 2010: 58.)

The method of combining various, dissimilar and fragmented source materials has been called ‘source pluralism’ by historian Janken Myrdal. Especially when studying common people and everyday life, source materials tend to be infrequent and random. Source pluralism relies on the
principle that the credibility of information is strengthened when disparate sources agree, while credibility is weakened if the sources contradict each other. (Myrdal 2012: 157.) In my study, this means that in order to make interpretations of oral agitation as events in the past, fragmented sources have to be discussed in relation to each other. Source materials will vary in significance in answering the research questions. The significance of a particular source will likely become more apparent during the research process, a process that can lead into fields of other disciplines (Myrdal 2012: 160).

There is obviously an ideological factor in political agitation performances. This makes the purpose of the sources particularly important to take into account. For example, an eminent source category of the study is travel stories written by the agitators themselves. Travel stories were published in the local workers’ newspaper Soorretun Voima [‘The Power of the Oppressed’]. These travel stories have to be considered in terms of both genre and narration. The genre of these stories mainly follows the genre that Kirsti Salmi-Niklander has called the “local event narrative”. This genre is characterized as a description of an event in a local community (Salmi-Niklander 2004). Although the topics of local event narratives are simple, the writers utilize various literary methods – narration, metaphors and literary citations – in order to fictionalize their own experiences (Salmi-Niklander 2006: 113). In this material, however, the description of local events is occasionally replaced by a passage of direct address to the reader with the rhetoric of an agitation speech. Narrative analysis of the written sources is also an important tool. In this study, the research subject is beyond the narrative, not the narrative itself. This emphasizes the importance of narrative analysis as a method. These sources cannot be read as simply describing what has been said and what has happened. It is important to ask the sources how and why these things are narrated and to whom the texts are addressed. Instead of seeing sources simply as evidence, they must also be examined as traces of the performances under investigation (Kalela 1999: 144).

Method
My method of studying performance in the past can be described as scanning through fragmented and plural sources on oral agitation through the lens of the cultural performance framework outlined by Bauman. In relation to newspapers, this is made possible in practice by using the National Library of Finland’s Historical Newspaper Library with its searchable digital database of Finnish newspapers. I have used such terms such as agitaattori [‘agitator’] and työväenpuhuja [‘labour-movement speaker’] as well as the names of the speakers and villages in order to track the speakers’ movements and actions. After collecting these writings, reports and descriptions related to oral agitation, I have divided them on the strength of how they answer questions concerning performance. Oral history materials of the study have been collected by the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) and the Commission of Finnish Labour Tradition (TMT). For example, an enquiry into modernization and new ways of life in Finland was conducted by SKS in 1939 and includes sections that deal with forms of political and party life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Sections of this material have been selected, organized and outlined both regionally and temporally according to my research subject.

Roles of the Agitator
Although all four of Bauman’s essential situational factors for performance have been taken into consideration, discussion will concentrate here on the participants’ identities and roles and how these strategically structure the relationships between participants in the event as well as structure the event itself. Social roles are a part of the social structure or social context of a performance. They are not simply a contextual factor because they are also in ongoing interaction with the performance itself. This is significant because, as Bauman observes, “performance carries the potential to rearrange the structure of social relations within the performance event and perhaps beyond it” (Bauman 1986: 4). Social roles tell about the social structure which is as important in examination as the
structure of the event and the structure of the text (Bauman 1977: 42). The social roles of the socialist agitator and social structure are relatively undemanding to examine in descriptions and narratives of an event. Roles and identities are continuously discussed and formulated in the pages of the local workers’ newspaper *Sorretun Voima*, but also in fiction and oral history. The roles of a performer tell about the expectations the audience had for the performance. Competence for performing a social role is evaluated consciously and unconsciously by the participants. The competence of a performer is linked to various culture-specific and situation-specific factors such as experience, gender, age and social status (Bauman 1977: 38). The competence of the socialist speaker was evaluated in relation to other speakers as well as in relation to the performance compared with other local performances.

Political speeches were often only one relatively small part of the program of a social evening, which was where the public activities of agitators was centered. Speakers performed different acts in the evening’s program. Entertainment was often needed to get people to attend the agitation evenings. The speech was only a complimentary part of the evening for some listeners and the main purpose was to attend dancing (TMT 119:164 Kuoppala). Agitation evenings were significant as social events and the speakers were often versatile performers. Agitator Onni Tuomi writes in his travel story about a workers’ autumn festival in Viitasaari. There were five agitators present and only two of them gave speeches. One of the agitators won fame by reciting poetry and another by singing couplets. Singing was not only entertainment; an important educational task of the agitators was to teach people labour-movement songs. Tuomi’s own part was storytelling. (SV 15.11.1907.) An agitators’ entertainment repertoire may be associated with competition for popularity between performers. Increased political agitation and the high quantity of social evenings caused competition not only between parties but also between individuals.

In the consideration of the performance of an agitator, there is a question of strategic role-taking and role-making (Rosaldo 1973; Bauman 1977: 43). One of these intentional and strategic role-takings of agitators was performing as a troublemaker who was able to challenge the authorities. A notable part of the agitation narratives published in the newspaper *Sorretun Voima* includes a description of verbal conflicts between the agitator and local bourgeoisie. Prestige and control was narrated in the newspaper by the agitator Onni Tuomi.


I gave my first speech in a roomy town hall, where persons belonging to the bourgeois parties also arrived. I roughed up their programs for agriculture and wondered a lot because they did not start arguing with me as usual and as much as I wished them to. I had heard from my comrades that these bourgeoisie are establishing an almshouse and I proposed this for discussion. I came to be chosen as the chairman of the meeting and began introducing the almshouse matter. But this was already too much according to the bourgeoisie; it was completely ‘shameless’ that a socialist agitator dare to criticize the acts of the government and to oppose good suggestions of the town officials that were based on love. One gets frustrated and impatient even with less
serious claims. The matter was fiercely discussed. There was a tug of war. The bourgeoisie were for it and the socialists were against; some of those who were against left before the discussion was over and some of those civilized ones even lost their patience.

The passage above is from a travel story in ten parts by Tuomi. The stories were published as his three-month long agitation journey proceeded. The narrative resembles the genre of 19th century bourgeois travel stories. The focus is on the events, but Tuomi also reflects on his work, describes the surroundings and reviews the pursuits of local workers’ associations. The narrative includes dialogues with local people and descriptions of their behavior along with information about the writer himself. Social roles are embedded in the description of interaction between the actors. In the passage above, Tuomi explains his strategy to invoke verbal conflict explicitly. Because the non-socialists in the audience did not initiate any argument during his speech, Tuomi deliberately brought up the controversial local project of building an almshouse. The topic caused a shouting match which Tuomi, in his own opinion, won. Afterwards, Tuomi considered his agitation to have been truly successful because of the conflict he was able to rouse. (SV 23.9.1907)

It is notable that bourgeois newspaper articles on the same event present a parallel reading. The non-socialists became resentful over the agitator’s rhetoric and verbal conflict (Suomalainen 13.9.1907). Conflict between the socialist agitator and local non-socialists was an important element in the rhetoric. In some cases, the structure of the agitation performance seems to have been based on debate and juxtaposition. Often, there were no current topics about local class distinction in the central Finnish countryside that could have been easily used as an example in this sort of rhetoric. Speakers used the controversy and debate in the event intentionally as a rhetorical means.

The role of the socialist speakers as local peace-breakers is also shown in reminiscences. According to oral history, some people regarded socialist agitators as troublemakers who ruined the peaceful rural symbiosis. Agitators caused friction in the village:

Puolue-elämä pani pilalle ja särki kokonaan hyvän sovun ja kylärauhan. Näyttää siltä että paras ja kalliin on iijä menetetty, ehjä Isäntämä rakkaus ja tyyri sopu ihmisten kesken, muistan niin hyvin kun alkoi kasvattaa ukkospilviä valtiolliselle taivaalle. ennen ensimmäisiä vaaleja jo salamoi ja räisskyä. Kaiken kasvanet aikaattorit pauhas suu vaahossa kulkien kyläästä kylään haukkuen ja isäntien toisiaan pannen pataluhaksi sen joka uskalti vähänkin vastustaa, he rikkoivat maalaisrauhan – (Anna Oikari, Ähtäri, SKS).

Party life spoiled and shattered the good harmony and peace in the village. It seems that the best and most precious has been forever lost, namely the unbroken love of one’s country and calm harmony between people; I remember so well as the thunderclouds began to develop over the sky of the country. It was flashing and rattling already before the first elections. All sorts of agitators were travelling from village to village, frothing, bashing and trashing each other, badly criticizing those who dared to oppose a little; they shattered the agrarian peace –

On the other hand, this rather romantic picture of rural life before the arrival of socialism is disputed by other reminiscences (Vilho Määlä, Suolalhti; Elli Kyttälä, Laukaa, SKS; Mikkola 2009: 275–277).

The positioning of the agitators can be examined in the narratives of the speakers. Positioning is done mainly at the textual level, but some cases show positioning in the agitation event. It seems that agitators positioned themselves apart from their audiences. For example, the twenty-year-old Oskari Suutala contented himself with standing by when young people started dancing and playing party games after the agitation speech:

Nuoriso alkaa tehdä levottomia liikkeitä, vihdoin alkaa kuulua pussipelin ääntä, pojat hakkevat neitoisaan tanssii. Istuin katselemaan nuor isoa, joka tanssii silloin kun suurin osa kansastamme kamppaillee nälkäkuoleman kanssa. Niittyää koko matkan siltä, että nuoriso ei vielä ole herännyt täyteen itsitetetoisuuteen. Ittamien ohjelmat ovat peräti kuivia. Ainoastaan
The youths began to be restless, at last they hear the sound of the accordion and the lads ask the maidens to dance. I sat to watch these youths who were dancing at the same time that a large part of our nation was starving to death. For the whole evening, it seems that the youths have not yet completely awakened to self-awareness. The programs of the soirée are absolutely boring. Only the dance gains more attention.

In Suutala’s opinion, it was not appropriate to dance and frolic when “a large part of our nation was starving” (SV 9.12.1907). Agitators may identify themselves even more clearly as outsiders in their narratives. They want to identify themselves with the working-class and local comrades, yet when the speakers encountered unwanted attitudes and behavior, they would take a moral, intellectual or emotional distance from the locals in their narrative. They have a tendency to maintain a distance from the ignorant people of the countryside. From the agitators’ perspective, the people were seen as subservient, faint-hearted and generally passive (SV 4.3.1908). On the other hand, the listeners also called for a social distance between themselves and the agitator. The most desired speakers were out-of-town agitators. They were more interesting than local people, either because they were unfamiliar or because some of them had gained some fame as good speakers. This kind of distinction between agitators and the audience also shows itself in the appearance of the speakers’. From the rural people’s perspective, agitators dressed like townspeople and their appearance could be seen as a sign of social ascent (Vilho Mäilä, Suolahti, SKS).

**Conclusion**

In this article, some fragmented and limited sources of oral agitation have been read through “the lens of performance”. I have studied the roles of an agitator with research materials that consist of newspaper reports, travel stories and oral history. All the sources were produced for different purposes and all have special characteristics in terms of narrative, political endeavors and purposes. Beginning from Bauman’s (1977) basic analytical scheme, I have aimed to concentrate on social roles and their importance in the context of performance by examining the ways that social roles are described and commented on in the material. Social roles are an important part of the context of performance and socialist agitators strove to shake up the social structure through their performances. This was done by challenging the local bourgeoisie to debate and by performing the role of the troublemaker. Agitators’ positioning was dependent on the occasion and audience.

The advantages of a performance-centered approach to agitation begin with phrasing the research question. Within more a traditional historical methodology, answering questions concerning interaction between agitators and audiences or oral agitation in general would have been very challenging with such limited sources. The performance-centered approach to agitation events has also opened perspectives and questions during the process of study that it would not previously have been possible able to ask. As far as historical research is considered, utilizing methods of performance studies widens its sphere and opportunities. It is evident that some modifications have to be made and the analytical schemes cannot be followed strictly. Source materials and methodology also force the researcher to trace the temporal and regional outlines of the subject. Because of the lack of texts, it is difficult to find sources on communicative means of performance. Sources about such means are few and scattered and in relation to several speeches with different contexts. However, other aspects of the performance, such as the roles of the performer and other contexts can be discussed. These contexts can reveal a useful outlook on broader questions of power relations and views on truth and morality.

**Notes**

1. Agitators were also needed for practical tasks such as for the establishment of associations and to provide guidance on how to run them (SV 17.10.1906).
Sources
Finnish Literature Society (SKS): Uudet elämännuodot 1939
Finnish Labour Archives: Commission of Finnish Labour Tradition (TMT)

Newspapers
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Sorretun Voima (SV)
Suomalainen

Internet Resources

Works cited

High Dudgeon: Crafting Affective Narratives from (Semi-) Official Texts
Aaron Mulvany, Habib University

As casual readers, we rarely question the emotional character of literary, folkloric, or other fictive subjects. Within these textual realms there are accepted conventions in place meant to replicate ‘real’ emotion and willingness by the audience to accept their temporary, fabricated reality. Yet when dealing with historical subjects – particularly the unremarkable, everyday characters most instrumental in the creation of the ‘dry discourse’ of the official records relied upon by so many disciplines – as academic readers, we often balk at ascribing feeling. Rather than risking unverifiable (which is not to say untrue) claims about the affective realities of our subjects, realities rarely directly recoverable through textual evidence alone, we too often assume a Rankean neutrality regarding emotions, both our subjects’ and our own.

