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Schizophrenic Identity and Other Gender Issues in Finnish Folklore Studies

Niina Hämäläinen

Abstract

This article gives an overview of two early female folklorists and one folklore collector from the mid nineteenth to the mid twentieth century. The aim is to reveal the symbolic violence and rejection the three female scholars underwent through the use of the term trivialization. I have chosen Charlotta Europaeus, Helmi Helminen and Elsa Enäjärvi as examples because of their early appearance in the field. These cases illustrate to what extent gender, together with presumptions of the gender roles and scientific norms of the era, affected their scholarly work. Charlotta Europaeus, Helmi Helminen and Elsa Enäjärvi were fascinated by women's life, female genres and intimate spheres of culture, but in order to succeed they needed male supporters and adaptation of male-dominated methods. Above all, the collecting and scientific work of the early female scholars concretely elucidates the female as dismissed and further, how the suppression of female gender and folklore is embedded in documentation and textualization practices.

Keywords: gender, folklore, trivialization

The Finnish folklorist and feminist scholar Aili Nenola (1986:26, 27) has ironically claimed that as a female scholar you need to have a schizophrenic identity: you must deny femininity in scholarly working and thinking and instead identify with male scientists. The highest value a female scholar can attain is that she thinks like a man. Nenola published her groundbreaking book *Miessydäminen nainen* [Male-Hearted Woman] in the middle of the 1980s, but her ideas still resonate while thinking of gender bias in folklore studies. Obviously, dismissing female scholars is not by any means a national issue and it has not only appeared in folklore studies. It is closely related to patriarchal societies and their violent structures (see, e.g., Conrad 2021; Babcock 1987). General norms and presumptions of genders in society, even silenced, produce different unjust classifications and practices and, thus, also discrimination as well as violence. In discussing engendered violence, scholars refer to symbolic violence embedded in society and culture (see Butler 2015:34, 59; Karkulehto & Rossi 2017). A little but illustrative example of the symbolic violence in Finnish culture is the *Kanteletar*, a lyrical anthology of folk poetry compiled by Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884). Lönnrot published the *Kanteletar* in 1840, 1841, after the first edition of the *Kalevala* (1835). The *Kanteletar* aimed at representing a comprehensive entity of Finnish-Karelian lyrical poetry, whereas the *Kalevala* was a presentation of the epic. Despite its canonized status as oral poetry and literature, the *Kanteletar* is pejoratively established as "a little sister to the *Kalevala*". In the national narrative, the *Kanteletar*, based on descriptions of emotions and female experiences, has never been declared as important as the *Kalevala*, the epic of male heroes.

This article[1] aims to give an overview of two early female folklorists and one folklore collector from the mid nineteenth to the mid twentieth century by revealing the symbolic violence and rejections they underwent. I have chosen Charlotta Europaeus, Helmi Helminen and Elsa Enäjärvi as examples because of their early appearance in the field. Charlotta Europaeus was the very first female collector in the mid nineteenth century. Helmi Helminen and Elsa Enäjärvi were female scholars recognized in the research history of Finnish folklore studies *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus* [Finnish Folklore Research] published by the folklorist Jouko Hautala (1910–1983, professor 1961–1971) in 1954.[2] Hautala's book is still the only overall history of folklore studies in Finland, and therefore its significance in scholarly thinking has been crucial.

To expose the symbolic power and female scholars of this article, I highlight the term *trivialization*. When establishing a typology of decoding strategies of women's culture, Joan N. Radner and Susan S. Lanser (1993:19) indicate by trivialization the following:[3]

> the employment of form, mode, or genre that the dominant culture considers unimportant, innocuous, or irrelevant. When a particular form is conventionally nonthreatening, the message it carries, even if it might be threatening in another context, is likely to be discounted or overlooked. Consider women's self-deprecating use of other's trivial names for their expressive genres. "Oh, we're just gossiping"; "That was only 'woman talk'."

As emphasized by Jennifer Fox (1993), the negative conception of women has been embedded in the forming of folklore studies along with the rising sense of romantic nationalism in the nineteenth century, particularly through the ideas of tradition, patriarchalism and national unity as male-orientated put forward by Johann Gottfried Herder (see also Yuval-Davis 1997). Accordingly in Finland, the nation-building was based on the ideals of a philosopher, J. V. Snellman (1806–1881), who regarded the female sphere of life and women as belonging to the private, reproduction and inside the walls of the household (Lang 2010). Representing "Finnishness" was dedicated to men, and if the interest of women appeared, it was focused either on admiration of female suffering (see Kurkela 2012; Hämäläinen 2022) or visualizing the female body through the male gaze (Juntti 2011:56–59; see Yuval-Davis 1997:26–28).

Moreover, those collecting and studying folklore have historically been interested in the male-dominated genre, Kalevala-metre poems, especially epic poems of male heroes documented by male collectors/scholars. Collecting folklore started in the first decades of the nineteenth century in Finland, known at that time as a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, but increased after the *Kalevala* was published in 1835. Collecting practices in the borderlands of Russia and Finland, in Karelia, were mainly intended to prove the authenticity of the *Kalevala* and its oral epic sources. Later, when folklore studies as an academic discipline was established in the 1890s, the folklore method of geographic-historical analysis created by Julius and Kaarle Krohn was targeted at Kalevala-metre poetry, particularly the epic poetry since it was regarded as representing the fixed and solid part of the poetic tradition to benefit the methodological and positivist comparison. Concurrently, female scholars were excluded from the important themes and genres of folklore: "In selecting research topics, women were not allowed into the 'inner sanctum' of folkloristics: the analysis of mythology, folk belief and the source material of the *Kalevala*, epic poetry" (Apo, Nenola & Stark-Arola 1998:22). Besides, the gender bias of the preserved folklore material is undisputed: male collectors and scholars investigated, interviewed and met – or did not, as the case also was – female informants (see ibid.: 7). The male-centred methodological emphasis dominated the field at least until the 1960s and 1970s[4] – and it has long affected not only the interest in documenting and analysing women's life sphere and female genres, for example, lyrics, lullabies, personal narratives, but also the establishment of female scholars in the academic world as well as the knowledge production of folklore (see also Conrad 2021).

Following the historian Lisa Svanfeldt-Winter's (2019) note on what constituted and produced a good and acknowledged scholar, as discussed in her dissertation on Elsa Enäjärvi and Martti Haavio, I will ask, first, what were the possibilities for women to act as collectors and researchers in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century? Second, did they need good relations with men, or a schizophrenic identity, and were they forced to work against their own ambitions? Until the 1970s Elsa Enäjärvi (-Haavio) (1901–1951) was the only recognized female folklorist scholar in the field, although after the first decades of 1900 more and more women were enrolled at the university studying folkloristic and other related disciplines. However, the number of female scholars had increased little by little until the 1970s, but the official holders of professorships were mostly males. By comparison, in the 2020s all the professorships in folklore studies in Finland are occupied by women – which does not necessarily indicate the success of the discipline but can also denote that the valuation of folklore studies in society has diminished.[5]

The interest in gender and feminist approaches by Finnish folklorists grew after the work of Aili Nenola in 1986, and particularly, the anthology of *Louhen sanat* (1990) edited by Nenola and Senni Timonen. This anthology, followed by an English volume *Gender and Folklore* (1998), consisted of several articles mainly by female scholars and the theme, rather than being gender/feminist-oriented, was women-oriented in folklore. The explanation of gender studies by Finnish folklorists, its non-emancipatory or non-revolutionist emphasis, has been construed by a gender-equal society and early rights for women (Finnish women gained the right to vote in 1906) as well as pre-modern society and its matriarchal power. Interestingly, female scholars have argued that the visibility of women has also been a natural part of collecting and publishing practices of folklore in Finland: “Another theme of feminism in the 1970s, the desire to make women’s ‘invisible’ culture seen and heard, has led Finnish folklorists to recognize that women and their traditions have always been visible in the context of Finnish folklore collecting, publication, and study, from the appearance of Elias Lönnrot’s Kanteletar to the present” (Apo, Nenola & Stark-Arola 1998:22). As scholars have stated, along with male singers, early female singers of Kalevala-metre poetry, “Female ‘star’ informants” (ibid.) have also been celebrated, e.g., Mateli Kuivalatar, Larin Paraske and Marina Takalo (ibid.). Despite the visibility of female folklore and informants, these kinds of comments ignore or at least trivialize the concept of suppression and underrating of women’s culture and female genres embedded in documentation and textualization practices, as well as difficulties female scholars have met over the centuries. The note also reveals the strong symbolic power of the gender bias in culture and society that has also been adapted by women themselves.

Charlotta Europaeus

Inspired by the *Kalevala*, long epic Karelian songs of male heroes were the target of interest for folklore collectors of the nineteenth century, who obviously were men – apart from one collector, Charlotta Europaeus (1794–1858), a teacher born in the family of a priest, Peter Adolf Europaeus, in Savitaipale in Southern Karelia in today’s Finland. She collected folklore during the time in which women of the gentry were supposed to be married and stay at home. Charlotta Europaeus never married, nor did she have children.

Being a rare exception of her time, articles or information about Charlotta Europaeus are hard to find. A short text about Charlotta Europaeus appeared 100 years after her death in 1957, written by Sulo Haltsonen (1903–1973), who was a folklorist and literary scholar. Sulo Haltsonen’s reasons for writing about Charlotta Europaeus are unknown, but he shared with her the same interest in folklore. Haltsonen published books on children's folklore, which was also one focus on the folklore collections of Charlotta Europaeus. Haltsonen himself was interested in children's folklore at the time when the main geographic-historical method of folklore studies was targeted on Kalevala-metre epic poetry.[6] Later in the 2000s, Charlotta Europaeus was noted in the history of the Finnish Literature Society, where she was the subject of a small text box (Pikkanen 2004). Besides this, she has been briefly mentioned in some articles (e.g., Packalén 2005; Järvinen 2005), and often in connection with her brother, the folklore collector D. E. D. Europaeus (1820–1885) (e.g., in *D. E. D. Europaeus* 1988; Timonen 2020). However, Charlotta Europaeus is more celebrated in her native village of Savitaipale (e.g., Jurvanen 1993).