Within the literature on bureaucracy, this is an easy position to take because, as Max Weber argued:

Bureaucracy develops the more perfectly, the more it is ‘dehumanized’, the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation. (Weber 1978: 975.)

Bureaucratic documents disappear from the scholarly gaze precisely because they appear to give immediate access to the things they mediate, the things in which the scholar is supposed to be interested. The emotionally flattened register of bureaucratic discourse – meant to be not just legible and efficient but
also transparent – forecloses easy access to the emotional conditions under which documents might have been produced.

In this article, I will examine a dossier of collected letters, memoranda, notes, and other files that document a rather lengthy debate that took place between the administration of the recently decolonized territories of French India and the central Government of India in New Delhi. The papers within this dossier detail a debate that was ancillary to the most pressing concerns facing the new Union Territory of Pondicherry, but they nevertheless reveal profound ruptures in the fabric of the bureaucracy and give insight into the very real challenges attending the political marriage of two very different post-colonial states. And while it is easy to read their contents as profoundly personal, deeply affective texts, we must nevertheless remain cognizant of the danger in inscribing them with emotion. Indeed, as Cynthia Ozick (1996: 313) reminds us, such letters “are not necessarily less fraudulent than works of fiction.”

An Ethnographic Archaeology of Emotion
Temma Berg has argued that “communication becomes fabrication as discourse constructs the world it presumes to describe” (Berg 2006: 19). As institutional history becomes more and more commonplace – for example, Bruce Weindruch’s ‘heritage management’ company, The History Factory, or Abdel Aziz Ezzel Arab’s efforts to collect institutional oral histories in Egypt through the Economics and Business History Research Center – the construction of institutional narratives does, indeed, begin to construct the worlds in which such narratives are meant to operate. The growing body of ethnographic literature on white-collar work offers some correctives to the flattening register of bureaucratic discourse (e.g. Ho 2009; Kondo 1990; McCabe 2007), but often does not go far enough in granting the same human feelings to administrators and invisible bureaucrats that are granted to more ‘traditional’ ethnographic subjects. Parallel scholarship on the “ethnography of documents” (Harper 1998) makes several moves in this direction but, as Hull notes (2012a), the vast majority of work examining the intersection of bureaucratic documents and affect focus more on those documented than on those doing the documenting (e.g. Gupta 2012; Hull 2012b; Tarlo 2003).

Teasing emotion out of texts produced within the oeuvre of bureaucratic discourse, which is specifically designed to operate above the humanizing influence of emotion, goes against the presumed impartiality of academic discourse. The two registers are commensurable in the ways that they eschew emotion, but what happens when we are confronted with sources that seemingly violate the dictum of bureaucratic discourse? How do we fairly interpret records with which we can personally empathize without unfairly attributing to them our own feelings? Through an examination of the documents found in dossier № F 5-36/-57-CS-3,1 we can explore the ways in which legitimate affect can be gleaned from bureaucratic files by highlighting the intersection of ethnography with textual analysis, of lived experience with material production. I submit, following Chartier (1994), that the affective significations of a text can be made explicit, in part, by understanding the material conditions of its production.

An Argument in Amber
Dossier F 5-36/-57-CS-3 itself is an interesting “graphic artifact” (Hull 2003). Found misfiled in a satellite office of the National Archives of India – which itself is concealed at the far end of a dead-end alley in Lawspet, Pondicherry District – the dossier contains a mix of semi-personal letters addressed to territorial officials, official internal memoranda, correspondence written between officials in Pondicherry and Delhi, and handwritten notes and marginia noting opinions and interpretations of policy. Describing the various contents of the file, the memoranda – both within the territorial offices and between Pondicherry and Delhi – are written in a distinctly bureaucratic register. The marginia are decidedly more intimate in nature, written as internal correspondence between colleagues. It is the letters written by district administrators in Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam that most blend bureaucratic and more
personal language. These last documents, in particular, were never meant to see public light, and so it seems that their writers felt more free to reveal personal details about private lives lived, significantly, in public accommodations.

The insight these letters give into the (semi-)private lives of public officials is fascinating. The 1950s was a tumultuous period for the French colonies of India. In early 1948, the French People’s Convention had passed a resolution expressing the determination to join with the newly independent Republic of India, which was followed by an agreement between the two countries granting the French territories the democratic right to self-determination. By the end of the year, Chandernagore had elected to join India, while the other four French territories – Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe, and Yanam – under the control of the French-India Socialist Party, remained colonies. Regardless of pro-colonial sentiment in 1948, by 1954, France had ceded de facto control of the remaining French colonies to India. A Traité de Cession was signed two years later, in May 1956, but de jure control was not granted until the French parliament ratified the treaty eight years later, in 1962. Unsurprisingly, this period was a bureaucratically tumultuous one. As the central government in Delhi tried to establish centralized control over the territorial administration in Pondicherry, Pondicherry asserted its right under the Traité de Cession to continue administering the new Union Territory under existing (French) bureaucratic protocols. But while the political uproar of the period has been documented (e.g. Miles 1995; Neogy 1997; Subbiah 1990), it is more difficult to capture the quotidian anxieties of the administrators caught in the middle.

The documents held within dossier № F 5-36/-57-CS-3 do just that. They stand as evidence of the profound unease of public officials caught in the tide of sweeping historic change as they attempted to navigate between French and British bureaucratic regimes.

When I first opened the file in November 2008, I discovered a letter dated 15th January 1955 and written by Karaikal District Administrator A.V. Loganathan to Kewal Singh, then Chief Commissioner of Pondicherry. In the letter, Loganathan complained about a bill he had received from the Pay and Accounts Officer demanding repayment of ‘frais de representation’ allowance given to cover the costs of entertaining at the official residence. He wrote:

A special allowance has [always] been granted to that effect to my predecessors in conformity with the order no. 1913 of the 30th December 1948. That order is still in force, as it has not been repealed by any rule.2

Loganathan lent support to his claim by noting that the same allowance had been given to Antoine Veda upon his appointment as Administrator of Yanam the prior November, the grant of which had been published in the 16th November 1954 issue of La Gazette de l’Etat. “You will agree,” Loganathan concluded, “that such an allowance is also necessary for Karaikal which is more important than Yanam” (Ref. No. 1753/54). Despite the emotionally flattened language used in the letter, this concluding line suggests the layer of emotion underpinning his grievance: anger, insult, dudgeon.

Pinned to Loganathan’s original letter was a memorandum that detailed an internal debate among administrators back in Pondicherry. In an almost clinical brief, Chief Commissioner Singh detailed the various regulations pertaining to the complaint and registered a broader question regarding compensation for municipal administrators like Loganathan. Singh noted a second letter written by the District Administrator of Mahe that had requested a similar allowance and a continuance of a free housing provision that had been granted under the French administration. As Singh’s memo moved through the administration – traceable by the addition of dated, handwritten comments – a consensus arose that district administrators were due both free accommodation and the entertainment provision. This conclusion was then forwarded to the central government in Delhi for approval by the Office of External Affairs (Ref. No. AD.1(31)/55).3
On 9th May 1955, Delhi denied the request, prompting a shocked response from the office of Pondicherry’s Finance Secretary:

We are greatly surprised to see that the Government of India have not accepted our proposals [...] the fact remains that the Administrators have to do quite a lot of entertaining in their official capacity. The deputation allowance sanctioned [by our office...] is not intended to and cannot cover the extra expenditure which the Administrators, unlike others on deputation, must incur, very often unavoidably, on entertainment in their official capacity. If they were appointed at headquarters they would not have to incur any such extra expenditure. It cannot be the intention of the Government of India that these officers who are posted as Administrators should be at a disadvantage vis-à-vis their colleagues at headquarters. (Ref. No. AD.1(31)/55-52ff.)

The response, penned by V.S. Matthews, detailed the various expenses required to maintain the official residences and concluded:

they will not only not be able to maintain the standard of living which they should do in the interest of the prestige of the State Government, but will be monetarily worse off than other officers of the same grade. (Emphasis added.)

Delhi cited two of their own directives in response, No. F.8-3/EI/54(i) and (ii), which outlined that Indian Administrative Service (IAS) or Madras State civil servants temporarily deputized to Pondicherry were not subject to the terms of the French-Indian treaty (Ref. No. F.12-19/EI-55). The two claims referenced in Commissioner Singh’s original memorandum and the subsequent request to Delhi, were dismissed because both Loganathan and the second claimant, Administrator Seshadri of Mahe, had been deputized to Pondicherry from Madras and Mysore IAS cadre, respectively. Delhi’s entirely legal refusal, however, poisoned the well for Antoine Veda, then the Yanam District Administrator whom Loganathan had cited as precedent in his own grievance, whose rightful claim to the same allowances was rescinded by Delhi.

Veda responded to this with a letter addressed to the Deputy Secretary in Pondicherry in which he cited the same French rules that had been used in the request sent to Delhi following Loganathan’s complaint. Veda wrote:

This is a serious blow to me and my wife. I never expected this painful measure. The Government of Pondicherry assured me on sending me here that I would receive all the advantages of an officer under the old administration. Now I perceive that I receive less than my predecessors. (Ref. No. 88/Conf., dt. 25 Aug 1955.)

Unlike the two earlier claims which had prompted Delhi to rescind all frais de représentation, Veda’s compensation was regulated entirely by the old French rules rather than new IAS rules. Together with his appointment as administrator, he had also been named district judge, a cost-saving decision made by Chief Commissioner Singh and permissible under the French regulations operating in the Union Territory. A magistrate’s salary was set, according to Veda, at Rs. 500 per month. Once appointed district magistrate, Veda agreed to undertake the additional duties of the district administrator, for which he said he had expected nothing more than a sumptuary allowance of Rs. 150 per month. Instead, he complained, he was receiving a mere Rs. 250 in total, four hundred rupees less than he was due under French regulations.

Veda cited an order signed 22nd September 1937 (Journal Officiel [J.O.] 1938: 72) to bolster his claim that “[a]ll heads of territorial circles such as Administrators, Chiefs of a Settlement, whatever be the cadre to which they belong” were to be given free lodging. Veda anticipated possible counter-arguments by citing a second order dated 3rd June 1948 (J.O. 1948: 75) that repealed part of the earlier decree but specifically left in place the provision granting free accommodation to municipal administrators. But despite building his argument on a foundation of bureaucratic protocol, citing established rules by date and even quoting the relevant lines, Veda’s language is emotional. He described Delhi’s decision as “a serious blow” that was “painful” to both “me and my wife.” By inserting his private life into what was ostensibly official correspondence, Veda was making a meaningful connection between
public policy and its effects on private life. His language throughout was chosen purposefully to evoke sympathy in his readers, but even so, he could not break entirely from the rational, emotionally flattened bureaucratic discourse. “Je ne suis pas un fonctionnaire regi par decret” [‘I am not an officer regulated by [this] order’], he wrote in closing.

The following month, the head of the Finance Bureau, E. Tetta, sent a letter to Finance Secretary V.S. Doraiswamy. As a former Administrator of Yanam himself, Tetta was intimately familiar with the duties of the position. He argued that the District Administrator, in his role as the direct representative of the government, regardless of his official rank and pay grade:

was obligé to live in the Government House. He was obligé to receive department heads and other officials conducting missions, for which he must have one or more guest rooms prepared. He was obligé to provide all food and facilities they might need. He was obligé to provide linens, dishes ... etc., and even a domestic staff.

Without these obligations, argued Tetta, the administrator could take a small apartment according to his family budget without concerning himself with the presumed prestige of his position. But with these obligations, he concluded:

It is hard for me to conceive the hardship of the current administrator who must pay these expenses out of his own pocket. It is unjust [...] and M. Veda should receive satisfaction.

As a material instrument expressing affect, Tetta’s letter would be notable for its call to justice alone, but the feeling he put into his letter is literally inscribed into the page. Rhetorically, he relies on two devices to write affect into the fabric of his letter. In his description of the duties and responsibilities required of district administrators, the phrase “il etait obligé” is used to begin four independent clauses in series. To underscore the vehemence implied by his anaphora, each repetition of the word obligé is underlined. It is easy now to forget how pointed and purposeful this act would have been in a document produced nearly sixty years ago, but in this act – the act of typing each word, of manually reversing the typewriter carriage, of then underscoring each word with six additional keystrokes – the emotional conditions of its production become evident. Even had he hand-drafted the text before a secretary typed it, even had he dictated it, the underscoring in the typed record not only indicates significant emotive effort, but even suggests sustained emotional investment. The ease with which modern computing mediates written communication has disembodied us from many of the physical manipulations required to simulate affect through the conventions of text (see e.g. Chartier 1994; Danet 1997). Forgetting this quickly disappearing reality of material production will, in time, obscure the implicit ability of graphic artifact conventions to capture affect, but in recovering/remembering them, we open up avenues for the emotional interpretation of texts.

In response to Tetta’s letter, Secretary Doraiswamy issued an undated memorandum, most likely written in November 1955, in which a condescending and dismissive tone is easy to detect. The memo begins by dismissing Veda’s claim that his salary was limited to Rs. 250. Doraiswamy calculated Veda’s total pay to be Rs. 768, including base pay plus separate allowances for acting as judge and administrator. “I do not consider that Shri Veda has been treated unfairly,” he wrote, “as it is not the practice of the government of India to give dual postings.” This is itself a dubious claim, since dual-postings had long been permitted by French regulations under well-defined circumstances, regulations Doraiswamy had been made
aware of during the course of this incident (X.N. Ref. 102/55).

More insultingly, Doraiswamy denied outright that Veda had any out of pocket expenses for official entertaining. Such expenses were, to his knowledge, paid by the Government of India. He went on to claim that dual appointments were not, in fact, permissible. Veda’s position, he argued, was subject to Government of India regulations rather than regulated by the Indo-French transfer agreement. He closed his litany of counter-claims, ironically, by referencing the same 1937 French rule cited by Veda, a rule to which he had just claimed Veda was not subject. But rather than noting the later paragraph cited by Veda, the one that confirmed that “all heads of territorial circles” were to be granted free lodging, Doraiswamy instead emphasized earlier sections of the order that defined new accommodation benefits due to various ranks concluding that “l’attibution de logement qui ne constitue jamais un droit” (ibid., underline original) ["the granting of lodging never constituted a right"]. Doraiswamy closed, almost sullenly, “Shri Veda might seek redress through the Court as he had done on an earlier occasion.”

It is easy to read emotion into Doraiswamy’s sharp language. His own Under-Secretary, G.P. Mathur, most certainly did. He responded to his superior’s claims at the end of November 1955 by pointing out that Veda had been appointed judge for our own convenience, it cannot be stated that we treated Mr. Veda very liberally. If we economized our interests by offering a small sum of rs.110 to act as judge, we should not deprive him of free accommodation, to which he is automatically entitled as employee governed by French-Indian Rules as Administrator of Yanam. (Under Sec. (G.A.), 8-12-55.)

It seems reasonable to grant that Doraiswamy was neither a fool nor entirely incompetent; he had, after all, risen to through the ranks of the colonial civil service, ultimately to the position of Finance Secretary of the former French colonies. Nevertheless, his correspondence on this matter contains many of the hallmarks consistent with high emotion – sharp language, veiled insults, and irrational argumentation – characteristics which are typically stripped from the flattened register of bureaucratic discourse. His letters are riddled with factual errors and inconsistencies. He argues, on the one hand, that Veda’s position should not be regulated by the Indo-French treaty, then he uses French regulations to support his position against Veda’s claims. His letters conflate two separate issues, ‘fairness’ and ‘recorded facts’, neither of which he seems willing to address. The facts by law – as first laid out by Veda, corroborated by both G.A.O. Secretary Sampath and Under-Secretary Mathur, and then further supported by Finance Bureau head Tetta – clearly defined free accommodation as partial compensation for territorial circle administrators subject to the de facto transfer agreement. As for questions of fairness, as had been pointed out by his partisans, Veda had never asked for judicial duties upon his appointment to Yanam. Those
additional duties had been requested of him, subject to the regulations defined under the Indo-French Agreement under which he was regulated, and he had been personally promised fair remuneration by the Chief Commissioner himself. The consensus beyond Doraiswamy’s door was that if those rules had been breached, then they had been breached by the administration giving the appointment, not by the officer accepting.

Following Mathur’s letter, the record, and presumably the debate, went silent for over a year. Then, in May 1957, a handwritten note was added to the file noting the transfer of Veda from Yanam to Karaikal, where he had been appointed magistrate, a position that did not include any in-kind compensation. That this note was even included in the record suggests that Veda had ultimately been granted the accommodation allowance in Yanam, or at the very least refused to concede his claim, and it was perhaps meant to underscore that he was no longer entitled it.

Even so, the debate did not end with Veda’s new appointment. That same month, a newly appointed dual judge-cum-administrator named Soundiramurthy filed a claim for in-kind and frais compensation, writing:

As an officer recruited before 1 November 1954, I cannot be subject, for any reason, to pay in my capacity of Administrator, any sum of rent. (Ref. No. 58 Cf.)

A curt rejection came in only four days (Ref. No. PS.III/GAI2/16). Soundiramurthy reiterated his claim in July, writing:

I should be entitled to free accommodation like my predecessors. I am not being treated on the same footing as my predecessors regarding compensation, and the payment of rent would prove a heavy burden. (Ref. No. 318/Y-1.)

Soundiramurthy continued to press his claim with increasing pathos for over a year, even as the territorial administration in Pondicherry seemed content to let the matter rest.4 A business-like communiqué written by K.S. Seshan in Delhi summarized the central government’s position while attempting to reframe the issue within the register of bureaucratic discourse:

With reference to your letters, I am directed to state that as already intimated in this Government’s letter No. AD.1(31)/55-5455 dated 20th August 1955 [sic] the Government of India have not agreed to the grant of rent free accommodation to the Administrators of Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam. (Ref. No. F.5-36/57-CS.)

It was not until October 1958 that Soundiramurthy conceded his claim, but even in concession, he requested that the rent be lowered. Like Veda three years earlier, he couched his request in highly personal terms, even while maintaining, partially at least, a register appropriate to his medium. “At all times,” he wrote:

Administrators of the various settlements of Pondicherry, formerly called French India, were given the benefit of free lodging. [...] Contrary to this practice, I was compelled to pay rent for the portion of the building occupied by me as it may be fixed by PWD [Public Works Department]. (Ref. No.65/7, emphasis added.)

Interpreting Affect in Bounded Possibilities
Weber saw files as an expression of institutional norms, and he argued that files helped to maintain stability within bureaucratic systems even as these systems can undergo radical administrative changes. And, indeed, documents are used in a variety of ways, not just to constitute governable realities but, through their movement, to “reconstitute the relations of influence normatively established by the organizational hierarchy” (Hull 2003). The 1950s represented as radical a bureaucratic shift as might be possible barring the extremities of war or natural calamity. It was through documentation that Delhi asserted its control over Pondicherry, and it was through documentation that Pondicherry tried to stake out the limits of Delhi’s control. Through these machinations, the private lives of public officials were affected to various degrees and, given little other recourse for remedy, their private concerns were necessarily given voice within the register of bureaucratic discourse.

I have sketched out some of the ways in which legitimate affect can be inscribed into what strives to be an emotionally vacant discourse, and I have shown how these
implicit boundaries can nevertheless burst when ‘private’ emotions overwhelm the limits of accepted discourse conventions. It is important to recognize that, whatever pretentions of unemotional neutrality with which bureaucratic discourse may be marked, bureaucrats themselves are only human. I am not suggesting, and cannot suggest, that affect is written into the majority of bureaucratic documents, but when evidence of affect does exist, as it does in these files, there is insight to be gleaned by examining the production of the documents themselves as well as the social surrounding in which they were produced. The object is to resist closing to the possibility of affect in entire classes of graphic artifacts based solely on their presumed transparency or beliefs about the immediacy with which they mediate their subjects.

Notes
1. The documents kept in this dossier are maintained by the National Archive of India, Puducherry Office. Their accession number locates them in a binder MISC V/4, but they were found kept in binder MISC III/V.
2. Correspondence originating in the French colonies is translated from the French, unless otherwise noted. In the interest of space, the original French is only provided when necessary to illustrate a specific point. Letters between Pondicherry and Delhi were written in English.
3. As they had not yet been formally joined to India, the French territories were still considered ‘foreign’ and thus fell under the control of the Ministry of External Affairs.
4. And even as a fifth claimant, Abraham Mouttou – appointed to replace Loganathan in Karaikal – lodged a similar request for an entertainment allowance. Mouttou based his claim on the conditions of Antoine Veda’s and Mohammed Amir’s prior appointments in Yanam (Ref. No. 4956/57-C). A handwritten note dated 5th January 1959 at the end of the dossier mentions a sixth, unnamed claimant for the same benefit. Since this penultimate document and the response to it – the final document in the dossier – are both handwritten and neither is given a reference number, it can be assumed that this claim under the old administrative rules was never officially registered.

Sources
The following archival sources are all items in dossier F 5-36/57-CS-3, binder MISC V/4 [MISC III/V], National Archives of India, Pondicherry Office.

Doraiswamy, V.S. “Response to Avis du Bureau des Finances”. X.N. Ref. 102/55.
Doraiswamy, V.S. “Response to G.P. Mathur”.
Majumdar, M. “Proposal to grant rent-free accommodation and frais de representation”. Ref. No. F.12-19/El-55.
Seshan, K.S. “Refusal of Soundiramurthy’s Claim”. Ref. No. F.5.36/57-CS.

Works Cited


We are pleased to announce Comparing the Medieval North, an interdisciplinary PhD workshop taking place at Aarhus University on 3rd April 2014. This workshop will provide a forum for discussion of how medievalists use different and potentially conflicting concepts and methodologies in their work, and hopefully lead to new ideas about how to tackle some of the challenges of interdisciplinary and comparative work.

At the workshop, a cross-disciplinary panel of three experts in the medieval period will provide feedback on papers given by participants. We are pleased that the following experts have kindly agreed to join our panel:

- Michael Gelting (University of Aberdeen/ Danish National Archives)
- Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide (University of Bergen)
- Agnes Arnórsdóttir (Aarhus University)

Prior to the workshop each participant will circulate a paper (max. 2,500 words) outlining their main ideas and or problems. Each paper will be read by one formal ‘respondent’, who will be another postgraduate, as well as at least one expert from our panel. On the day of the workshop, each participant will give a ten minute presentation summarising their ideas to kick-off a round table discussion. We hope this format will facilitate some helpful and stimulating feedback for everyone involved.

Whilst we have a limited number of places for ‘active’ participants, who will provide the extracts we will discuss at the event, doctoral and early career researchers interested in these issues are invited to attend and engage in the dialogues that we will enable. We are hoping to have a lively audience to contribute a diversity of perspectives to our roundtable discussions.

Papers and discussions on the day will cover a wide range of issues:

- Combining archaeological and textual evidence
- Comparing and using evidence from different genres
- Comparing evidence and developments across borders and periods
- Negotiating terms and concepts across time and space
- Comparing vernacular and Latin texts
- Combining the sacred and the secular
- Cultural exchange, transfer and transformation

If you are interested in participating in this event or if you would like further information, please contact the organizers by e-mail at: comparingmedievalnorth@gmail.com.

The multidisciplinary PhD workshop Comparing the Medieval North is organised through Aarhus University, Denmark, and University College London, United Kingdom. The event is funded by the UCL Faculty Institute of Graduate Studies and by Aarhus University. The organizing committee consists of Louisa Taylor (University College London), Matilda Watson (King’s College London) and Marie Bønløkke Spejlborg (Aarhus University).
The international workshop *Indigenous Ideas and Foreign Influences* took place 26th–27th of September in Helsinki, Finland, at the House of Science and Letters. Scholars from the fields of linguistics, folklore, history and theology gathered to discuss interaction between oral and literate cultures as well as Latin and vernacular influences in Medieval and Early Modern literature, with particular focus on Northern Europe. The workshop was held in honor of the Jarl Gallén Prize which was awarded to Lars Boje Mortensen (University of Southern Denmark). The workshop was organized by Glossa, the Society for Medieval Studies in Finland in collaboration with Centre for Nordic Studies (CENS) at the University of Helsinki and the Historiska Föreningen i Finland and was funded by Thure Gallén stiftelse.

Chair of the Historiska Föreningen i Finland, Peter Stadius (University of Helsinki) opened the event with a warm welcome speech. The opening keynote lecture was given by Mara Grudule (University of Latvia). Grudule introduced the Latvian hymns as meeting points of Christian and vernacular cultures in a Latvian context. The Reformation had a considerable influence on Latvian folksongs and hymns when the translations of the Latin hymns were arranged according to the speech used by the populace. Alongside hymns, Latvian lullabies contain allusions to Christian and folklore themes. The 24 papers were divided into four parallel sessions, each session containing three papers. As I could only participate in half of the workshop sessions, the following report centers on those sessions that I attended.