Charlotta Europaeus is better known for being the sister of the folklore collector and editor, D. E. D. Europaeus, who is famous for his collections from Ingria that greatly benefitted some of the poems in the extended version of the *Kalevala* (1849). D. E. D. Europaeus is also famous for being an ambivalent person who evoked mixed feelings in others, such as Elias Lönnrot.[7] Further, it is often stated that Charlotta Europaeus' interest in collecting folklore did not proceed from herself, but from the *Kalevala* and being inspired by three men: H. A. Reinholm (1819–1883), a collector of folklore, especially folk songs and games, the literary scholar Georg Julius von Schoultz (1808–1875) and her brother (Haltsonen 1957; Timonen 2020), who made seven collecting trips in 1845–1854. However, it is also conceivable that Charlotta Europaeus probably became fascinated with folklore much earlier, even though her main collections are from the late 1840s and early 1850s (see Pikkanen 2004:105).[8]

Charlotta Europaeus was an educated woman of her time. She had a knowledge of several languages, "she spoke French, German and Russian fluently", and she worked as a teacher in schools and elite families. She also knew Finnish from her background, which was a requirement for collecting folklore from the peasantry (Haltsonen 1957:133–134). Charlotta Europaeus attained the status of member of the Finnish Literature Society in 1848, one of the first women in the society (as the 20th woman, Timonen 2020). She was also the first woman to send her collections of folklore to the Finnish Literature Society. To start with, she sent her notes first to her friend H. A. Reinholm, who passed them on to the society (Järvinen 2005). However, the society seemed not to be excited about it, but rather noted down her actions with no great interest – apart from membership of the Society. A short note in the meetings of the Finnish Literature Society in December 1848 indicates that Charlotta Europaeus had sent her "handwritten poems as well as a toque and couple of knife sheaths" to the society: "af *Mamsell Europaeus*: en samling handskrifna runor, samt till Sällskapets antiquitets-samling: en mössa och en par knifslidor" [From Miss Europaeus: a bunch of handwritten poems, and for the antiquity collection of the society: a toque and a couple of knife sheaths] (SKS protocoller 6 December 1848).

Unlike her male fellow collectors, who are called by their full names or titles in the meetings, Charlotta Europaeus is not represented by her occupation as a teacher, but as a miss, "mamsell", "mademoiselle": "af Mademoiselle Europaeus: en samling handskrifna runor och ordspråk, af kvinna själf upptecknade" [from Mademoiselle Europaeus: a collection of handwritten poems and proverbs recorded by the young lady herself] (SKS protocoller 2 May1849).

Journeys of Elias Lönnrot as well as D. E. D. Europaeus and many others were supported by grants from the Finnish Literature Society, and the society was established in 1831, among other things, to approve funding for Lönnrot's collecting trips. As far as we know from the board meetings, Charlotta Europaeus did not receive any grant from the society for her collecting work. Perhaps the reason was that she never applied for one as she did not undertake any long collecting journeys. As a woman Charlotta Europaeus would have had very little or no possibility to go on long collecting journeys at that time (Järvinen 2005), and she did what she could. Along with her work duties, she collected the folklore of the area close to her, where she was born, lived and worked. The collecting areas were in her home village, Savitaipale, and a village close by, Suomenniemi, both in Southern Karelia, and in the district where she was employed, Jaakkima in Ladoga Karelia. This also seems to be the case with first female collectors in other countries, such as Ireland, where one of the rare female collectors, Bridie Gunning, managed to collect traditional material at the same time as she worked as an innkeeper (uí Ógain 2014).[9]

Charlotta Europaeus transcribed all kinds of folklore, such as children's lore, charms, tales, folk lyrics, epic-lyric poems, rhymed folk poetry, proverbs, games, customs and beliefs in the years 1848–1856 and sent them to the Finnish Literature Society. Charlotta Europaeus seemed to collect folklore very systematically as she sent her well written transcriptions regularly to the society, even though the male scholar described it as a hobby, although serious and long-lasting (Haltsonen 1957:134). Her folklore collection contains 541 texts, of which the published collection of Kalevala-metre poetry contains 153 texts (https://skvr.fi/). There are also unpublished poems and other folklore in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society. The collection of Kalevala-metre oral poetry includes a vast amount of charms. The charm transcriptions are short and are mainly connected to the female daily world, issues of household and family, of cattle and maladies. There are also some well-known lyrical songs (*Jos mun tuttuni tulisi* [If my beloved one would come], *Allahall' on allin mieli* [Low are the feelings of the long-tailed duck]) and many children's songs. In 1848 in Savitaipale, Charlotta Europaeus transcribed a version of the children's song "Onnimanni", which has been popular and is still widely known in Finland. There are only four published versions of the song collected by 1856, and one of the versions is by Charlotta Europaeus.

The collection also consists of a good amount of rhymed folk songs and literary-based songs, folklore genres that, for a long time, were not appreciated by the Finnish Literature Society, nor by scholars (e.g., Mikkola, Olsson & Stark 2023). Rhymed folk songs were neglected because of their rhyme metre as well as descriptions of gender relationships and often open sexual content. However, collectors transcribed these songs as well, and it is known that for instance C. A. Gottlund (1796–1875) and Elias Lönnrot kept these collections to themselves (see Mäkelä & Tarkka 2022). As Charlotta Europaeus did not note names of her informants, we cannot be sure about the gender of the singers, but considering the morality of the time, these songs were supposedly sung by woman to woman. However, there are no openly sexual rhymed folk songs in the collection, and the songs dealing with gender relationships are decent in their content: "Ei mun kultani kaukana ole, eikä ole lässä, / Tuolla seisoo katon päällä, niin kuin pata ässä" (SKS KRA Charlotte Europaeus) [My beloved is not far away, nor my love is here, / My love is standing on the roof, like an ace of spades].

Altogether, the intimate sphere of life is abundantly present in the collection of Charlotta Europaeus, while this side of folklore is usually lacking in old archive materials (see Apo, Nenola & Stark-Arola 1998:17). Even though male collectors transcribed e.g., children's songs and songs of the female world, these songs were not necessarily the goal of their journeys. Collectors were driven by epic and mythic poems after the *Kalevala*. During these trips, male collectors obviously met women as well, and, for example, while waiting for male singers to come back home from the lake or forest, they elicited folklore from women. However, as a woman, Charlotta Europaeus had a deeper and more natural access to the female world and folklore than male collectors (see also Paulaharju 2022; uí Ógain 2014; Järvinen 2005). The collection of Charlotta Europaeus can be regarded as, if not a vast, then an important and exceptional collection documented by a single woman in the mid nineteenth century. It also pays some attention to the local folklore of Southern Karelia villages (see Järvinen 2005:85). Despite being exceptional in her time, Charlotta Europaeus is not recognized in the history of folklore collections, nor is she included among the "few great female folklore collectors in Finnish history" by female Finnish scholars in their introduction to the volume *Gender and Folklore* (see Apo, Nenola & Stark-Arola 1998:17).

Charlotta Europaeus was also interested in translation and other literary practices. She translated fairy tales and folk songs into German and one of the translations was directed to the *Kanteletar*. There is a collection of the 30 *Kanteletar* songs in German that Charlotta Europaeus sent to a literary scholar, the publisher Georg Julius von Schoultz, who, as Sulo Haltsonen (1957:136) describes, made several remarks on the translation. Her brother, D. E. D. Europaeus, wrote a letter to Elias Lönnrot and asked which part of the *Kanteletar* poems were not yet translated since "a person I know" (*eräs tuttu*) might be interested in trying to translate them into Swedish (Letter of D. Europaeus 14 May 1847 to Elias Lönnrot). Charlotta Europaeus had an enthusiastic interest in the *Kanteletar* as many others at the time. Songs of the *Kanteletar* were admired and translated for the elite (into Swedish) before the book was published (in 1840 and 1841). There were also competitions for university students writing about the aesthetic of the *Kanteletar* and its lyric (Hämäläinen 2022). Yet Charlotta Europaeus' translation into German is not mentioned in the article concerning translations of the *Kanteletar* (Haltsonen 1950).

Helmi Helminen

"Helmi Helminen on niinikään käsitellyt kansanperinteentutkimuksen kysymyksiä, mm. kirjassaan *Syysjuhlat* 1929 ja artikkelissa Kansanomainen ajanlasku ja vuotuisjuhlat 1933 (Suomen kulttuurihistoria I)" [Helmi Helminen has also dealt with questions of folklore, among other things, in her book "Autumn Feasts" from 1929 and in the article "Calendar and Annual Feasts among the Peasantry"] (Hautala 1954:400).

The quotation is from the research history of Finnish folklore studies by Jouko Hautala. Helmi Helminen (1905–1976) is one of the two female folklorists represented in this book. Here Helminen received only two and a half lines, and unlike the other scholars, Hautala has not indicated the year of her birth. Helmi Helminen's representation is situated in between two male scholars in such a way that she is easily lost in the text when one reads the book.

Helmi Helminen did her main studies in history but her Master's thesis was on a folklore theme, annual feasts among the peasantry. Nowadays she is known, if at all, for her collecting trips to Konginkangas, Central Finland (1927–1933) and Eastern Karelia (1941–1944), when she transcribed words and dialects but also folklore, beliefs and customs (see Hänninen, forthcoming; see also Kaarninen 2006:200). As a biographical note indicates, Helmi Helminen is not defined as a scholar, but as a collector of folklore.[10] This makes one think, as Jonathan Roper (2021) has done in writing about the folklore period, what makes someone a folklorist? Roper's argument is that there are some fruitful periods of life, such as the early years of adulthood, that make one more likely to collect folklore. At that age, people are more open and curious and, therefore, ready to meet different people and spend long collecting periods with uncertain financial support. However, Roper, when representing a few female collectors/folklorists, does not consider the cultural, social and financial conditions that collecting work demanded, not to mention scholarly valuation by the academic community.

Helmi Helminen pursued her actual career in museums and was the head of the Helsinki City Museum (1946–1971). As in the case of Charlotta Europaeus, there is not much information available about her. There is, however, archival material such as diaries from collecting journeys and personal letters and a few articles (Järvinen 2004; Vilkuna 1976). Kustaa Vilkuna, a professor of ethnology, has written a comprehensive one-page obituary that includes the main events of Helminen's life. Vilkuna (1976) describes Helminen as having strong mental power and a unique synthetic view of life in bygone Finland. Vilkuna also writes that Helminen was "one of the brilliant female students of Kaarle Krohn" and emphasizes that Helminen, during her lifetime, actively wrote and published on folklore, the peasants and their customs. She was also preparing her doctoral dissertation about calendar feasts and rites in the cultures around the Baltic Sea, but this enormous work was interrupted in the 1930s. Helmi Helminen's doctoral dissertation is not, however, mentioned in the obituary by Vilkuna. The question then is why Helmi Helminen is so little known in folklore studies.