In the first session, “Oral Tradition and History”, Galina Glazyrina (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) examined references to oral tradition in *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar*. Standard repeated phrases such as *svá er sagt* [Old Norse ‘it is said’] and *þat er sagt* [‘it is told that’] suggest that an oral tradition outside of the saga was known among the saga’s audience and that the saga author, Oddr Snorrason, was well aware of this. Tatjana Jackson (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) discussed the *úferðar saga* fragment and its related oral tradition. As mentioned in *Morkinskinna*, it is possible that, skilled in the art of poetry, Haraldr himself composed stories of his exploits which later became known as the *úferðar saga*. Catalin Taranu (University of Leeds) examined Germanic heroic poetry, concentrating on the role of the dragon-slayer. Taranu focused on the change in Germanic heroic poetry and the core of the narratives that remained unchanged through time, even though these narratives underwent transformations through time as well as geographic space.

At the same time, in the parallel session “Language and Writing Conventions in Medieval Scandinavian Law”, Ditlev Tamm (University of Copenhagen) and Merike Ristikivi (University of Tartu) gave a paper together concerning Archbishop Anders Sunesen and the Law of Scania, Maria Kallio (University of Turku) discussed writing conventions in Late Medieval Swedish wills and Lina Breisch (Uppsala University) concentrated on oral and literary rhetoric in Swedish Medieval territorial law.

Thereafter, in the session “Indigenous Ideas and Foreign Influences in Scandinavian Literature”, Päivi Salmesvuori (University of Helsinki) elaborated on the concept of the shadow in Saint Brigitta of Sweden’s writings. After the monk Gerekinus criticized Birgitta, Birgitta wrote that the shadow of the monk would remain after his death. Saint Birgitta often used colorful language in her writings, but her use of shadow imagery is rare. Ásdís Egilsdóttir (University of Iceland) presented a paper focusing on Icelandic
hagiographic literature. Three Icelandic saints’ lives were composed in the 13th century in Latin. These bishops were almost contemporary to the audience and the need for Icelandic saints was great. Hagiographers relied on oral tradition, letters and other authentic documents. Icelandic hagiographers also translated the lives of other, foreign saints for their Icelandic audience. Kirsi Kanerva (University of Turku) discussed eye pain in medieval Icelandic sagas and hagiographical literature. In Icelandic sagas, eye pain is caused by another character with magical powers, while in hagiographical literature, eye pain is punishment from God for skeptical people.

Parallel to this was the session “Language and Communication”, in which Inka Moilanen (University of Stockholm) examined Latin and vernacular homilies from Anglo-Saxon England. After Moilanen’s presentation, Ilkka Leskelä (University of Helsinki) presented a paper on the praxis of interregional trade and cultural flow between the German Hansa and the Swedish realm. Gleb Kazakov finished the session with a paper on the term used for ‘king’s men’ or ‘retinue’ in Medieval Denmark in Latin and vernacular language sources.

Friday morning began with three keynote lectures. The first keynote lecture was given by Marco Mostert (Utrecht University) on the influence of writing on learned and vernacular languages. German functioned as a lingua franca for Medieval Central and Northern Europe. This resulted in interaction between local, vernacular languages and the learned, German language. In the second keynote lecture, Tuomas Heikkilä (Institutum Romanum Finlandiae) discussed the arrival of book culture to Medieval Finland. Written culture arrived in Finland with Christianization, for which the most important instrument was written Latin culture. No written culture existed in the region prior, and thus writing was a tool of the new-comer. Later on, books in the Finnish language may have existed but most written material was in Swedish. Terry Gunnell (University of Iceland) held the final keynote lecture on the performance of the Old Norse poem Völuspá. The poem was intended to be read aloud for an audience and the verbal composition of the poem echoes the events pictured in it.

After the keynote lectures, the workshop continued with two parallel sessions. Helen F. Leslie (University of Bergen) opened the session “Multilingualism in Sources” with a paper on mise-en-page in Old Norse Manuscripts. Leslie applied the theory of Katherine O’Brien O’Keefe concerning the influence of oral language to the manuscript layout in Old Norse manuscripts. Leslie concluded that, although the theory is applicable, conclusions that are too broadly applied, such as to an entire culture, should be avoided. Leena Enqvist (University of Helsinki) gave a paper on literacy, illiteracy, and book culture among Birgittine nuns. The terms literate and illiterate are difficult to define. Birgittine reading also included bilingual books and reading aids such as explanations and guidelines. Alpo Honkapohja (University of Zurich) examined multilingualism in the Sloane group of Middle English manuscripts. Although the Middle English text seems to be nearly equivalent to the Latin, the manuscript reader had to acquire enough skill in Latin to comprehend the manuscript details.

In the parallel session “Interaction of Oral and Literary Cultures”, Linda Kaljundi (Finnish Literature Society) discussed oral and written influences in Estonian cultural memory. Marek Tamm (Tallinn University / Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies) focused on medieval sermon stories and Estonian folktales. Irma-Riitta Järvinen (Finnish Literature Society) discussed the cults of St Katherine of Alexandria and St Anne in a Finnish vernacular context.

In the session “Echoes of the Past in Icelandic Saga Literature”, Kendra Willson (Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies) observed the question of parody in sagas of Icelanders. The evaluation of the concept of parody in Icelandic sagas can be difficult because of cultural differences between today and the 14th century, but nevertheless some sagas seem to contain elements of pastiches or parodies of other, well-known sagas. Frog (University of Helsinki) presented a paper on the meaning of the Old English word bealdor and its use in Old English poetry, a cognate of
the Old Norse term *baldr* that became the name of the dying god Baldr. Use of the Old English term is highly formulaic and seems to have developed the ability to refer to any positive god, saint or hero about to suffer an untimely death.

At the same time, in the session “Interaction of Indigenous and Foreign Traditions”, Kati Kallio (Finnish Literary Society) surveyed the makings of a good poem and shifts in poetics, music and ideologies. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen (Finnish Literature Society) focused on the tradition of King David, St. Augustine, Luther and Väinämöinen in cultural context. Rikke S. Olesen (University of Copenhagen) discussed runic Latin and foreign influence on the vernacular epigraphic tradition in Denmark.

The workshop’s sessions were filled with lively discussion on the use and influence of Latin and vernacular tradition in medieval Europe. It gathered different scholars from around the world to discuss matters and exchange ideas. The winner of the Jarl Gallén prize, Lars Boje Mortensen will teach an international course, directed toward students from MA levels onwards, in May 2014 in Helsinki. More information will be made available on Glossa Ry.’s webpage (http://www.glossa.fi/).

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**Projects, Networks and Resources**

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Ísmús (Íslenskur músík- og menningararfur): An Open-Access Database

Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir, Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies

Ísmús – Icelandic Music and Cultural Heritage – is a database that preserves and makes accessible on the internet material that concerns Icelandic culture in past times and today: audio files, photographs, film, manuscripts and texts. The project is run by the Tónlistarsafn Íslands or Tónlistarsafnið (The Music Museum of Iceland) and the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í Íslandi or Árnastofnun (The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies). Bjarki Sveinbjörnsson (Tónlistarsafnið), Jón Hrólfur Sigurjónsson (Tónlistarsafnið) and Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir (folklorist at the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar) have worked on this project.

In practice, the project falls into three parts, though each part uses a common framework so that certain information is shared across the different parts (e.g. about people, places and poetry). The three parts are concerned, respectively, with music in manuscripts, church organs and organists, and last but not least, the collection of audio recordings preserved for the most part in the Árnastofnun folklore department. Access to all of the data is via the website at www.ismus.is, where one can learn about Icelandic music from all periods and listen to people communicate learned and descriptive material, tell stories and perform verses, hymns and poems.

The story of Ísmús as a project goes back to 1995 when Bjarki Sveinbjörnsson, currently the Director of the Tónlistarsafn Íslands, began to put together photographs of manuscripts containing music for publication on the internet. The inspiration here was an idea expressed in the preface to the book *Íslensk þjóðlag* ['Icelandic Folksongs'] (1906–1909) by the Rev. Bjarni Porsteinsson that the best way to show old musical manuscripts would be in a facsimile edition with transcriptions in modern musical notation. For a number of reasons, such a publication was not feasible around 1900. It seemed clear to Bjarki, however, that computers and internet technology could now make this idea a reality. Moreover, this way of presenting material could be built upon and expanded later, for example, by linking audio recordings to manuscripts or particular melodies.
At around the same time, work also began on the digital cataloguing of the Árni Magnússon Institute’s folklore collection since, under the auspices of the Institute, a great amount of material had been recorded on tape. These recordings were made in particular by the married couple Helga Jóhannsdóttir (1935–2006) and Jón Samsonarson (1932–2010) from 1963–1973, and Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson (1932–2005), who was appointed in 1965 to work at the Institute in the area of folkloristics. Hallfreður in fact began to work as a collector in the summer of 1958 and recorded material for over 40 years; his last recording was made in 1999. Helga, Jón and Hallfreður travelled widely around the country, visited farms, talked to people and recorded all kinds of material (legends and fairy tales, descriptions of beliefs and customs, poems, hymns, nursery rhymes, rímur, occasional verses and much more), variously spoken, sung or chanted. Visits were also made to old people in Reykjavik, both to their homes and to retirement homes. Folklore material has thus been collected in all parts of the country, and also in the Icelandic settlements in North America.

The collection also contains smaller sub-collections made by other scholars and amateurs, as well as copies of folklore material made by the National Broadcasting Service, copies of original recordings in the possession of the National Museum of Iceland, and the recordings of the Kvæðamannafélagið Íðunn society. The oldest sound recordings in the collection are folk songs, which were recorded on wax cylinders in 1903–1912. A number of wax cylinder collections have been preserved from the first decades of the 20th century, all of which are accessible in the Árnastofnun collection, whether the original recordings are kept there or are part of other collections. The Árnastofnun folklore collection is an extremely rich resource documenting aspects of Icelandic life and culture in previous times. A great proportion of the informants were born before or around the turn of the century in 1900; the oldest was born in 1827. The collecting of folkloristic material never ends and the collection is constantly expanding every year. For example, students of Folklore Studies at the University of Iceland add material about contemporary culture in the form of interviews conducted as part of their studies. In addition to this, the Institute itself still actively collects new material. Since 2000, video has also been used as a recording medium. The aim of the digital cataloguing of the collection is to organise the material by subject-matter and catalogue it so that it is accessible in a number of ways. In the digital catalogue, the date and place of the recorded material is listed, together with who made the recording. Then, the informant’s name, date of birth, address and place of origin are listed.

The subject material is then defined, among other things, by:

- Genres: verse material is divided into poems, rímur, nursery rhymes (þulur), hymns etc.; prose into fairytales, legends, personal experiences narratives, descriptions etc.
- Mode of performance: here, it is noted whether material in verse form is sung, chanted or spoken.
- Key words: these are taken from a descriptive list of subject matter, which has for the most part evolved alongside the cataloguing.
- Content: a short summary of each story or account, and the title or opening of each poetic piece.
- Tale-types and motifs: folktale types following Aarne & Thompson’s The Types of the Folktale (1961); legend types following Christiansen’s Migratory Legends (1958), Jauhainen’s The Type and Motif Index of Finnish Belief Legends and Memorates (1998), MacDonald’s “Migratory Legends of the Supernatural in Scotland” (1994–1995) and Almqvist’s “Crossing the Border” (1991); and motif-numbers following Thompson’s Motif-Index of Folk-Literature (1961).

In 2001, collaborative work on Ísmús began with the process of making the Árnastofnun collection’s audio recordings digital, and linking the collection catalogue to Ísmús. In addition to granting access to audio recordings, Ísmús makes accessible photographs of nearly all manuscripts that contain music of various descriptions and that are preserved in Icelandic collections, as well
as images of musical notation in older printed books. Musical notation is found both in parchment manuscripts and manuscript fragments containing Catholic Church music until around 1550, and in paper manuscripts from the 16th to 19th centuries, which principally contain Lutheran church music. Images have been provided by the National and University Library of Iceland, National Museum of Iceland, National Archives of Iceland, and the manuscript sections of the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies and the Department of Scandinavian Research in Copenhagen. The oldest printed Icelandic books with musical notation are the so-called Hólabók – a hymnbook printed in 1589, and the Graduale (Grallari) – a mass songbook which was first printed in 1594. Ísmús contains images of the sixth edition of the Grallari from 1691 and from the second edition of the Hólabók from 1619. In addition, it is possible to look at digital images of the books Leidárvísir til að leika á langspil by Ari Sæmundsen from 1855, and Íslensk þjóðlög by Bjarni Þorsteinsson, which was published 1906–1909. The aim is also to publish images from Bjarni Þorsteinsson’s folk-song manuscripts. These manuscripts, which preserve folksongs collected by Bjarni and others from oral sources, are kept at the Árnastofnun and contain around 950 songs.

From 2006 onwards, Bjarki Sveinbjörnsson and Jón Hrólfur Sigurjónsson have been collecting sources about the church organ in Iceland. Nearly all churches in Iceland have been visited, photographed both inside and outside, and the playing of one hymn on each church organ has been recorded. These resources are all available on Ísmús. As far as possible in the future, more information will be added about each church and its musical traditions. Included will be images of older instruments and information about them, records about cantors, organists and priests, information about choirs, and links to published material that is already available through the digital library of Timarit.is at www.timarit.is.

The Ísmús project aims, amongst other things, to coordinate resources of this kind and make them accessible via various pathways. There is a uniform catalogue so that the user can find comparable data in all categories with a single search. If one wishes, for example, to find a melody for the text of a particular poem, the opening line of that poem can be used as the search term; the results will turn up a list of pages in manuscripts that contain music to the poem, and a second list of recordings of the song either sung or chanted. Similarly, it is possible to search for a particular person to see whether she or he was an organist (and where). Many organists around the country were also folklore collection informants and the same search will reveal whether recordings exist of this organist performing other material (e.g. songs or narratives). Where possible, links to material in other collections are included, for example to obituaries and interviews on Timarit.is and to information about poems and verses on the Bragi website’s text database at www.bragi.arnastofnun.is.

The launch of Ísmús has enabled the general public to gain direct access to information about Icelandic musical heritage for the first time, both music that is found in manuscripts and many kinds of unpublished recordings, from the earliest of wax cylinders up to recordings from the present day. In addition, little by little, the great variety of sources and knowledge which is preserved in the Árnastofnun’s folklore collection is becoming more accessible. These sources have inexhaustible potential to shed light on Icelandic culture. By making such material accessible, not only are new opportunities for home-entertainment and learning created, but also diverse possibilities for teaching and for use in the arts.

When the project began, the main objective was to publish sources about Icelandic music on the website. Over time, the emphasis has changed and now Ísmús offers broader access to different manifestations of musical and narrative culture and to various sources about Iceland’s cultural history. Ísmús therefore offers new possibilities for research and engagement with sources of different types by the general public, specialists, students and teachers. Much has changed and developed compared with the original concept, both with regard to the presentation of the material and the technologies available to utilise it. This
development will continue as technology advances.

Access to Ísmús is open to all and the material published on Ísmús may be put to personal use, communicated to friends and relations, used in presentations and for teaching and research. It is possible to listen to material on the website and users are also permitted to download audio material for personal use.

It is possible to use Ísmús without being a registered user but those who do register will gain better access to the material in certain ways, for example with regard to searches, information returned, and being able to save material for future use.

In addition to individual users, other collections can use Ísmús to catalogue their audio archives and make them accessible. The audio material recorded by the Fræðafélag Vestur-Húnvetninga in Northern Iceland is already available on Ísmús though the original recordings are kept in the District Archives at Hvammstangi. The uploading of this material to Ísmús was the result of a collaborative effort coordinated by the Fræðasetur Háskóla Íslands at Skagaströnd, and part of this process involved developing the best practices with regard to making such audio material accessible so that other local archives around the country can follow the same procedure in the future. This kind of audio material requires different treatment than the written documents that archive collections usually work with.

It quickly became clear that as the material that comprises the Árnastofnun folklore collection is made more accessible, use made of it increases. It is common that having come across interviews with relations (often from earlier generations), people contact us and communicate their approval. Teachers in both secondary and primary schools have used material from particular areas or districts in their classes to supplement learning about local surroundings, both physical and social. Material in the collection has been used in museums and in exhibitions, and students and specialist researchers, mostly in the fields of folklore, Icelandic culture and history, have made use of material in their projects. A number of publications that draw on material in the collection have been released and musicians have used the material in various ways. Mention might be made here of the CD Raddir þjóðar (2002), in which jazz musicians Pétur Grétarsson and Sigurður Flóason weave their music together with recordings from the collection, and also the CD Heyrðu nú hjartans málið mitt (2007), in which composer Snorri S órgúst Birgisson plays his own piano arrangements of songs that he found on Ísmús.

The first version of Ísmús was opened on the 28th of June, 2001. Pictures of manuscripts were put online then, and recordings made by Jón Pålsson and Jón Leifs on wax cylinders. On the 1st of May, 2004, over 2000 recordings from the Árnastofnun’s folklore collection were formally added. After technical redesign and expansion, the new website was opened with a ceremony on the 8th June 2012.

It is clear that a great deal of work remains to be done with regard to the cataloguing of the material on the Ísmús website. There are inevitably various errors, for example, which are corrected as they become apparent. A considerable amount of material and photographs are lacking, too, which would supplement search results. It is hoped that users of Ísmús – both those who are registered and those who are not – will help with this work by sending in comments and suggestions as to what might be improved.

There is still material that has not been catalogued at all, in addition to material which has been catalogued but not yet linked to other resources, e.g. the audio recordings themselves. Work on this depends, of course, on funding for the project being forthcoming in future years. With the Ísmús project’s standardisation and co-ordination of the material, new ideas have emerged concerning collaboration with other organisations, who have built databases with material relevant to that which comprises the Ísmús database. Collaboration would involve harmonising the data and linking the databases so that the same work is not done twice. Scholars in many fields have established databases, which contain material about people (scribes, informants, poets, musicians, interviewees, and many more) that could be relevant.
There are also databases containing folklore material comparable to that in the Árnastofnun’s folklore collection, as well as poetry databases and other resources that present material about the same churches as those catalogued in Ísmús. In many cases, scholars waste a great deal of time looking up and cataloguing material without being aware of overlap with other projects. By linking research databases, so that all participants can catalogue material in a uniform, centralised catalogue, it ought to be possible to avoid this. Instead of doing the same work twice, people could concentrate on expanding and correcting already-existing material, and could work together with others to find ways of co-ordinating material. Work with projects such as Ísmús never ends. It is constantly evolving in the search to develop ways of making this material as accessible as possible.

Translated by Emily Lethbridge.

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Internet resources
Ísmús: www.ismus.is
Timarit.is: www.timarit.is
Bragi – Óðræfíður: www.bragi.arnastofnun.is

CDs
Continuity through Transformation: Conditions and Consequences of Sustaining Folklore in Changing Contexts

Frog, University of Helsinki

The American Folklore Society’s theme of ‘cultural sustainability’ was targeted at ‘applied folklore’. The term ‘sustainable’ in terms like ‘sustainable resources’ or ‘sustainable research’ implies that the object is threatened: resources may run out; research may not continue. The theme of ‘cultural sustainability’ thus raises the question: is ‘culture’ threatened? In “a discipline predicated on a vanishing subject” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1996: 249), targeting this theme for applied folklore warrants critical interrogation.

Historically, Folklore Studies emerged with the documentation of ‘culture’ that was proving unsustainable, but which was seen as valuable by academics, artists, enthusiasts, etc. from outside the traditions. ‘Text’ tended to be conflated with ‘tradition’ at that time, leading to the documentation of ‘texts’ as heritage-objects for preservation in archive text-museums. That text-oriented approach collapsed in the wake of the performance oriented turn, as ‘tradition’ became seen in terms of ‘practice’. Countering threats to sustainability by enabling preservation through ‘practice’ – keeping traditions or heritage ‘alive’ rather than removing it to a museum – can be viewed as an adaptation of the earlier pattern to the new paradigm.

This is not to devalue threats to sustainability: traditions, languages and whole cultures are disappearing in relation to changing societal structures, new technologies and globalization, that impact community formation and the cultural resources available to individuals. Nevertheless, this is not new: 19th century peasant culture was transformed by e.g. industrialization, urbanization and institutionalized education, which had been preceded by medieval state formation and the Christianization of Europe, to name just a few in 35,000 years of observable cultural history. Indo-European languages and cultures spread from Ireland to India in a few thousand years, eclipsing unnumbered cultures of Europe. The colonial expansion extended further them across the majority of the world today. The spread of these languages is symptomatic of cultural transformations associated with technologies and social structures carried with them, and this process is still advancing, now with English as a language of entertainment on the global market and of the internet: no culture can remain isolated from the internet any longer, nor can the internet be introduced independent of its virtual environments. Those environments in turn are not opened as a void but instead are assimilated with an equipage of literally thousands of cultural practices, from ‘smilies’ to genres of web-design. And then the culture changes. This phenomenon is different today not so much in scale, but in the degrees of connectivity and mass production that enable greater uniformity and evenness in its progression.

The sustainability of folklore or other cultural resources is dependent on willing and active practice, which is itself dependent on the (perceived) relevance of those resources. Culture is a historically contextualized reality and changes in culture affect changes in the (perceived) relevance of traditions that can threaten their ‘sustainability’. ‘Whole’ cultures are imagined through central or characteristic features (e.g. language,
particular practices) and discourses on cultural sustainability target – selectively – particular features for sustainability actions. When a technology such as the internet can enable a generational gap to constitute a comprehensive cultural discontinuity (in spite of continuity in language and genetics), it becomes necessary to consider ‘whose’ culture is being sustained (our forebears?), and for whom (our contemporaries?). If sustainability means making the unsustainable sustainable, this inevitably requires adaptation to the new environment making the targeted traditions practicable (e.g. performed in two hours rather than for two days) and also making them interesting, meaningful and/or useful to people. But then, of course, the tradition is not the same: formal continuity of the tradition may require the loss of the contextual meaningfulness that made it the target of a sustainability action in the first place, and turn it instead into an icon of heritage.

Paradoxically, drawing attention to the target will affect how the tradition is perceived and practiced. Most likely, this will reconstruct it into something new, symbolic, and formalized – much as we formalize a language with grammars and schoolbooks to provide it with a distinctive symbolic identity. The selection of resources means someone (with preferences and prejudices) chooses what should survive much as 19th century folklorists – the educated outsiders – collected certain types of folklore and not others. As with applied folklore, they were mediators of the new cultural environment: they took threatened cultural resources from the unassimilated and transformed them into e.g. the Märchen of the Brothers Grimm, Kalevala and Kalevipoeg, which then became the heritage resources for the descendents of that peasant culture – following the discontinuity of their assimilation. Selection was not only choosing what to collect, but also how to represent ‘culture’ as heritage. If the engagement of applied folklore with ‘cultural sustainability’ today is now seeking to preserve ‘practices’ rather than ‘texts’, it raises the question of whether we are, in fact, elevating ourselves to be shepherds of culture – Preserve this, but don’t worry about that... Change it like this, but perhaps not like that... – and if so, whether we run the risk of working to construct culture in our own image no less than the Brothers Grimm or Elias Lönnrot.

Notes

Works Cited

Realizing Poetic Structure in Practice: A Perspective on dróttkvætt Poetry
Frog, University of Helsinki

Paper presented at the conference Song and Emergent Poetics: Oral Traditions in Performance organized by the Runosong Academy, the Academy of Finland project Song and Singing as Cultural Communication of the University of Tampere, the Folk Music Department of the Sibelius Academy and the Academy of Finland Project Oral Poetry, Mythic Knowledge and Vernacular Imagination of University of Helsinki, held 21st–24th November 2013 in Kuhmo, Finland.

Old Norse skaldic poetry tends to be imagined as composed more or less like modern literature – i.e. poets pieced verses together word by word rather than drawing on formulaic strategies as those familiar from Oral-Formulaic Theory or other conventional resources. The relationship between language and meter in skaldic poetry is quite different from flexibly reproduced poetries such as South Slavic epic. Nevertheless, the uniqueness of each skaldic composition and their stable reproduction as verbal ‘texts’ does not mean that composition was divorced from traditional strategies for realizing meters through language. Poetry in the complex dróttkvætt meter in particular has potential to reveal information about aspects of oral-poetic language not readily observable in other poetries.

Register is a term for variation in language as it is realized in a particular communicative context; in this case, language as used in an
oral-poetic tradition can be referred to as a register. An oral-poetic register evolves in relation to the metrical environment(s) in which it is realized. The dróttkvætt meter was (ideally) characterized by six-syllable lines joined in couplets by alliteration with two alternating types of rhyme (not to mention the rules governing syllabic ‘weight’). To accommodate this, the register developed great flexibility in word order, a rich vocabulary of semantically equivalent terms (heiti) and the use of the rhetorical figure called a kenning: a noun complemented by a second noun (in the genitive case or forming a compound) that refers to a third nominal (i.e. NP₂.Gen + NP₁ or NP₂-NP₁ = NP₃). Interest here is in how the meter was realized through the register in social practice.

**Metrical entanglement** describes elements of language becoming bound up with certain metrical positions or parameters. Linguistic constructions exist on a continuum from abstract grammar to verbally fixed idioms. The metrical entanglement of grammatical constructions (including so-called ‘syntactic formulae’) and rhetorical figures like kennings produce conventions of grammar and syntax of the poetic tradition. On the one hand, great flexibility in word order does not mean that syntax was completely free. On the other hand, a kenning could, in theory, be distributed across almost any positions in a half-stanza, yet their frequency in certain metrical positions rather than others is also an aspect of metrical entanglement (two-syllable NP₂-NP₁ constructions at the onset of a line; completing the last four positions of a line with an NP₂.Gen + NP₁ construction).

A *formula* is a type of construction distinguished by forming a unit of meaning. A pilot study of more than 300 metrically situated battle-kennings revealed that the majority realize particular metrically entangled semantic formulae – e.g. two-syllable NP₂-NP₁ battle-kennings occurred at the onset of even lines but not odd-lines; those in the last four positions of a line were ordered NP₂.Gen + NP₁ and in odd lines alliteration fell on NP₂ normally with a preceding syllable; those in the last three positions of a line were ordered NP₁ + NP₂.Gen and in odd lines alliteration always fell NP₁ and NP₂. In some formulae, metrical entanglement advanced to certain verbal elements on a continuum of fixity, from a general preference in word-choice to one or even to both elements realizing the kenning.