One explanation can be found in a sensitive, but not widely discussed issue of the scholarly world, namely, making use of one's research. Irma-Riitta Järvinen notes that the reasons for abandoning the doctoral dissertation were difficult and personal. While away in Hungary as a scholarship student, Helminen's research material, notes and writings concerning the dissertation were used by someone else and she felt totally exploited (Järvinen 2004:44–45). Helmi Helminen was not alone in struggling with the rights to her research and the conditions in which she worked. At the same time in Åbo Akademi, the anthropologist Hilma Granqvist was planning her PhD work and wanted to direct it towards one Palestinian village and to conduct interviews among the villagers, which was contrary to the approach of her professor, Edvard Westermarck, and the scholarly norm of the time. She followed her instinct but had difficulties getting permission for her doctoral defence (she gained her PhD in 1932). Later, in applying for a docentship, Hilma Granqvist was, among other things, accused of plagiarizing one of the professors on the committee, and in the end her application was rejected (Svanfeldt-Winter 2021:257–258). Lisa Svanfeldt-Winter notes that the explanations for the challenges experienced of Hilma Granqvist have usually disregarded her gender and have instead suggested that her research subject was too modern or too international. However, her gender together with her social background (lower middle class) had a strong and harmful influence on Granqvist's scientific career (ibid.:258–259).

Like Charlotta Europaeus, Helmi Helminen was exceptional in her collecting work. During the war, and before, the main interest was focused on Karelia as a result of the enthusiastic Karelianism, and many male scholars such as Jouko Hautala, Martti Haavio, Aimo Turunen, Väinö Kaukonen and Lauri Laiho went there to explore Karelia, its people, customs and beliefs – most of them in between periods of military service. Also, female scholars in their early careers and students went into the field to strengthen the links of the cultural heritage of the occupied area's to Finland (see Pimiä 2012:419). Helmi Helminen spent an unusually long time, over four months, in Eastern Karelia during the Continuation War (1943–1944). Typically, until the 1970s Finnish scholars made only short visits to the field (Apo, Nenola & Stark-Arola 1998:18), and Elias Lönnrot, for instance, visited singers sometimes for only a couple of hours. Her female gender gave advantages to Helmi Helminen. Unlike her male fellow collectors, she was able to live among the peasants and familiarize herself with people. By exploring her diaries, Irma-Riitta Järvinen (2004:49) emphasizes Helmi Helminen's empathic attitude towards people and the ability to be present and listen. Furthermore, she had a strong ethical attitude towards collecting work that Järvinen explains as arising from her interest in Steiner philosophy and anthroposophy.[11] Her collecting philosophy includes very modern thinking, such as questions of context, collecting situations and their effect on informants' remembering. One of Helminen's philosophies is related to the experience of a collector. Helminen wrote about understanding of tradition that comes from suffering. If a collector has had a happy life, she/he is not able to interpret or sympathize with other people (see Järvinen 2004). Helminen's ideas about collecting folklore might have been one of the reasons she was disregarded, and one might think that she was too ahead of her time, which she was. Another female collector, Ulla Mannonen (1895–1958), sent her transcriptions from the mid 1930s until 1956 to the archive of the Finnish Literature Society and she was criticized for sending in unsuitable folklore of individual experiences and the present day, or folklore that had literary influences (see Mikkola, Olsson & Stark 2023: e.g.,66–70.

Elsa Enäjärvi

After Charlotta Europaeus and Helmi Helminen, the two female scholars lost in history, I will introduce an early female scholar who did gain respect and status and who is not forgotten, Elsa Enäjärvi(-Haavio) (1901–1951). Elsa Enäjärvi studied at the University of Helsinki in the 1920s, at the same time as Helmi Helminen, although Enäjärvi graduated in 1923, five years earlier than Helminen. Her biographical notes report that her best student friend and fellow scholar was Maija Ruuttu (1899–1973) (Eskola 2021). Another close friend was the folklorist Martti Haavio (1899–1973), who later became her husband (1929). Elsa Enäjärvi was the first woman to defend a doctoral dissertation in folklore studies in 1932 and she received the status of docent in 1947, also as the first woman in the discipline. As Risto Turunen (1996:85) emphasizes, Enäjärvi was the very first female folklore scholar who was fully recognized. After Enäjärvi, the next female folklorist to obtain a doctorate was Iiris Järviö-Nieminen in 1959, but after completing the doctoral dissertation she worked as a teacher in Finnish, and after her, Leea Virtanen (1935–2002) gained her doctorate in 1967 and was appointed as the first female professor of folklore studies in 1979 at the University of Helsinki, where she occupied the chair until 1994. Enäjärvi was also exceptional in comparison to many other women who studied at the university in this period. Despite having a university degree, women usually continued working as teachers or got married (Svanfeldt-Winter 2019:57).

Like Helmi Helminen, Elsa Enäjärvi was a student of Kaarle Krohn (1863–1933, professor 1898–1928) and adopted Krohn's geographic-historical method. The method guided her investigations, but she also had other interests which were not in the centre of established research in the first decades of the twentieth century. For instance, her chapter in the book *Suomalaisen muinaisrunouden maailma* [The World of Ancient Finnish Folk Poetry] (Enäjärvi-Haavio 1935) gives an overview of Kalevala-metre lyric songs, their distribution and development, but also considers the aesthetics and emotions of the songs. Enäjärvi had adopted Kaarle Krohn's perception of folk lyric as condensed and brief in form and content, but she had a profound understanding of the living nature of lyric as consisting of accumulation and chaining (see Hämäläinen 2022). Through her extensive investigation of folk lyric, its aesthetics and singers Enäjärvi brought a new female genre to the interest of folkloristics (Järvinen 1991; Turunen 1996:83–84; Timonen 2004). Moreover, Enäjärvi was pioneering in conducting her PhD on folk games, although with a comparative perspective using the geographic-historical method.

However, Elsa Enäjärvi suffered from the gender bias of folklore studies in a deplorable way. Despite being acknowledged, Enäjärvi had to defend her research and thinking against the leading male professor, Väinö Salminen (1880–1947, professor 1933–1947). In 1944 Salminen attacked Enäjärvi in the columns of the main Finnish journal of language and folklore studies, *Virittäjä* (Salminen 1944a, 1944b).[12] Salminen directed his critique mainly at Enäjärvi's ability and her knowledge of the Kalevala-metre poems, the genre that was still a scholarly norm and the central interest of the geographic-historical method in the 1940s. Salminen criticized Enäjärvi's work *Inkerin virsi* (1943) for being focused on the singing area and tradition, something which Salminen himself was known for.

Salminen's criticisms were dismissive. He used pejorative words, such as nonchalant (*yliolkainen*), unskilful (*taitamaton*), confined (*rajoittunut*), and wrong, erroneous (*väärä, virhe*), and he also accused Enäjärvi of making a lot of mistakes, of not knowing her research material and of distorting, above all, Salminen's own studies. Enäjärvi (-Haavio 1944, 1945) answered the critique in a direct and adroit way by pointing out all the weak statements by Salminen. She complained explicitly that it was regrettable that she had to debate with an old and acknowledged university scholar (Haavio 1945:105). In describing the difference between the two genders in her diaries from the 1920s, Elsa Enäjärvi stated that "the word of a woman is an adjective, that of a man is a noun" (see Svanfeldt-Winter 2019:66). Twenty years later, in the debate between Salminen and Enäjärvi, the expression seemed to be the other way around. In her response from 1944, Enäjärvi sums up Salminen's critique as follows:

> Prof. Salminen on pitkässä kirjoituksessaan – jonka vastinekin on valitettavasti venynyt näin pitkäksi – yhteensä 9:ssä, osaltaan nähdäkseni melko toisarvoisessa kohdassa tuominnut esittämäni kannan. Viidessä kohdassa hän, niin kuin edellä olen osoittanut, on iskenyt harhaan, kahdessa kohdassa on totta tuskin toinen puoli, kaksi kohtaa on sellaista, joissa hänellä on asiallista huomautettavaa (Haavio 1944:199).
>
> [Prof. Salminen, has in his long article – the response to which has unfortunately stretched to this length – in a total of 9 points, in my view, has condemned the position I presented in a rather secondary point. In five points, as I have shown above, he is mistaken, in two points there is hardly one side to the truth, in two points he has something to point out.]

Risto Turunen (1996:82–83) finds the debate to be, above all, a question of generation, but finally agrees that Salminen's critique mainly denied the competence of female scholars to manage a vast corpus of oral song. Salminen could not acknowledge a woman investigating his research area. Besides, the shade of Kaarle Krohn might have affected the critique (see also Eskola 2021). Salminen did not approve of Krohn's method and debated it with Kaarle Krohn. Disputes between these two male scholars may have lain behind Salminen's critique of Elsa Enäjärvi (see Pöysä & Seppä 2021). It is worth noting that Enäjärvi received no public sympathy from her husband while being attacked by Väinö Salminen. As her daughter believes, Elsa Enäjärvi never got over this massive critique, even though she actively continued to do research until her death in 1951 (Eskola 2021).[13]

Symbolic Power and Schizophrenic Identity

Referring to Charlotta Europaeus and two other early folklore collectors, Lilli Lillius (1861–1945) and Jenny Paulaharju (1878–1964), Marjut Paulaharju argues that one of the common features of female collectors was their background. They came from the countryside and had grown up in a rectory environment in which clergymen as educators were also interested in folklore. Therefore, early female collectors had a natural contact with educating people as well as documenting folklore (Paulaharju 2022:194–195). To proceed with their work and ambitions, women also needed male supporters (ibid.) as has often been noted. What would have happened if early female scholars had had no men to support them? Would they have had any chance to proceed (see also Radner & Lanser 1993)?