Complementary to semantic formulae are preferred rhyme-pairs or rhyme sets. Certain metrically entangled battle formulae were realized with particular rhyme-pairs. In some cases, the rhyme-pair appeared specific to the particular metrically entangled formula. The rhymed words could be distributed across different sentences that met in a line. These were therefore technically neither formulae nor constructions but can be approached in terms of ‘multiforms’ (Frog 2009).

The skaldic corpus provides a laboratory for examining different varieties and degrees of metrical entanglement from abstract constructions to highly crystallized expressions. Whereas Oral-Formulaic Theory began with central concentration on the metrical entanglement of specific verbal elements, skaldic dróttkvætt enables the observation of conventions of formulaic strategies beneath a surface of lexical variation. The conventional co-occurrence of verbal elements for producing metrically well-formed lines without communicating consistent propositional meanings can also be observed. This poetry presents new possibilities for exploring verbal variation within the conventional resources available in an oral-poetic tradition. It highlights the necessity of considering variation in conventionalized expressions on a continuum rather than regarding fixity and variation as being mutually exclusive and in binary opposition.

**Works Cited**

Magical Mooning and the Goat Skin Twirl: Memories of Old Nordic Magical Practices in the Saga
Terry Gunnell, University of Iceland

Paper presented at Nordic Mythologies: Interpretations, Intersections and Institutions organized by the Centre for Medieval Studies, UCLA, 27th–28th April 2012, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

This paper contained a brief examination of the two rather odd magical practices described, but ever explained, in the Icelandic sagas. The first was ‘magical mooning’ (my description), whereby females with magical abilities threaten their enemies by raising their skirts and walking backwards towards the enemies in question with their heads between their legs. The second was another practice whereby changes in the weather (and other effects) are brought about by magicians waving a (goat) skin around their heads. In addition to describing and listing the various examples of these phenomena, an attempt was made to explain them, using comparative material from the Middle Ages and folklore.

Terry Gunnell, University of Iceland


Largely on the basis of the evidence of Grímnismál, Vafþrúðnismál, Vǫluspá and Snorra Edda (and the classical models of Greek and Roman religion), it has generally been accepted that ‘Old Nordic Religion’, often depicted as a set body of beliefs and rituals over a wide area of space and time, involved a pantheon of gods who lived in the same space (Ásgarðr) under the rulership (and fatherhood) of Óðinn. In recent years, however, an increasing number of scholars have started to question this understanding of Old Nordic religion, suggesting that its forms, and emphases changed by time and space, depending on social, geographical, political, economic and environmental conditions at any given time. It also seems clear that in many places, and at many times during the period under discussion, Óðinn was not seen as being the chief god. This certainly appears to apply in Iceland and large parts of Norway, where Þórr seems to have had a more central role. In this paper, I take this question further, questioning whether the idea of a pantheon involving a range of gods living together under Óðinn’s rule was another late development, and whether the same might not apply to the other generally accepted (Dumezilian) idea that people chose their gods according to their class. Indeed, it appears that gods like Freyr (the ‘Lord’), Þórr (centre at Uppsala) with their ‘other halves’ were actually comparatively all-purpose gods perfectly capable of assisting all classes ruling as solo-gods without any need of a pantheon of ‘equals’ alongside them. The pantheon might be viewed as a practical Odinic way of taking over other previous religions without wiping them out.
This paper explores a possible mythic motif related to the description of volcanism in various medieval Icelandic sources. There are only very few textual examples of the medieval period that can be related to forms of indigenous conceptions of volcanism in Iceland.

The skaldic poem *Hallmundarkviða* in the late *Bergbúa þáttr* is in fact the only poem known to undoubtedly describe volcanism. Fortunately, the account of an eruption in that poem, related by a *bergbúi* in a cave, makes use of a mythic motif that can be found elsewhere. The motif involves a stone boat that is iron-braced; eagles/birds/flying; noisy giants and other supernatural creatures; the mead of poetry; and the volcano-god Surtr. Elements of this motif appear in other sources: in *Landnámabók* the eruption that created the Borgarhraun is caused by a giant sailing in an iron boat; in the annals of Flatey men report to have seen birds in an eruption in Hekla in 1341; both *Konungs skuggsjá* and Saxo tell of volcanic waters that taste like beer; in *Vǫluspá* the stanzas 47–52 combine the images of the noisy giants and dwarves, the eagle, a boat made of nails (Naglfar) and Surtr to describe Ragnarǫkr in volcano-mythic terms. And most curiously, the images of the noisy giant, a flying god and the origins of the Mead of Poetry in the sinking valleys of Surtr are put together by Eyvindr skáldaspillir in Háleygjatal 1–2.

With this array of different sources, all partaking in what seems to be a mythic motif of volcanism, I argue that Snorri’s version of the myth of the Mead of Poetry makes use of this motif in the construction of an Icelandic version of that myth, which is entirely different from the one found in Hāvamál 104–110. Snorri’s myth involves noisy giants in sailing boats (Gillingr); noisy dwarves (Galarr); a mountain called Hnitbjǫrg (clashing rocks); the eagle and an explosion of golden liquid. Contrary to the myth in Hāvamál it takes place outside, all over the cosmos, and it involves several deaths: Kvasir; the giant Gillingr and his wife; and nine slaves. The reason for this reformulation of the Hāvamál myth of the Mead of Poetry, I argue, is that the mead and other alcoholic beverages were early on associated with a chthonic existence and the acquisition and remembering of important cultural knowledge.

By the use of a mythic motif of volcanism in the construction of a tale of the Mead of Poetry, Snorri or his source has successfully secured knowledge about volcanic eruptions for posterity, thereby aiding the perseverance of culture in the mixing of lava with mead.

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**Lectures**

**The Belief Contexts and Performance of Vǫluspá: Considerations Regarding the Nordic Judgement Day**

Terry Gunnell, University of Iceland

*Lecture presented for Religionsvidenskabelig forening, University of Aarhus, 21st February 2012, Aarhus, Denmark.*

We tend to encounter Vǫluspá first in the form of written symbols printed on paper in a book, often in a library or a learning institution. As a result we often forget the fact
that in all likelihood this work was never conceived as being received in this fashion. It is generally agreed that prior to its being recorded on pergament, the work had not only been passed on in oral form for several centuries, but also been composed (in some form) for a listening and – equally important – a watching audience. This means that in addition to considering the textual form, and the use of oral formulæ, we should also consider the fact that the composer-performer(s) was/were considering sound, rhythm and tone and their potential for stirring an audience, much like a composer of music. Furthermore, when Voluspá was performed, audiences did not only listen, but also observed the work (and its performer) in living context (the hall?). This would naturally have added yet another layer of semiotics. This brief talk sought to introduce some of these ideas concerning the original performances of Voluspá, how the work might have been received; and what culture might have given birth to it.

Folk Legends, Folk Traditions and Grave Mounds
Terry Gunnell, University of Iceland

Lecture presented at the half-day seminar Ancestor Worship, organized by the Centre for Scandinavian Studies, University of Aberdeen, 8th March 2012, Aberdeen, U.K.

As is well known, the Grimm brothers and others directly inspired by them, such as Wilhelm Mannhardt, saw folklore as something that often contained ‘survivals’ of pagan mythology and pagan rituals. With the growth of understanding of field of folkloristics over the two centuries that followed, scholars have come to be more wary of blindly accepting such approaches. This especially applies to literary scholars and historians who have questioned the possibility that pagan material could survive so long in a Christian world. The latter approach nonetheless also has its drawbacks, not least because it contains a comparatively superficial understanding of the time it takes for Christian attitudes to take root, and of how commonly Christianity has tended to blend with existing mindsets, rather than replace them. Furthermore, it is clear that some deeply-rooted folklore – both traditions and legends – can survive for a very long time indeed. One of the questions is how we decide the age and origin of such traditions that have only been recorded in potentially recent times. This paper follows up on earlier work carried out by Håkon Schetelig, Axel Olrik and Atle Omland. It examines those legends and traditions concerning grave mounds from later times, and especially traditions concerning offerings of ale and bread made to grave mounds on holy days (something that continued until comparatively recently), and legends which deal with the sacrality of grave mounds and bad luck that can befall anyone who does not respect them. If nothing else, this material provides us with a useful insight into the way the construction of grave mounds changed the local landscape and the way it was understood by people.

The Power in the Place: Icelandic Legends Concerning ‘Power Spots’ in a Comparative Context
Terry Gunnell, University of Iceland

Plenary lecture presented at the 6th Nordic-Celtic-Baltic Folklore Symposium: “Supernatural Places”, organized by the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore and the Department of Scandinavian Studies of the University of Tartu, and the Tartu NEFA Group in cooperation with the Centre of Excellence in Cultural Theory, 4th–7th June 2012, Tartu, Estonia.

On a large number of farms in Iceland, one finds so-called álagablettir [lit. ‘enchanted spots’] in the surrounding nature which must not be tampered with in any way, for fear of dire consequences that could befall the farm and those who live on it. Most of these spots
are accompanied by legends which underline the potential consequences. There are obvious parallels between these legends and those related to ancient grave mounds in Norway, Shetland and Orkney, and the so-called ‘fairy forts’ or raths in the west of Ireland. These legends thus have taken on international migratory forms, but are all linked to specific local spots. There is nonetheless a question why and how such stories should have evolved in a place like Iceland which does not have the same ancient history in its environment as Norway and Ireland. Are these spots in Iceland related to early religious activities or more recent activities (such as the burial of diseased animals), or some inner need to keep parts of the environment in their original form? These questions were discussed in this lecture.

### Published Articles

**Gods, Stories and the *sampo*: Three Works Approaching Outcomes of Historical Change**

Frog, University of Helsinki


These three articles represent outcomes of the research project “The Generation of Myth in a Confluence of Cultures: Perspectives on the Cycle of the Sampo in Kalevalaic Poetry” (2009–2012, 2014–2015) employing the Parallax Approach (Frog 2012) to distinguish and investigate different ethnocultural substrata (Frog 2011) in the evidence of North Finnic mythology, magic and ritual practices. Each article focuses on a different aspect of the broad phenomena of transformation that gave rise to documented North Finnic traditions. The articles were for quite different audiences and venues: proceedings for a conference on Finno-Ugric languages, a volume on Uralic mythology, and proceedings for a conference on conversions with strong connections to Old Norse scholarship. They were not written to be read in a sequence and overlap.

Most information in the conference paper “Evolution, Revolution and Ethnocultural Substrata” is also present in the two longer articles. This paper focuses on the mythic smith Ilmarinen and his relationship to sky-gods of other Finno-Ugric cultures bearing cognate names. It emphasizes a) the early semantic correlation of the god with the phenomenon of the sky at the level of the lexicon in Uralic cultures; b) the semantic disambiguation of the god from the sky in Finnic languages; c) complementing of Ilmari(nen)’s identity with an identity of the smith of heaven; and d) displacement from the role of central sky-god. A ‘hypothesis of semantic correlation’ associated with theonyms within Uralic mythologies is introduced: i.e. the assimilation of a god (or theonym) identified with the sky-god leads the new theonym to function as a common noun for the phenomenon of the sky owing to
a semantic correlation between them. In other words, the god was not named ‘Sky’; the phenomenon of the sky was referred to by the name of the god. Consequently, it is more probable that Proto-Finno-Ugric *ilma ['sky, weather'] derives from a theonym *Ilma or *Il-ma rather than the theonym having first been a common noun. This hypothesis can be transferred to other environments such as variation in theonyms for the thunder-god meaning ‘thunder’ in Indo-European languages, which can then reciprocally be viewed as a context in which the Norse theonym Þór has been disambiguated from ‘thunder’ alongside Sámi languages in which the maintenance of semantic correlation of theonyms for the thunder-god with ‘thunder’ is found at a geographical remove from Germanic contacts.

“Shamans, Christians, and Things in between” focuses on a transformative process that moved through Finno-Karelian cultures that produced a radical and aggressive break from form(s) of shamanism that would have been associated with the Finno-Ugric linguistic-cultural heritage. This process is identified with the language-based technology of incantations (associated with Iron Age Germanic contacts) as an alternative means for interacting with the unseen world. Like technologies of modern medicine, this technology was bound up with conceptual models of health and the body, which in this case excluded models of a separable soul. This model of the soul made it incompatible with inherited forms of shamanism. This model was also incompatible with Sámi shamanism, which was completely displaced by this tradition when the indigenous Sámi populations of Finland and Karelia underwent a language shift in the spread of North Finnic languages. This shift language shift was also a shift of culture and mythology that can be described as ‘conversion’. This paper includes discussions of the role of ritual specialists and variation in mythology according to cultural practices and its functions for users. It also addresses how this tradition interfaced with Christianity and the question of whether the spread of Kalevalaic mythology may have, in fact, ‘become’ a spread of Christianity – Christianity as seen through the eyes of the ritual specialists using it.