Women's own ambitions and talents in advancing their work must have been essential, but it is obvious that early scholars also needed men, or at least it was helpful to have them around, to support and advance their work. Helmi Helminen had Professor Kustaa Vilkuna, Charlotta Europaeus had her brother and H. A. Reinholm. However, the male supporters of Charlotta Europaeus and Helmi Helminen might have helped them to start collecting and studying folklore, but they did not contribute to their work as such – and it seems that in the case of Helminen, her supporter did not give her respect before she died. Unlike Helminen and Enäjärvi, Charlotta Europaeus had no chance to pursue an academic career in the mid nineteenth century. Helmi Helminen, or at least we can assume this, had a silent conflict with her supporter, Kustaa Vilkuna as she faced the exploitation of her research material and decided not to continue the work. Elsa Enäjärvi had an academic marriage to an established male scholar, Martti Haavio, and despite the advantage of sharing scholarly ideas and collaborating, she did not progress in her career as quickly as her husband. One reason is her gender and cultural expectations of what a woman should do. Elsa Enäjärvi took care of their five children and organized the daily household work in the family (with a maid), while her husband had a chance to concentrate fully on his intellectual work. Along with daily and family routines and her research, Elsa Enäjärvi was also a socially active lady, discussing cultural issues, politics and women at work.

Being a female collector or scholar in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, women had to adapt to a male-normative way of collecting and doing science in order to succeed (see Nenola 1986). In doing so, women were forced to work, at least partly, against their own ambitions, like Elsa Enäjärvi, who followed the established method, but had interests in disregarded and unrecognized genres and themes of folklore. Furthermore, as the first woman to become acknowledged in the field of folklore studies, Elsa Enäjärvi was alone and had no academic role models for how to act as a female scholar (see Svanfeldt-Winter 2019:264). If a female scholar was faithful to her own preoccupations, as Helmi Helminen was, the consequences were long-lasting. Charlotta Europaeus collected a wide range of folklore but received no status or recognition from other scholars. One reason for this could be, besides her gender, the area of Southern Karelia in which she conducted her collecting work. Even though her collection consists of Kalevala-metre poems, epics, charms and lyric, the Finnish

Literature Society was not interested in the collecting area of the villages of Savitaipale or Suomenniemi. The society expected to receive folklore material from the celebrated districts of Russian Karelia.

Above all, the three female scholars and their collecting and scholarly work discussed in this article elucidate the *female* as dismissed. They were fascinated by women's life, female genres and the intimate sphere of culture – even when transcribing genres dominated by men, such as the charms collected by Charlotta Europaeus, the content of the material was connected to a female side of life. The case of Elsa Enäjärvi indicates how the schizophrenic identity was a requirement of her success, even though she struggled against it. Charlotta Europaeus did what she could in following her own interest in folklore in the mid nineteenth century. We still know very little of her and her folklore collection has remained unstudied and unrecognized.[14] After what happened to her doctoral dissertation and its exploitation, Helmi Helminen decided not to proceed with her scholarly work. The three female scholars faced difficulties, distrust and control at the hands of the academic world, and this was not unusual. Conversely, it was very typical for early female scholars to meet hardships and critiques and to encounter challenges to their honour and advancement in their careers (Svanfeldt-Winter 2019:64).

Charlotta Europaeus, Helmi Helminen and Elsa Enäjärvi have been chosen as the focus of this article in order to expose their specialties as early female intellectuals in folklore studies in Finland. Their specialties not only result from their gender and exceptionality as women, but the bravery and confidence in what they felt passionate about and perceived as important. The cases of these three intellectual women also show that the research topics, methods and genres they worked on deviated from the dominant intellectual and scientific norm and were considered trivial, "unimportant, innocuous, or irrelevant" (Radner & Lanser 1993:19). The symbolic violence embedded in collecting and in research practices and scholarly perceptions of folklore and folklore research is evident, but not fully acknowledged or investigated.

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[1] I am grateful to Docent Irma-Riitta Järvinen, PhD, for her intellectual comments which have greatly helped me to improve the article.

[2] Hautala (1954:215) mentions a third female scholar, Lilli Lillius (1861–1945), but only as an editorial assistant to Kaarle Krohn on his book *Suomalaisia kansansatuja II* (1893). There were also other female scholars and collectors, such as Astrid Reponen, Maiju Juvas, Jenny Paulaharju, Ulla Mannonen, but some of them acted later or failed to proceed in their research/ career (see further Järvinen 2004; Järvinen 2005; Paulaharju 2022; also, Hänninen, forthcoming).

[3] Trivialization does not concern only women's culture and female folklore, but also of other disregarded and ignored groups such as children, ethnic groups and gender minorities.

[4] New interests and paradigms of contexts, performance and informants also enabled female scholars to become more visible. Another question, not fully investigated, is what role female scholars played in methodological changes (see Turunen 1996:86).

[5] Folkloristics can be studied at the Universities of Helsinki and Turku and Åbo Akademi. At the University of Jyväskylä and the University of Eastern Finland folklore studies are integrated in a wider programme of history and cultural studies.

[6] In the research history of Finnish folklore studies in 1954, Sulo Haltsonen has been given only half a page where he is minimized and only described as having written a lot of papers ("joukon tutkielmia") on folklore and was especially commendable for making a series of valuable bibliographies for the help of scholarship (Hautala 1954:399–400).

[7] See Matti Kuusi has noted that D. Europaeus was not that odd, but rather a young student who behaved like a scholar (Kuusi & Timonen 1988:25; see also Kokko 2022).

[8] Pikkanen (2004) notes that Charlotta Europaeus sent her collections to the Finnish Literature Society as early as 1836. However, this knowledge is based on the unclear archive list of the Finnish Literature Society, and it is not fully recognized.

[9] Collecting folklore in Ireland was a professional duty and was paid monthly by the Irish Folklore Commission. No woman worked as a full-time collector, but some of them, like Gunning, worked part-time and were paid according to the number of pages (Uí Ógain 2014:34; Briody 2007:58).

[10] See https://www.kotus.fi/aineistot/tietoa_aineistoista/henkiloarkistot/helminen_helmi.

[11] Helmi Helminen was a friend and colleague of Astrid Reponen (1905–1940) and Maiju Juvas (1905–1955), and the three women shared an interest in Steiner's philosophy and anthroposophy (Järvinen 2004; see also Hänninen, forthcoming).

[12] Salminen continued the debate in the journal *Mitteilungen des Vereins für finnische Volkskunde* (1945).

[13] Väinö Salminen died in 1947.

[14] However, see a forthcoming article by Viola Parente-Čapková and Kati Launis.

Helmi Kurrik – a Female Ethnologist behind the Scenes

Marleen Metslaid

Abstract

Helmi Kurrik (1883–1960) was the only female researcher who stood out in the Estonian ethnology of the 1930s. Yet she remained largely unknown in historiography until recently, associated only with the great handbook on Estonian folk costumes, published in 1938. Helmi Kurrik did not enter the academic world until she was in her forties. The twists and turns of her long life reflect the choices and constraints of Estonian women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She made a career at the Estonian National Museum, the centre of the newly established discipline of ethnology. Both her research themes and theoretical approaches, as well as her work as a curator of folk art exhibitions abroad and her contacts with foreign colleagues, illustrate the international nature of ethnology at the time. Helmi Kurrik fled to the West after World War II and adapted to a new life in the USA, but she was unable to continue her research in exile, although fellow refugee ethnologists tried to find publication opportunities for her.

Keywords: female researchers, history of ethnology, folk art exhibition, applied ethnology, folk costumes, Helmi Kurrik

The writings, notes, and drawings of the Estonian ethnologist Helmi Kurrik (1883–1960) comprise 14 volumes and since the early 1980s they have been part of the Baltic Archives stored in the Swedish National Archives (SE-RA) in Stockholm. Most of the scientific materials that came to the archive were packed in suitcases which accompanied Helmi Kurrik when she fled her homeland to Germany in the autumn of 1944. Some of the materials were created in exile, initially in displaced-persons camps in Germany and later in California, USA, where she emigrated with her sister Elly Kurrik (1889–1981) in 1951. These materials arrived in Sweden by complex routes sometime around 1981, but the impetus was Helmi Kurrik's desire to have her legacy preserved in Europe.

Although Helmi Kurrik's writings have survived, few scholars have used them. She is little known and too temporally distant to have attracted much attention. For a long time, Helmi Kurrik was just a name in general historiographies of Estonian ethnology, associated with the great handbook of Estonian folk costumes (Kurrik 1938). Male-centred disciplinary histories were common in general for a long time, with a change coming only towards the end of the twentieth century (Svanfeldt-Winter 2019:11–15). Although the role of women in ethnology has been important from the beginning, it was only in the second half of the twentieth century that their share of researchers increased significantly, with a corresponding decline in the proportion of men (Klein 2013). Helmi Kurrik was a remarkable researcher whose scholarly contribution was confined to the 1930s by external circumstances. She did not publish much, but a closer analysis of her research activities reveals her important role in Estonian ethnology at that time. The twists and turns of her long life reflect the choices and constraints of Estonian women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in other words, the impact of the political and social environment on individual self-determination.

I discuss some telling aspects of Helmi Kurrik's life, placing them in a historical context.[1] I take the view that scholarship should be considered a political and intellectual project (cf. Rogan 2012:598). Individual researchers are those who define, articulate, and reflect the field (Jacobsen 2005:171) but are at the same time embedded in given social and political surroundings. The treatment of the hitherto marginalized researcher opens up a broader view of the current historiography, helping us to understand that scholarship is much more than just about great studies and important men.

Helmi Kurrik was respected by her contemporaries but remained in the background in later historiography. I am interested in her as a female ethnologist who worked in a male-dominated academic world. Her long educational journey reflects the status of women at the time, while at the same time testifying to her extraordinary determination to chart her course in life. I will analyse the reasons why she was only able to pursue an academic career as a middle-aged woman, and I will describe the context of her university studies, which coincided with the beginning of the discipline of ethnology in Estonia. Her career as a researcher illustrates the development of Estonian ethnology and its interconnectedness with corresponding disciplines in other European countries. I will take a closer look at her curated folk art exhibitions in Europe and her participation in international conferences. I will also examine how Helmi Kurrik's work as a researcher related to the debates around the ideology of nationalism and cultural heritage. By the end of her time in Estonia, Helmi Kurrik had made a career for herself and reached the position of head of the Department of Ethnography at Eesti Rahva Muuseum (ERM; Estonian National Museum). I am interested in how this related to the male-centric society at the time. Through her person, I will delve into the situation of Estonian ethnology during World War II.