“Confluence, Continuity and Change in the Evolution of Myth” concentrates on narrative material in the Sampo-Cycle. It addresses the diverse and stratified history of narratives and motifs and their variation in the Kalevalaic poetry tradition. The history of narrative material is distinguished from the formation of the cycle as a whole. Germanic models are argued to have been central in the formation of the cycle as a narrative whole although individual images, gods, motifs and whole episodes may have had much longer and dynamic histories. Comparative evidence of inherited Finno-Ugric mythology is placed in dialogue with the attested traditions in order to illuminate discontinuities as well as continuities. Attention is given to the role of narrative material and its adaptations for the construction of the identities of gods or mythic identities and their relationships to one another. This is related to social roles and identities in society with especial consideration of ritual specialists as authorities in the use and communication of these traditions. The article argues that the Sampo-Cycle took shape as part of the discourse of competing institutions of ritual specialist in conjunction with the emergence of vernacular specialists applying and developing the language-based technology of incantations.

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The Drama of the Poetic Edda: Performance as a Means of Transformation
Terry Gunnell, University of Iceland

This article contains a review of the author’s considerations of the performance aspects of eddic poetry from 1991 to 2011, ranging from the arguments suggested for potential connections to ritual drama activities (built on the ideas of Bertha Phillpotts and noted in The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia) to more recent considerations of the way in which some poems suggest movement in time and space between the male hall and the female periphery (Skírnismál, Fáfnismál, Sigrdrifumál) while others, set in the essentially male hall (associated often with the warrior culture), have the potential to transform the space from a daily setting into one closely associated with the mythological, imbued with ritual meaning and power; and of the ways in which monologues might work in association with masks and helmets. The paper also raises the importance of considering these originally oral works as oral works that were received in space in the form of sound, vision, music and movement rather than as symbols on a page.

Masks and Performance in the Early Nordic World
Terry Gunnell, University of Iceland

The article starts by reviewing the extant archaeological material from the Nordic countries which suggests that masks were used (for shamanic purposes initially) as far back as the late Stone Age, and then on until the Iron Age, when historical records come to join visual images, and even a number of objects which appear to be masks. After this, it enters into the question of what the author has started referring to as ‘performance archaeology’, that is the use of manuscripts, and archaeological finds and relevant comparative materials to attempt a reconstruction of what early performances might have been like (as a number of scholars have done using Shakespeare’s texts, and other relevant sources). Here the author begins by examining what the finding of a mask ‘means’, considering the ways masks were perceived by performers and audiences in earlier times, and how, when worn, they created a performance space and a liminal meeting of worlds which changed the perceptions of the space and the performer over a longer period. The discussion then moves out from this, employing, among other things, the Performance Studies approaches advocated by scholars such as Richard Schechner. In short, a mask is very much more than an object. It is the core of the dramatic art, with all that that entails for a society.
National Folklore, National Drama and the Creation of Visual National Identity: 
The Case of Jón Árnason, Sigurður Guðmundsson and Indriði Einarsson in 
Iceland

Terry Gunnell, University of Iceland


As is well known, National Romanticism in many countries in northern Europe did not only involve the collection of folklore and the writing (rewriting) of national history, but also the establishment of ‘national literature’. This applied in particular to the emphasis that was placed on establishing ‘national theatres’ that presented ‘national’ works for the new nations, works that not only attracted a wide (ideally popular) audience but also worked on various semiotic levels, from text to backdrops, costumes, songs and the creation of national types. In many countries, budding authors in this new field were actively encouraged to use not only Shakespeare and Schiller as models, but also to take the most ‘national’ material as sources – i.e. the new folk tales and legends, which were reinterpreted for their new audiences, simultaneously moving them from the performance field of the oral/aural/imaginative to the visual and active. The examples of Ibsen’s early works in Norway (such as Vikingene på Helgeland and Per Gynt) and those of Yeats and Lady Gregory in Ireland are well known. This article examines the case of how the artist Sigurður Guðmundsson (the ‘guru’ of national image and national culture in Iceland) actively encouraged Iceland’s first playwrights to use the new folklore collections to create a new national drama – and how the young playwright Indriði Einarsson took up the challenge with a highly popular work called Nýárnsött [‘New Year’s Night’]. As will be shown, this work not only reinvented the image of Icelandic elves, but also brought about a whole range of new national festivals.

Waking the Dead: Folk Legends Concerning Magicians and Walking Corpses in 
Iceland

Terry Gunnell, University of Iceland


This article is based a paper earlier given as the Alan Bruford lecture at the University of Edinburgh. It examines all the various Icelandic folk legends concerning the phenomenon of raising dead bodies and sending them to carry out various tasks, including attacking the enemies of the magician or potential magician who has carried out the raising. It notes the distribution of these accounts, and various features of the beliefs involved (who should be raised, when and how), including the dangers of raising dead foreigners who cannot understand the instructions given them. It then places these legends and beliefs in an international context, noting that such rituals are not known in Scotland, Ireland or the southern parts of Nordic countries – but seem to have become widespread in Iceland. The closest similarities are found in amongst the Sámi. A brief examination is given of the relevant Sámi traditions and the few saga accounts of raising the dead, raising the question of whether these beliefs might go back to the time of the settlement, have come from the Sámi areas, and then develop essentially in the isolated western fjords in the context of the beliefs that people in this area had closer associations with the dark arts.
Linguistic Map of Prehistoric Northern Europe

Riho Grünthal, University of Helsinki, and Petri Kallio, University of Helsinki


What do we know about the prehistory of languages and cultures in areas, such as Northern Europe that do not have written documents or large extinct cities? For decades, archaeology and linguistics, two disciplines weaving together multiple interdisciplinary aspects have fostered a dialogue focusing on cultural and linguistic networks, mobility and contacts between people. This book sheds new light on cultural diffusion and language change in prehistoric Northern Europe with special emphasis on the northern Baltic Sea area. The rise of agriculture, identification of new cultural waves in terms of language are topics that outline the early prehistory in the North. The book contains twelve articles by linguists and archaeologists, evidence drawn from various Finno-Ugric and Indo-European languages, and up-to-date insights into the research of prehistoric North Europe. For more information, see further: http://www.sgr.fi/sust/sust266/sust266.html.

Conversions: Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages

Leszek Słupecki, University of Rzeszow, and Rudolf Simek, University of Bonn


This volume contains eighteen of the papers held at two conferences dedicated to the comparative study of conversion, both under the overall title of Conversion and Ideological Changes in Medieval Scandinavia in Comparative Perspective, in 2010 in Rzeszow and 2011 in Zakopane. The topic of conversion from various forms of pre-Christian polytheistic systems to one or the other of the three large monotheistic religions plays a major role in all discussions of the literature and cultural life of the Early Middle Ages not only in Northern and Western, but also in Central and Eastern Europe. The papers in this volume thus not only encompass the conversion of Scandinavia or Ireland, but also deal with similar phenomena in Finland, Baltic Pruthenia, and even touch upon the conversion of the Khasars to Judaism.

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tagk’: The Role of Real Life Experience in the
Records of the Prussians Made by Szymon
Grunau (Mid-15th Century-1529/30)” by Julia
Możdżeń, “Medieval Conversion Narratives
from East Central Europe and Central Asia: A
Case Study on the Arpads and the
Qarakhanids” by Undine Ott, “Sacral
Kingship and the Judaism of the Khazars” by
Vladimir Petrukhin, “The Christianisation of
the North: A New Kind of Religiosity” by
Jens Peter Schjødt, “Álfar and Demons, or:
What in Germanic Religion Caused the
Medieval Christian Belief in Demons?” by
Rudolf Simek, “Where Did St Adalbert
(Wojciech) Go to Preach the Gospel and
Where Did He Die?” by Leszek Paweł
Słupecki, and “From Pagan Vikings to
milites
Christi” by Szymon Wierzbiński.

PhD Projects

Nítíða saga in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iceland
Sheryl McDonald Werronen, University of Leeds

*Thesis defended for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English at the University of Leeds (UK), 18th April 2013.*

*Supervisors: Alaric Hall and Catherine Batt.*

*Examiners: Matthew Driscoll (University of Copenhagen) and Alan Murray (University of Leeds).*

My doctoral thesis focused on Icelandic literature and society from c. 1400–1700, including the reception and reinterpretation of medieval Icelandic popular texts after the Icelandic Reformation in 1550. My thesis discussed in detail Nítíða saga, a late medieval Icelandic romance that was arguably very popular in post-Reformation Iceland, considering that it survives in sixty-five manuscripts (Kalinke & Mitchell 1985). Until recently a little studied romance (cf. Ármann Jakobsson 2009; Barnes 2006; Driscoll 1993; Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir 2013; Guðbjörg Áðalbergsdóttir 1993; McDonald 2009; 2012a; 2012b; 2013), Nítíða saga is concerned with important issues that offer insights into medieval Icelandic worldviews, ideas about what it means to be a romance hero, and the significance of romance as a genre in Iceland. Metatextual aspects of the saga are likewise significant, namely the physical manuscripts through which the medieval text is preserved down to the present day, the different textual versions of the saga, and the intertextual connections that it demonstrates with other medieval Icelandic literature.

Organized in two parts, my thesis discussed aspects of the saga text such as its composition, reception, and reconfiguration across time and space in medieval and early modern Iceland. In Part One I discussed Nítíða saga’s internal and external contexts, looking at the saga as a physical and cultural artefact, as well as its setting and worldview. Most significantly, I mapped the relationships among the majority of surviving manuscript witnesses and proposed different groups of manuscripts based on the different versions of the text they contain. In Part Two I discussed, through analysis of characterization, how the text might be seen as challenging the popular romance genres of late medieval Iceland, i.e. maiden-king and bridal-quest (Kalinke 1990; Wahlgren 1938). Overall, I showed how factors such as the text’s portrayal of an unconventional female hero, alongside its relationships with other romances, may have helped this story endure generation after generation among a society whose place in the world was often questioned and lacked stability under the rule of others during the Middle Ages, the Reformation, and later.
Methodology

In Part One of the thesis my analyses are mainly literary-historical and material-philological. In my consideration of the manuscripts and different versions of *Nítiða saga*, it was important to me to study the physical manuscripts in person, especially considering that only a few of them had previously been digitized. I photographed and transcribed a number of small samples from the vast majority of the surviving manuscript witnesses (cf. Hall n.d.), during visits to the Arnamagnæan Institutes in Reykjavik and Copenhagen, as well as the British Library in London. Throughout Part Two of my thesis I primarily employed literary-critical methods. In my consideration of the saga as literature, my analyses always stemmed from close readings of the single textual version on which I decided to base my study – that which is most familiar among scholars of Old Norse-Icelandic literature (Loth 1965). When appropriate, I compared and contrasted that version with other manuscript versions from later centuries.

Part One

Chapter One delved into the saga’s manuscript context and the transmission of the text. It provided an overview of the six different groups (A, B, C, D, E, F) into which I determined the surviving manuscript witnesses of *Nítiða saga* can be placed. I based these groups mainly on textual variation, but also considered codicology, provenance, and information about scribes (cf. Cerquiglini 1989; Driscoll 2010). The chapter also comprised a discussion of the medieval text’s post-Reformation reception and transformation through three case studies. *Nítiða saga*’s six textual versions highlight the value of textual variation in manuscripts across not only time, but also space. I discovered that some groups could be localized in different parts of Iceland – notably the case for Group A manuscripts, primarily from Western Iceland, and Group E manuscripts, which can be traced to the Eastfjords (cf. Davíð Ólafsson 2009; Springborg 1977). In classifying textual versions my aim was not to make definitive claims about which manuscripts were copied from which, but rather to propose broader trends. After dividing the manuscripts into groups, I then discussed three post-medieval manuscript versions of *Nítiða saga* as case studies from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. This first chapter demonstrated both the fragility of any given version of medieval texts, as they are reworked and rewritten many times over (see also McDonald 2012b), and also the text’s implications for medieval Icelandic society and literature, including the role of literature in family and other social contexts.

In Chapter Two I considered some of the intertextual relationships evident in *Nítiða saga* through the analysis of a prominent motif concerning náttúrusteinar [Old Norse ‘supernatural stones’] and through two case studies that highlight the saga’s relationships with two other Icelandic romances: Clári saga (Cederschiöld 1907), which shares important themes and motifs with *Nítiða saga* and which likely influenced *Nítiða saga*’s author; and Nikulás saga leikara (Wick 1996), which appears alongside *Nítiða saga* in manuscript more than any other text and whose author was very likely influenced by *Nítiða saga*. This chapter demonstrated how *Nítiða saga* relates to these and other texts (cf. Glauser 1983; Kalinke 1990) – both secular romances and religious works like saints’ lives – in the Christian literary-cultural milieu in which the saga was produced and from which its author drew inspiration.