The article concludes with an analysis of her efforts to pursue research in exile, questioning the importance of (her own) academic community in her life as a scholar. My research draws on archival documents, correspondence, and the press, as well as Helmi Kurrik's research.

The Roughness of the Educational Path

Helmi Kurrik was born in 1883 in Tartu as a daughter of Juhan Kurrik (1849–1922), a well-known pedagogue and author of school textbooks. At the time, Tartu was a provincial town in the Livonia Governorate of the Russian Empire, administrated by Baltic German nobles, and home to the region's only (initially German but later Russian) university but also the centre of the Estonian national movement. By the beginning of the twentieth century, this national movement transformed Estonian society from a peasant population into a self-conscious nation, which achieved national independence in 1918. Juhan Kurrik, a schoolteacher, participated in this movement as an advocate of national education (Prinits 1994) which suggests that the Kurrik family have a good knowledge of the ideas of Estonian nationalism, which they discussed with intellectuals who visited them.

Helmi Kurrik's childhood and adolescence coincided with the era of Russification in every sphere of life of the people living in the Russian Empire, which meant being educated in Russian (except for religious education and mother tongue classes) and restrictions on national activities. However, there is no precise information about Helmi Kurrik's early education. In 1900, she passed the professional examination before the committee of the St Petersburg School District, which permitted her to teach French and German.[2] For the next ten years, she worked as a home teacher in Russia, Finland, and France because initially it was not possible to find a formal teaching job in her homeland. Women were only given the right to teach in parish schools in Estonia in 1902. Before that year, Estonian society did not consider teaching as an appropriate activity for women, and even afterwards it was viewed with caution (Kirss 2018:456), although the families of Russians and Baltic Germans did respect and employ Estonian female home teachers (Hinrikus 2011:39).

History does not record whether Helmi Kurrik would have wanted to go on studying, which was probably impossible for financial reasons – there were six children in the family and Juhan Kurrik's schoolteacher's salary was not large.[3] Women at the time could not pursue higher education in the Russian Empire. Many young Estonian women studied at universities in France, Switzerland, and the Nordic universities (Kivimäe & Tamul 1999). The University of Tartu (UT) did not allow women to take courses until 1905 and did not accept women as full-time students until 1915 (Tamul 1999).

In 1911 Helmi Kurrik returned to live in Estonia, working initially as a language teacher and later, during World War I and the Estonian War of Independence (1918–1920) as a nurse in Tartu's Red Cross hospital. The end of the war period marked the close of a major cultural shift in Estonian society, characterized by an accelerated transition from a predominantly oral peasant society to a modern written urban society (Kannike 2022:13; Kivimäe 2015). Women's social activism had blossomed under wartime conditions because with men away on the front line, women had increasing roles to play. Helmi Kurrik was actively involved in the women's movement. She belonged to many organizations that dealt with social and health issues (Tartu Women's Society, Estonian Nurse Society, Tartu Estonian Kindergarten Society, and later also the Estonian Soroptimist Club). Unfortunately, after 1920 she could not work as a nurse for health reasons.

Helmi Kurrik represents the first generation of a "new" active woman in Estonian history, born in the 1880s (Kirss 2018:457). These were women who felt equal to men and behaved accordingly, although for most of them their main ideological foundation was not radical feminism, but cultural nationalism. Helmi Kurrik never married or had children, which probably made it easier for her to continue her studies and pursue a career. At the same time, she did not meet the norms of society. The opinion that women belong to the tripartite sphere of Kinder-Küche-Kirche (Children-Kitchen-Church) was stubbornly disappearing – a change that only took place in Estonia at the end of the 1930s (Kannike 2021). Women were widely expected to be married and quit work all over Europe until World War II (Svanfeldt-Winter 2019:225). It was still considered unusual for women to attend universities and claim economic independence (Mackinnon 1997:5).

Estonia emerged from the war years as an independent republic, which presaged a great political, societal, and cultural upheaval. The Estonian-language University of Tartu was opened to replace the older German and Russian ones. Several Estonian-based disciplines were founded, including folkloristics and ethnology to foster national feelings among new Estonian generations and in society in general. As the proportion of Estonian intellectuals in the society was small, several Finnish and Swedish professors and lecturers were invited to teach at the university.

Helmi Kurrik worked at the Tartu Meteorology Observatory in the first half of the 1920s as an office clerk. She had probably got the job thanks to her brother who worked in the same institution. Around this period, Helmi Kurrik realized she wanted to pursue higher education. To obtain the necessary qualifications, she first graduated from a local evening grammar school and in 1925 – at the age of 42 – started her studies at the university. Initially, she continued to work at the observatory to support her studies.[4] Helmi Kurrik took courses in history, philology, ethnology, and archaeology. She was greatly influenced by Finnish scholars, such as the historian Arno Rafael Cederberg (1885–1948)[5] and the ethnographer Ilmari Manninen (1894–1935).[6] Cederberg's methodologically sound seminars provided a basis for doing research (see fig. 1).[7] Through the associate professor of ethnography I. Manninen, Helmi Kurrik established a connection with ERM, where Manninen was a director. She joined the museum at the beginning of 1928, starting her career as an assistant in the Department of Ethnography. According to her study book, she initially dedicated herself to history and language studies, but as her studies were prolonged and her work at the museum was intense and interesting, she finally chose ethnology as her main subject.[8]

The field of ethnology in the interwar period was newly established (with a docentship created in 1924) and learning was divided between UT and ERM (established in 1909). Under Manninen's leadership and following the example of neighbouring countries (Russia and Finland), peasant material culture was established as a central object of research, which was analysed based on typological, cartographic, and historical-geographical methods. Even before a place was created for ethnology as a separate discipline at UT and it was connected to the museum's artefact collections through both the teacher and the research area, the chair of folkloristics was also established at the university in 1919, with Walter Anderson (1885–1965)

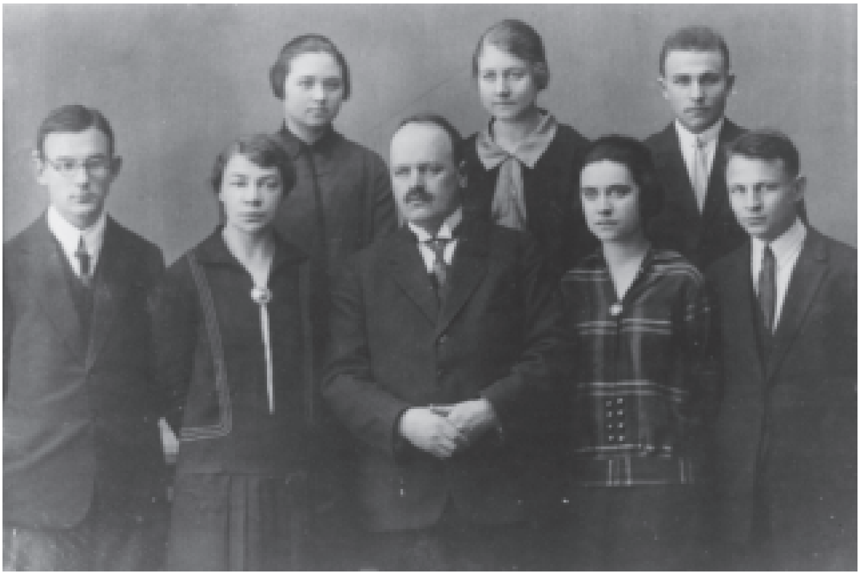

Figure 1. Professor A. R. Cederberg with his history students. First row from the left: Wilhelm Jantra, Helmi Kurrik, Arno Rafael Cederberg, unknown woman, Evald Blumfeldt. Second row from the left: Ada Piirak, Aliide Vanak (Kaldre), Jaan Konks. ÜAM (University of Tartu Museum) F 165:29.

as professor (Jaago 2003). The two related subjects were taught separately, but ethnologists often used folkloristic sources in their research. The disciplines converged to some extent in the 1930s, when folkloristics tended to be more "ethnological" (Berg 2002:27), and ethnologists expanded their field of study to social and spiritual aspects of culture (Metslaid 2016a; 2022). Since UT and ERM were in the same town and the number of students was small, cooperation between the two institutions was very close. The museum provided a source base for ethnological studies and became a centre of learning, often hosting seminars and lectures, and in addition to its collections there was a specialized library. Bright students were quickly recruited to work at ERM, which determined the final career choice for many of them. Previously one discipline or another had been considered, but working at the museum often tipped the balance in favour of ethnology. Thus, education was seamlessly intertwined with practical professional knowledge.

In 1939, Helmi Kurrik defended her Master's thesis in ethnology, entitled "Blood in the food economy" (*Veri söögimajanduses*, Kurrik 1939), the first woman in her field in Estonia, followed by Aita Hanko (1901–1979) and Ella Koern (1905–1971) in 1942.[9] At that time, the study of food culture was not yet a significant phenomenon in European ethnology, although some studies had appeared. Food was mainly related to the study of other topics in culture and museums in different countries were still collecting material on food rather than developing a specific research theme.[10] The rise to prominence of food research only from the 1970s onwards has also been attributed to the influence of feminism and women's studies, which legitimized food as "a domain of human behaviour so heavily associated with women over time and across cultures" (Counihan & Van Esterik 2013:2).

Food was a new subject in Estonian ethnology, too. Manninen had seen food research as part of the study of folk culture as a whole – the pieces (different phenomena of folk culture) had to be put together (special studies) to achieve a holistic view of Estonian folk culture. The collection of information about food culture began already during his time in ERM and continued later in the 1930s when special questionnaires were compiled and sent to rural areas to collect reminiscences of food (Ränk 1971:146). Helmi Kurrik chose one particular phenomenon for her Master's thesis – food made of blood – and succeeded. Her opponents, colleagues Ferdinand Linnus (1895–1942) and Gustav Ränk (1902–1998), praised the novelty and necessity of the work not only in the context of ethnology in Estonia but also of neighbouring countries.[11] Although they criticized some of her conclusions,[12] they were ultimately satisfied that her study is not only a description and systematization of Estonian material, but "has sought to penetrate deeper into the cultural-historical core of questions and problems using comparison of terminology and customs".[13] As the layer of food studies in ethnology was thin at the time, Helmi Kurrik relied on the work of historians, doctors, biologists, folklorists, etc. from Sweden, Germany and Finland (e.g. Celander, Campell, Keyland, Kuusi, Lictenfelt, Heyne, Strack). In addition, the specific topic (blood) made it necessary to draw on religious studies literature.

Finding a Professional Vocation

The pre-World War II academic world in the Nordic countries has been described as a very male-centred environment (Klein 2013; Karlsson, Minganti & Svanberg 2016). Estonian society was also male-dominated, women did not participate much in politics and social debate, and they were excluded from leading positions in state institutions (Mäelo 1999). Although women's role in society had been on the rise since the beginning of the twentieth century, for a long time their emancipation was still viewed with caution (Kannike 2021). ERM's history is somewhat exceptional in this context. Although working women were generally viewed with caution, the museum was a place where they could get a job and, in time, in the right circumstances, a career. This can be attributed to the shortage of professionals in the young republic.

Helmi Kurrik's linguistic skills probably played a decisive role in her recruitment at the beginning of 1928 (Ränk 1983). In addition to Estonian, she was fluent in French, German, and Russian, and also spoke (some) English, Finnish, Swedish, Italian, and Latin.[14] Therefore, Helmi Kurrik became responsible for the ERM's correspondence and book exchanges with foreign institutions.[15] She was also a guide for foreign guests at the museum. However, her main task was taking care of its textile collection. Helmi Kurrik has written that when Manninen invited her to work at the museum, he left these three areas under her responsibility.[16]

Director Manninen decided to leave Estonia at the end of 1928 and return to Finland, as did other Nordic scholars who had come to teach in Tartu (Talve 1992:65–66). He had taken the activities of the museum to a scientifically high level and laid the foundations for ethnology. A generation of Estonian scholars was growing up, albeit at an early stage and small in number. In addition to Helmi Kurrik, Ferdinand Linnus worked in the Department of Ethnography as head (he was hired in 1922) and Gustav Ränk as assistant (since 1926). Linnus also took over the Manninen's directorship. At the end of the 1920s, there were no other ethnologists working in Estonia. Aliise Moora (1900–1996) stayed at home and did not return to academic life until 1945.[17] Helmi Kurrik fitted the profile of a museum worker and proved herself to be a talented researcher and popularizer.

Helmi Kurrik delved into the subject of folk textiles quickly and thoroughly. As early as 1930, a sliding-door display cabinet was installed in the museum's permanent exhibition on Estonian folk culture.[18] She had carefully selected some 2500 objects (e.g., belts, ribbons, embroidery, and lace) for the cabinet (Nõmmela 2009:34–35). Artefacts were arranged according to typology and geographical distribution. In line with the exhibition ideology of the time (Naguib 2007), the aim was to display as many scientifically arranged items as possible. The study of folk textiles based on the museum's collections had been pioneered by Manninen who published a book "The History of Estonian folk costumes" (*Eesti rahvariiete ajalugu*) in 1927 (Talve 1992:59). Helmi Kurrik took it upon herself to deal with the issue, as nobody else was interested in at the time. Subsequently, during the 1930s, she published a series of research articles on folk textiles in the museum's yearbook (Kurrik 1931; 1932a; 1934a; 1937a). She follows the theoretical and methodological foundations laid by Manninen, creating development series of individual objects and trying to explain their geographical distribution. She based her studies on the museum's collections and her fieldwork in several places in Estonia (Nõmmela 2009). At the same time, she sees the studied artefact as a part of folk culture and emphasizes the transience of the old peasant culture as an inevitability, something that was characteristic of all European ethnology at the time (see Löfgren 2008:122). Treatises analysed Estonian lace and various kinds of belts for the first time in local scholarship, which gives them a lasting value to this day.

Food economy also became a field of research for Helmi Kurrik, who began to study it soon after joining ERM. In ERM's 1929 yearbook, she published an article about a roasted-pulse mixture – *kama* in Estonian (Kurrik 1929). While doing fieldwork in western Estonia, she first heard about bloodless Christmas sausages, something unknown to her as a South Estonian. As an ethnologist, she set out to investigate the phenomenon, collecting material through questionnaires as well as in the field. First, an article was published in the museum's yearbook (Kurrik 1934b). By 1939, in addition to her stressful working life on the handbook of folk costumes (see below), she completed a comprehensive Master's thesis, "Blood in the Food Economy", as mentioned above.

Manninen had started the yearbook in 1925 and it became the primary publication for ethnologists and representatives of related disciplines in those days.[19] The circle of authors was not wide in the 1920s and 1930s, so every researcher could publish a new article in almost every issue. Helmi Kurrik was the only woman to publish multiple times in the yearbook – a total of seven articles, in each yearbook between 1928 and 1935, equal in number to Manninen (9), Linnus (6), and Ränk (8). Next to Helmi Kurrik, we find the names of other women – Helene Tõnson (later Master of Arts in Psychology), the folklorist and archaeologist Erna Ariste, the folklorist Menda Erenberg, the archaeologist Marta Schmiedehelm, of whom only the last one published two articles, the others limited to one.

When new students interested in ethnology appeared in the 1930s, most of them were women, many of them were taken on as simple assistants on temporary contracts (e.g. Hilja Sild, Ella Koern, Ida Kaldmaa).[20] The museum's ethnographic department needed staff, but it was not financially possible to increase the number of posts. However, when the situation changed during the war, it tended to be young men studying ethnology who got the secure posts (Helmut Hagar, Ilmar Talve). As an exception in the history of ERM, Helmi Üprus (1911–1978) stood out. She had studied art history and ethnology and applied for the post of museum secretary in 1935 and got the job a year later. She often deputized for the director and ran the museum reorganization during the Soviet occupation from 1940 to 1941, after which she was appointed head of the museum's Department of Cultural History, a post she held until 1947 (Linnus 1988:64–67).

In 1939, Helmi Kurrik also had the opportunity to ascend the career ladder. She became assistant to the head of the Department of Ethnography, as Ränk moved to UT to become a professor. She had no rival: the circle of ethnologists was very small at that time, the researchers with degrees already had senior positions,[21] and the rest were still studying at the university. The career upswing for Helmi Kurrik continued a year later – she became the head of the department, but now in, and partly due to, the changed political context. The Soviet Union occupied Estonia in August 1940 and began a

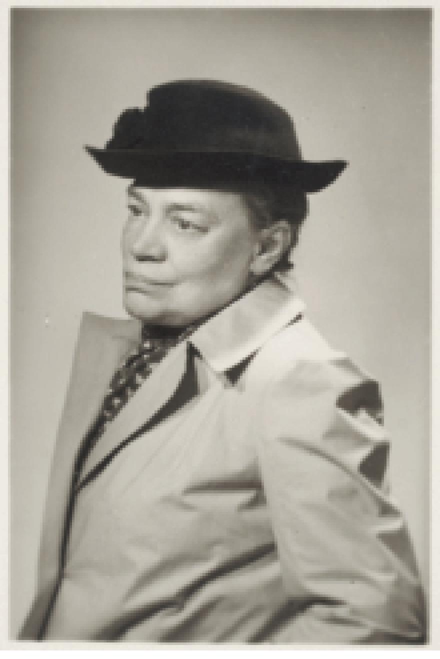

Figure 2. Helmi Kurrik (1950s-1960s). ERM Fk 2926:208.

major transformation of Estonian society, including museums. Museums were nationalized, and their work was subordinated to Soviet ideology. At the same time, the number of posts was increased and the posts of Director and Head of the Department of Ethnography, which had been occupied by a single person since Manninen, were separated. Helmi Kurrik acted often also as director, while Linnus was actively involved in the restructuring of museums in Estonia. This remained the highest post of her career, which she held until her escape in 1944.

Obituaries written by her contemporaries and articles written on the occasion of anniversaries speak of Helmi Kurrik with great respect (see fig. 3). These texts highlight her extraordinary journey into ethnology and her great affection for the museum's textile collections. Eerik Laid, a colleague who had lived in exile in Sweden since 1944, considered her well-organized collections to be of a higher standard than corresponding collections in the leading Nordic museums (Laid 1960:207). At the same time, another colleague who lived in exile in Sweden after the war, Gustav Ränk brought in a gender perspective when talking about her and the textile collections: "as if it were self-evident that this female assistant was in charge of those collections and areas of activity that women also took care of in real life: knitwear, folk costumes and folk art, food economy" (Ränk 1983:10; cf. Counihan & Van Esterik 2013:2). As a woman, Helmi Kurrik was considered exceptional in a narrow circle of ethnologists at the

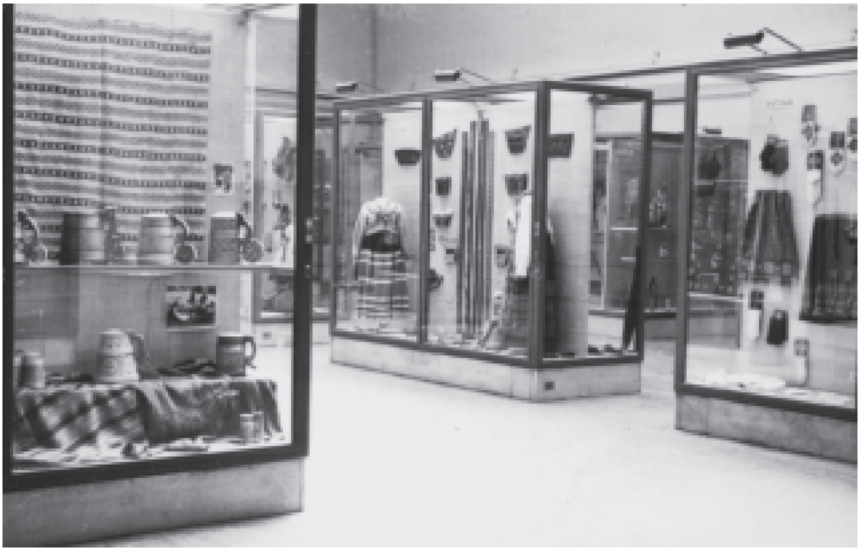

Figure 3. Tankards and folk costumes from Sõrve and Muhu at the folk art exhibition in Paris, 1935. Photo: Valdemārs Ģinters, Helmi Kurrik. ERM Fk 722:5.

time. She had randomly started to study specifically feminine areas of folk culture, and Ränk noted this. Female ethnologists in the Nordic countries tended to study textiles and customs, too, as it was regarded as a suitable field of study for women (Klein 2013:136).