In Chapter Three I discussed the saga’s setting and the worldviews it exhibits – what I termed the saga’s “internal contexts”, as opposed to the “external contexts” covered in the first two chapters. Chapter Three showed how *Nítiða saga*’s unusual depiction of global geography significantly shifts the world’s centre towards Iceland. I demonstrated how *Nítiða saga* engages with the broader European cultural community from which it and other Icelandic romances emerged, and how the saga does so by situating medieval Iceland in relation to medieval Europe and the wider world (cf. Barnes 2006; 2007). I also discussed how the appropriation of a European identity for Iceland, through what could be called the cultural colonization of European romance (cf. Sif Rikhardsdottir
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omission in a selection of other textual

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familiar base text (Loth 1965), with the

\[ \text{thesis I compared characterization} \]

Furthermore, throughout the second part of the thesis.

\[ \text{Part Two} \]

In the remaining three chapters of the thesis, I

\[ \text{considered Nítíða saga’s characters and how} \]

they interact with and influence one another. In

\[ \text{Chapter Four I discussed the detailed and} \]

careful portrayal of the saga’s strong female

\[ \text{hero, whose negotiations and manoeuvres} \]

through the world of bridal-quest allow her to

\[ \text{emerge in marriage as an equal with her} \]

husband. Building on this, I showed in

\[ \text{Chapter Five how the depiction of the saga’s} \]

supporting characters, many of whom are

\[ \text{female, reinforces Nítíða’s position as the} \]

hero. Women and their relationships are a

\[ \text{central concern in Nítíða saga, not only} \]

because the story is named after its meykóngr

\[ \text{[Old Norse ‘maiden-king’]} \]

(cf. Guðbjörg Aðalbergsdóttir 1993; Sif Ríkharðsdóttir

\[ \text{2010}, \]

but also because of the many other

\[ \text{female characters and their relationships,} \]

represented throughout the text (cf. Jóhanna

\[ \text{Katrín Friðriksdóttir 2013}). I argued that the} \]

saga thus questions conventional medieval

\[ \text{Icelandic romance norms, which regularly} \]

involve a male hero, his companions, and his

\[ \text{quest for a bride (Kalinke 1990). To round out} \]

the literary analysis of the text, I looked in

\[ \text{Chapter Six at the narrator’s role in the saga. I} \]

understood the anonymous narrator as an

\[ \text{important character who guides the audience} \]

through the story (cf. O’Connor 2005), and

\[ \text{who likewise, and especially, reinforces the} \]

presentation of Nítíða as the saga’s hero.

\[ \text{Furthermore, throughout the second part of the} \]

thesis I compared characterization in the

\[ \text{familiar base text (Loth 1965), with the} \]

characters’ portrayal, development, or even

\[ \text{omission in a selection of other textual} \]

versions, in order to consider how examples

\[ \text{of how the saga changed – in perspective,} \]

plot, and audience – over time.

Conclusion

Over the course of my thesis I considered

\[ \text{medieval Icelandic romance from a variety of} \]

viewpoints, both generally, and in focussing

\[ \text{on a single saga. I discussed how Nítíða saga,} \]

from its unconventional portrayal of

\[ \text{geography to its strong female hero,} \]

approaches romance from a unique point of

\[ \text{view and asks its audiences to reconsider not} \]

only what it means to be a romance in Iceland

\[ \text{but also what it means to be an Icelander in} \]

Scandinavia and Europe in the later Middle

\[ \text{Ages and into the years after the Reformation.} \]

Further, my research has uncovered

\[ \text{previously unnoticed relationships among} \]

manuscripts and texts, and shed light on

\[ \text{Icelandic attitudes towards literature and} \]

literacy. The value of Nítíða’s story spoke to

\[ \text{Icelanders long after its medieval} \]

composition, and with each reworking of the

\[ \text{text – from the subtle shifts in perspective and} \]

focus evident in some versions to the radical

\[ \text{rewritings of the youngest surviving} \]

manuscripts – appreciation of this saga

\[ \text{arguably grew and inspired further} \]

reworkings, many of which (particularly the

\[ \text{poetic rímur versions of the saga}) \]

I was unfortunately unable to consider in my

\[ \text{doctoral research. I anticipate much more} \]

fruitful research will result from further in-

\[ \text{depth studies of the story in its different} \]

versions, the many manuscripts, and the

\[ \text{diverse contexts of Nítíða saga.} \]

The aforementioned doctoral thesis is

\[ \text{currently being revised for future publication.} \]

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Master’s Thesis Projects

Piracy in Eastern Baltic Sea Region (9th–13th centuries)

Geoffroy d’Arexy, University of Oslo

Master’s thesis in Medieval Studies, defended on the 3rd May, 2013, University of Bordeaux
Supervisors: Céline Martin and Isabelle Cartron.

This following master’s thesis sets out to study the ‘non-Scandinavian’ piracy expeditions in the Baltic Sea area from the 9th to the 13th centuries. The research is based primarily on written material, especially on Latin sources, which are the Rimbert’s Vita
Anskarii, Adam of Bremen’s *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, Helmold of Bosau’s *Chronica Slavorum*, Saxo Grammaticus *Gesta Danorum*, and Henri of Livonia’s *Chronicon Livoniae*. Archeological data are also analyzed, especially the Baltic Sea’s ports of trade. This data reveals a rather important Scandinavian presence from the second half of the 7th century.

The investigation of the sources reveals deep transformations during the period under consideration in the eastern Baltic societies, leading to a more hierarchical social organization with more social inequality, and a culture more inclined to war. These transformations could be the consequences of a defensive reaction towards aggressive Scandinavian policy, but they could also happen under more peaceful circumstances, in a slow acculturation process under the influence of a Scandinavian elite. Indeed, before the second half of the 9th century, the Scandinavian presence seems rather peaceful and oriented to trade, but after the second half of the 9th century, it seems that the Scandinavians have more aggressive goals. The Scandinavians influence is also visible through their ship-building techniques, even if it seems that at some point the eastern Baltic societies begin to develop their own ship-building techniques.

These expeditions could be motivated by several purposes, and their frequencies seem to increase between the second half of the 10th century and the second half of the 11th century, with the lowering of the trade relationships between the Scandinavian world and the middle/lower Volga region, as well as the eastern Baltic Region (except for the island of Gotland, which still retained important relationships with the Baltic). Under these circumstances, wealth had to be acquired by means other than trade. Slave trade also appears also to be a motivation for these expeditions. Some of these expeditions could also be mercenary work, or undertaken by ancient mercenaries. Due to the greater inequality in social structures, some raids could also be at the initiative of the younger sons of a family or other people disadvantaged by the system as an alternative means of acquiring riches and thereby a more prestigious social status, a local chief’s position and perhaps wives. The Rani of coastal Pomerania seem to also collect tribute for the worship of the god Svetovid. When the eastern Baltic region was invaded by the Livonian Brothers of the Sword at the beginning of 13th century, the coastal Baltic tribes invent original naval siege tactics in order to defend themselves.

This study shows that the Viking Age could be prolonged until the first half of the 13th century for the Baltic region, as there are still plundering sea expeditions organized by pagan tribes, and these expeditions are intimately connected with the value systems of these societies. This proves that the term ‘Viking’ should not be regard as an ethnic designation because people other than Scandinavians could be engaged in ‘Viking’ activities. This is particularly well reflected by a passage found in chapter 5 of *Oláfs Saga Tryggvassonar*, in which Queen Astrid is captured by víkingar, þat váru Eistr [‘Vikings that were Æistr’].

**Anglo-Saxon Dreaming: Dreams and Attitudes towards Dreaming in Anglo-Latin and Old English Texts**

*Gwendolyne Knight, Stockholm University*

*Thesis submitted for a Master of Arts in Medieval Studies at Stockholm University in September 2013. Supervisor: Olle Ferm.*

This thesis undertakes a study of dream narratives and attitudes to dreaming among the Anglo-Saxons by analysing both Anglo-Latin and Old English texts, then discussing their context on the basis of phenomenological aspects brought to light during the course of the analysis. By exploring Anglo-Saxon perceptions of dreams and dreaming, it studies the possibilities for drawing conclusions about Anglo-Saxon
models of mind. A comparison between Anglo-Latin and Old English dream texts also forms an important part of this study, as most previous research has concentrated on only one of the two languages.

The phenomenological research undertaken in this study is based upon the methodological principles set out by the psychological school of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. The study concerns itself with how particular elements that constitute dream experiences have been understood, exploited, ignored or engaged with, and how people made sense of these experiences. The investigation in the thesis of Anglo-Saxon models of mind builds furthermore upon the concept of theory of mind within cognitive psychology. With ‘theory of mind’ is meant the mechanism whereby a person recognizes a distinction between their mind and the outside world. This is seen as a fundamental development in human psychology, as it allows a person to predict someone else’s behaviour based on what one suspects they think or believe, rather than on the basis of actual events. However, recent anthropological research has demonstrated that cultural settings can have profound consequences for models of mind present in any given culture.

Consequently, this thesis hypothesises that culturally specific theories of mind will enter text as culturally specific representations of mind. By accepting dreaming as a psychological constant, representations and interpretations of dreams and dreaming become the variables which have the potential to allow an observer to infer what models of mind lay behind them. Sources were selected from a variety of genres, and provide a broad perspective over the range of texts being produced and consumed among the Anglo-Saxons. Because true dreams could sometimes be described as ‘visions’, texts were selected on the basis of whether they occurred at night, during sleep.

Through a thorough examination and description of dream narratives and texts about dreams, several persistent themes emerge. The most ubiquitous theme throughout texts of both languages is that of the dreamer and the dream, but perceptions and meanings ascribed to the act of interpretation as well as themes of religion and holiness also became points of negotiating aspects of both mind and power. While theological matters form the basis of nearly all dream texts, one finds in Old English texts clearer references to emotional and psychological capacities of dreamers, and also more of a sense of dreaming as a basic human act. Overall it appears that Anglo-Saxon minds could become connected to certain influences only through dreaming, without the oversight of the self. This division was found to correspond loosely with the subconscious/conscious division of today.
Viking Mythology and Religion: Old Norse Summer School at Aarhus University
16th–31st July 2014, Aarhus, Denmark

The imaginary world of the Vikings is a vast and amazing landscape that continues to puzzle us. Their myths abound with powerful, tricky and enigmatic gods, forceful giants and an array of supernatural beings, large and small, which seem hard for the modern mind to grasp. This course in Viking mythology and religion focuses on the myths and legends, histories and tales of the Viking world. We will investigate the great variety of textual and archaeological sources for the Viking Age and explore the worldview, beliefs and ethics of the Vikings. We will treat difficult issues of the source material; the originally oral mythology and legends of the Vikings are mainly preserved in medieval literature. We will investigate the relationship between archaeological finds from the Viking Age and the medieval sources, and by employing a wide range of disciplines, such as history of religion, folklore, history, archaeology and literary analysis, we will provide a critical overview of the field of Viking mythology and religion, as well as the necessary analytic tools for any student interested in this field.

Lecturers at the course will be Margaret Clunies Ross, Judith Jesch, Steven Mitchell, Jens Peter Schjødt, Jiri Stáry, Luke John Murphy, Mathías Nordvig and Rolf Stavnem.

The course takes place at Aarhus University from 16th July (arrival on 15th July) to 31st July 2014. The course is open to both BA and MA level students and is for application from 1st December to 15th March. The organizers are Mathias Nordvig and Rolf Stavnem. For more information, visit www.vikingoldnorse.au.dk or e-mail to Mathias Nordvig at normn@hum.au.dk or Rolf Stavnem at norrs@hum.au.dk.
Interdisciplinary Student Symposium on Religion, Ideology and Cultural Practices in the Old Norse World
21st March 2014, Aarhus, Denmark

The Departments of Aesthetics and Communication and of Culture and Society at Aarhus University are very proud to announce the 7th annual interdisciplinary Student Symposium. If you are a student with a keen interest in any subject connected to Religion, Ideology and Cultural Practices in the Old Norse World, we hereby invite you to present a paper.

Students at all levels from BA to PhD are invited to participate. The only requirement is that you are enrolled at a university when the deadline for call for papers expires. The symposium will be in English and each paper will have a duration of 20 minutes. The Student Symposium is a great opportunity to present your research and interests to a group of academic peers working in the same field as you. Furthermore, it is a great opportunity to network and make connections with like-minded scholars.

All students who are interested are encouraged to send a short abstract in English, no longer than 250 words, to the organising committee by e-mail: studentsymposiumaarhus@gmail.com, no later than the 15th of January 2014. All correspondence must be in English. The abstracts will be reviewed by a reviewing committee from the Departments of Aesthetics and Communication and of Culture and Society. The organisers and reviewers reserve the right to choose participants according to the symposium’s requirements of quality, internationality and interdisciplinarity. Acceptances and rejections will be e-mailed within a week of the deadline. For further information, please contact the organising committee.

The organising committee for the event consists of Lisbeth H. Torfing, Sophie Bønding and Simon Nygaard. For more information, please also visit our website at: http://vikingoldnorse.au.dk/activities-and-events/student-symposium/.