International Academic Communication

Although European ethnology from the outset has been highly national in essence, it has striven hard since the early twentieth century to become a comparative academic discipline. Its theoretical approach (diffusionism, the culture-historical school) necessitated an international perspective on study materials. The need for international cooperation grew steadily, starting from the need to make national materials available to a broad audience, and moved on to international projects on cartography and culture atlases, a European-wide bibliography, and terminology. However, Bjarne Rogan (2014) argues that international cooperation in the 1930s primarily meant comparison and charting of (historical) cultural areas.

Estonian ethnology was an integral part of international academic communication in Europe during the interwar period. It started with the exchange of ERM's yearbooks with other academic and cultural institutions in Europe, the USA, and Russia. As Helmi Kurrik spoke several languages, she started to coordinate such work at ERM and further, in the context of international exchanges, she arranged Estonian exhibitions abroad. In the summer of 1929, ERM sent her to Brussels to set up an exhibition on Estonian folk art. This was part of an international folk art exhibition that ran from June to October. Helmi Kurrik later wrote that it was the first time that Estonian folk art had reached such a wide Western European audience (Kurrik 1932b:16). She was impressed by the newly opened (in 1929) *Palais des Beaux-Arts*, which was primarily estalished for exhibitions, although she notes that the exposition could not have been "purely academic, i.e. the emphasis was also on the beauty of the exhibits, not so much on the details as the overall impression of the exhibits" (ibid.). There were 17 exhibitions representing countries from Europe, North America, and Asia. Estonia's exhibition (with minor changes) travelled futher to other cities, such as Berlin, Cologne,[22] and Vilnius in 1930. Helmi Kurrik was responsible for their correct setup. In 1935, the great Baltic folk art exhibition was held at the *Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro* (The Trocadéro Ethnographic Museum) in Paris for five months from 17 May to 15 October. She organized Estonia's part of the exhibition.[23]

State and national interests drove ERM's activities abroad. Estonian authorities and diplomats wanted to introduce their country and one of the opportunities was to exhibit folk art, and at the same time there was interest from western European museums and their publics. As the coordinator of

ERM's exhibitions, Helmi Kurrik tried to maintain a scientific approach and achieve modern exhibition methods. In Brussels, for example, she had problems with local co-organizers, who not only considered a certain regional-specific coif (*mulgi tanu*) as a nappy but also wanted to achieve a more aesthetic overall impression with the objects (Nõmmela 2009:46). In Paris, together with co-organizers from Latvia and Lithuania, she had to push through an order for desperately needed mannequins so that the costumes could be properly displayed (ibid.:47–48, see fig. 3). According to Kurrik's reports, visitors' interest in Estonian exhibitions was high everywhere. Writing an overview of foreign exhibitions in 1932, she stressed the importance at the diplomatic level:

> However, those persons who have had no relations with Estonia at all so far, prove that having become acquainted with Estonian folk art as one of the most important factors of the nation, they feel that Estonia itself is no longer a foreign country to them. This explains the importance of foreign exhibitions in international interaction, in creating and developing good relations. (Kurrik 1932b:17)

She placed foreign exhibitions in a national discourse, emphasizing the role of the museum and its collections in introducing Estonia and Estonian culture.

Curating exhibitions on the spot meant close contact with local colleagues and the possibility of introducing more widely the exhibition and Estonian folk culture in general. In the framework of the 1935 exhibition in Paris, Helmi Kurrik gave a lecture on Estonian folk art to the students of the ethnology department at the Sorbonne (Piiri 1990:191). In Paris, she also found herself in an unexpected situation, which she wrote about two decades later:

> On the eve of the opening of the exhibition in Paris, I was suddenly asked to give a lecture on Estonian folklore. I was stunned. Back home, the two sciences of folklore and ethnography were quite separate, but the French meant both disciplines by this term. I was not aware of this at the time. Instinctively, I had the corresponding volume of the "Estonian encyclopaedia" with me from home. I put together what I was asked to do and for the first time in my life I gave a presentation in French on the radio about "Estonian folklore". And everything went well. (Helmi Kurrik's letter to O. A. Webermann, March 12, 1955, ERM Ak 12-59-10)

As in Finland and Sweden, ethnology and folklore were separate disciplines in Estonia, where they had diverged from each other long before institutionalization at the university level (Jaago 2003). Helmi Kurrik had not studied folklore and was only familiar with the field on a general cultural level. She defined herself as an ethnologist, a researcher on material folk culture. Communicating with foreign colleagues narrowly on the subject of folk textiles, it was easy to identify a common research discourse. However, even with this daunting task, she said she was able to cope well, despite the topic being outside the discourse.

Helmi Kurrik did not limit herself to curating exhibitions abroad; she was also eager to participate in international conferences. Just five years after starting at university, she wished to participate in CIAP's[24] second congress in 1930 in Antwerp, but due to shortage of money she could not travel and her paper was read out by the Central Secretariat (Metslaid 2016b:102).

Her second chance came years later. Thanks to her Paris connections, Helmi Kurrik was invited to attend the Congrès International de Folklore (the International Congress of Folklore) which was held in Paris in August 1937. She received a personal invitation from Georges Henri Rivière (1897–1985) – the renowned French innovator of France's ethnographic museology practices who had visited ERM among other Nordic museums[25] – to present a paper on Estonian folk costumes. Both the museum and Helmi Kurrik considered the invitation a great honour, but the economic aspect of participating in the conference caused confusion between her and her employer. Fifteen years later in exile, she wrote the following about what happened:

> The invitation to this congress was not only a great honour for me personally but also, in my opinion, for our ERM. However, when I went to the director of the museum at the time [Ferdinand Linnus] to ask for travel expenses, the director replied that I should not expect any support from the museum, as the invitation was a private, personal one, and I should travel at my own expense if I wanted to take part. Even though it was difficult for me to make such a long trip on my small salary, and even though I had already been given the task of writing a book on Estonian folk costumes, which was in preparation, I did not hesitate to accept the invitation. Nor does the ERM's yearbook report mention by name my active participation in the congress. As proof of this, I have with me a silver congress badge. (Helmi Kurrik's letter to O. A. Webermann, 12 March 1955, ERM Ak 12-59-10)

Helmi Kurrik expressed serious disappointment in the letter to her close friend, the Estonian literary scholar Otto Alexander Webermann (1915–1971). However, the official archive of ERM reveals a different understanding of what happened. It turns out that the museum did not have the money to send her to the conference, but the Ministry of Education was repeatedly approached for this purpose. The director Linnus fully supported her. Before the definite answer came from there, Helmi Kurrik had already given her consent, so it was no longer possible to abandon the event if the state authorities refused. On the recommendation of the museum, she asked for support from the highest level afterwards, in the autumn of 1937, but in vain. In the summer of 1938, Linnus once again appealed to the ministry, but it seems that he failed to get support.[26] Otherwise, Helmi Kurrik would not have written to Webermann with such disappointment.

The 1937 Congrès International de Folklore is considered to be one of the most important on the road to a common ethnological discourse in Europe. There were over 300 participants from 26 countries all over Europe (Rogan

2008:305–309). Two sessions were organized, one for general ethnology and one for applied folklore.

> The latter section was concerned with the use, or revitalization, of ethnology and folklore […] in contemporary society, in leisure activities, in schools, and so on. […] As for the scientific part of the programme, it covered both material and social culture and folklore proper. (Rogan 2008: 308)

Helmi Kurrik talked about the revitalization of Estonian folk costumes in the session for applied ethnology/folklore.[27] She later shared her experiences of the conference in the Estonian press, conveying the resolution adopted at the closing session of the event: “the need to revive old folk costumes by wearing them on holidays and festive occasions. The educational role of ethnographic museums in the practice of wearing folk costumes was also stressed” (Kurrik 1937b). The applied side of ethnology at the time and its connection with society and politics have been emphasized by later scholars as well (e.g. Rogan 2014). Presumably, Helmi Kurrik received confirmation from Paris that her work on the revitalization of folk costumes (see below) corresponded to pan-European trends in the discipline.

“The German problem” (Rogan 2008:309) emerged sharply at the Congress, illustrating the difficult political climate of the 1930s, which affected international academic communication. The Congress’s German delegation expressed both “rather aggressive Nazi sympathies” and a wish to “play a decisive role for future congresses” (ibid.:303). Researchers, especially the organizers of academic gatherings from democratic countries, had to decide how to deal with their colleagues from Nazi Germany during the second half of the 1930s. Many researchers from Nordic countries tried to pretend they were unaffected and to believe that science and politics were separate. Communication was not definitively ruled out, but at the same time, many refused to take part in academic events in Germany (Garberding 2012).

Helmi Kurrik was an exception. She travelled from Paris to Lübeck to take part in the Second Congress of Nordic Ethnologists, titled “Tracht und Schmuck” (Costume and Jewellery). The Nazi organization Nordische Gesellschaft (Nordic Society) arranged this meeting with participants from Germany, Iceland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Latvia, and Estonia. Kurrik did not seem to feel any ideological hesitation. She later told the press that although “40 presentations [from Germany] sought to clarify the creative spirit of primitive Germanic folk in the area of folk costume and jewellery from the Stone Age to the present and its expansion to the Far East”, the remaining participants from other countries were “objective and impartial” (Kurrik 1937b). She thus retrospectively recognizes the political bias of German scholars but believes in the possibility of neutral science. Sources do not provide answers to what may have been the impetus for her journey to Lübeck. These may be her contacts from the time organizing exhibitions abroad, or the topic of the conference interested her as a scholar and she hoped that science and politics would be separate in Germany (cf. Garberding 2012; Weingand 2019). In one way or another, her going to Germany in 1937 was later known to the German occupation authorities and it was hoped that Helmi Kurrik would more readily agree to collaborate in scholarly work (Weiss-Wendt 2013:299, see below).

In a review published in the newspaper, Helmi Kurrik describes her experiences following the conference. The event continued with an excursion to the National Museum in Copenhagen. On her way back home she stopped for briefer periods in Stockholm, Turku, and Helsinki. She told the press that

> most of the staff at the Nordic Museum/Swedish National Museum have visited ERM, and several of them go to Estonian resorts for holidays. The Turku Cultural History Museum, which includes some ethnography among other things, has a new director Nils Cleve[28] who has organized the museum's collections in a modern and comprehensive way. […] In Helsinki this time, there was only time for a short visit to museum officials (Kurrik 1937b).

While this statement shows the close international communication between the academic circles of the time, it also reveals the important role of ethnology in Estonian society for a conference trip being the subject of a long newspaper article. For Helmi Kurrik, travelling alone in Europe was a familiar activity, something she must have been used to, having done it as a home tutor decades ago.

Applied Ethnology – Work on Folk Costumes in the 1930s

Ethnological research of the 1920s and 1930s in the Nordic countries and in Central and Eastern Europe was closely linked to state and national aspirations. For example, in the history of Swedish ethnology, research in the years 1930–1970, was not done for its own sake, but was directly in the service of society (Klein 2006:62). The discipline, which grew out of nineteenth-century national romanticism, had an inherent contradiction – to be scientific and international on the one hand, and purely national on the other (Löfgren 1996). Folk culture as an object of study was generally viewed as a treasure of cultural heritage, which is always ready to serve national, regional, and local interests (Slavec Gradišnik 2010:134). In the context of Helmi Kurrik's research, her connection with and awareness of the needs of her contemporary society was also strengthened by the institution where she worked. The applied side of the discipline was written into her work. Museum researchers were directly involved in the collections, their organization, and (re)presentation. Furthermore, the staff of the ethnographic department controlled and guided the activities of other Estonian museums, thus reaching the regional level in the promotion and protection of cultural heritage.

The applied side of Estonian ethnology became more important and visible during the second half of the 1930s, which has been referred to as a period of authoritarianism. The coup d'état of 1934 introduced a new regime that valued étatism, solidarism and national integrity. For the new power, people were servants of the state (Karjahärm 2001:286). The promotion and appropriation of folk culture, especially its more beautiful and aesthetic aspects, was considered to be of particular importance. The National Propaganda Office (NPO) implemented several ventures, such as the revival of folk art and the folk costume campaign in 1937 (Vaan 2005:35–36). Helmi Kurrik was actively involved in that 1937 campaign. As an expert on folk textiles, she directed the promotion of the "right" folk costumes, as opposed to 'popularized', 'low cost', and 'ungenuine' (Nõmmela 2010a:54). Indeed, she had already begun this work earlier before it was formally directed by the state. In 1934–1935 Helmi Kurrik had served on the Commission on Folk Dress (CFD) where her responsibility was to compile "sets of folk costumes from the collection of [ERM] and deliver them to the Commission's technical task force for their exact copying" (ibid.:56). The NPO took control of the CFD in 1937 and re-established it as the Committee on Folk Costume. Work on the promotion of folk costumes intensified. Helmi Kurrik served as an instructor on courses in folk costumes organized by the NPO. She became responsible not only for writing historical overviews of folk costumes for various magazines but also for giving thematic radio lectures (Nõmmela 2009:51).

The most ambitious task, in this context, was the publication of a comprehensive handbook of Estonian folk costumes ("Eesti rahvarõivad") in 1938. Helmi Kurrik was appointed executive editor of the book project in 1936. The preparation of the book was very stressful and fast-paced as it was expected to come out in time for the twentieth anniversary of the Republic of Estonia (February 1938). Furthermore, the book was connected to the national song festival that was to be held in the summer of the same year.[29] The participants in the festival needed to wear the 'right' folk costumes. Ideologically the researchers at the museum agreed with the aims of the propaganda, but they were resistant to being hurried, and also to excessive pressuring. Ultimately, they had no choice but to submit to the urgency and pressure.

Ferdinand Linnus, ERM's director, wrote a general introduction for the book. Helmi Kurrik wrote overviews of the regional peculiarities of folk costume and selected over one hundred costume sets and then described them in great detail (each element of the dress as well as the material and technique of production, including the patterns and measurements). She also made drafts of technical drawings (in total 250 figures). The handbook came out only one month past the deadline and sold out quickly. The state publicized it throughout the country among all choirs, exercise clubs, etc. The second edition of the book was issued in 1939. It became a canonical work in the field. The third edition was published in 1979 in Sweden, after Helmi Kurrik's death. The handbook and courses in folk costume making, which drew on the collections and expertise of ERM, helped Estonians cement the knowledge of the "right" folk costume that would be characteristic of the nation.[30]

Unfinished Research – Troubled War Years and Life in Exile

World War II hit Estonia hard. The first Soviet occupation (1940–1941) was followed by three years of German occupation, ended by the Soviet takeover in the autumn of 1944. Difficult times required people to adapt and make decisions while keeping their lives and sticking to their values. Peaceful research could not be talked about in those years, although efforts were made towards it. By using different strategies, scholars (as the representatives of so-called national sciences) tried to pursue the Estonian cause under conditions of occupation.

The Soviet power paralysed the entire field of science and culture in 1940, implementing restructurings according to Soviet ideology. Several cultural figures and scholars went along with the new power, while others remained silent and aloof (Karjahärm & Sirk 2007:182–189). Sovietization also affected the museums, which were reorganized according to instructions from Moscow. Workers were required to attend courses on Marxism-Leninism. The exhibitions had to show class antagonism and socialist reconstruction (Astel 2009). Instead of research, the time of ERM's staff was spent on reorganizing the collections and receiving the collections of liquidated societies. As the head of the Department of Ethnography and often as acting director, Helmi Kurrik had a great responsibility to make reasonable decisions within the limits of the possibilities. She also had plans to continue her research on folk textiles, but without result.[31]

The German power reversed the Soviet reorganization and Estonians were able to revert to the pre-war independence system, as far as the new civil and military authorities allowed (Karjahärm & Sirk 2007:191). The German invasion was welcomed by most Estonians as a liberation from the previous Soviet terror (Kasekamp 2005:196). The hope that Germany would allow Estonian independence to be restored receded slowly. Compared to other Eastern European countries, the German occupation proved relatively mild for Estonians, because according to the national-socialist racial theory they were considered fairly close to Germans in racial and cultural terms

(Weiss-Wendt 2013 302–303). Estonian-centred research was not banned, but it was not encouraged either, as evidenced by the collapse of publishing opportunities. Ideological pressures on science were nevertheless weaker than in the Soviet era (Vahtre 2005:209).

Like many of her contemporaries, Helmi Kurrik remained silent in 1940–1941 but returned to public life during the subsequent three years of German occupation. The German occupiers were more lenient than their Soviet predecessors, which enabled Estonians to view cooperating and collaborating with the Germans as an opportunity to stand up for Estonian national interests (Kalling & Tammiksaar 2021). Nazi-German authorities considered ethnology to be an ideologically important discipline and tried to establish contact with Estonian scholars. They realized the important role of ethnology (and other national disciplines) in maintaining the national identity of Estonians. To prevent the researchers from going to the opposition, they tried to win them over with promises to support their research. Estonian scholars promised to cooperate in return. In reality, this cooperation was not fully achieved (Weiss-Wendt 2013:298–300; see also Jääts 2022).

Helmi Kurrik's contribution to the Nazi German propaganda magazine can be mentioned here. Her article "Folk Costumes of the Estonian Islands" (*Volkstracht der estnischen Inselwelt*) was published in the journal *Ostland: Monatsschrift des Reichkommissars für das Ostland* in September 1943 (Kurrik 1943a). This is a short overview of the folk costumes of the Estonian islands, a neutral description whose ideological alignment is revealed only in the attached photos (taken by the Estonian German photographer Richard C. E. Kirchhoff and the German sports photographer Hanns Spudich). Presumably, the magazine wanted to publish reviews of the folk costumes of the subjugated areas. Corresponding introductions for Latvia and Belarus can be found in previous issues (Ģinters 1942; Jesowitov 1942). While the latter deals with the folk costumes of an entire nation, Helmi Kurrik has written about the peculiarities of only one region in Estonia. It seems that research interests exceeded magazine interests and she was able to write on a topic that interested her. She was certainly able to give an overview of Estonian folk costumes but decided not to. The decision to cooperate may have been a pragmatic one and not related to any ideological worldview (cf. Weingand 2019).

Ideological underpinning can be found in another wartime article, which characterizes staying true to the national ideology and following the national line even under conditions of occupation (cf. Kalling & Tammiksaar 2021). In 1943, an interview with Helmi Kurrik, the head of the Department of Ethnography, was published in the national newspaper *Postimees* on the centenary of the beginning of the collecting the cultural heritage of Estonia. She gives an overview of the history and adds:

> It is impossible to have a sense of national identity without knowing the past of one's people. It is a search for links with one's past to build one's future on it. If in the past the family or society was the bearer of tradition, then nowadays our ethnographic museums and folklore archives have developed into repositories and centres of our old ways of life, customs, etc. However, once this vast and varied material has been expertly browsed and returned to the people, it is no longer dead material, but a link between the past and the present. (Kurrik 1943b)

Helmi Kurrik valued the importance of collecting, preserving, and presenting cultural heritage for Estonians in both the present and the future. She also experienced the applied side of ethnographic scholarship. At the time of the article published in September, Helmi Kurrik was the only senior ethnologist in the museum. Linnus was deported to the Soviet Union in 1941 and died there, Ränk worked as a professor at the UT. The new ethnologists working at ERM (Hagar, Talve, Koern) had defended their Master's degrees only the previous year.

One notable event in Helmi Kurrik's life happened also during the German occupation. In January 1943, her sixtieth birthday and fifteenth year of work at the museum was celebrated in ERM. For the occasion, a festive event was held at the museum, where several scientific institutions and various societies welcomed the jubilee at an official ceremony. Eerik Laid, the museum's acting director at the time, published an article dedicated to Helmi Kurrik in *Postimees*:

> H. Kurrik is well known as a leading museum worker and researcher, not only in the narrow circle of the museum's associates and friends but also more generally to our public. Working productively […] on research into ancient Estonian folk costumes, her work has acquired over the years both considerable scholarly weight and outstanding applied significance. […] She is not only an outstanding theoretician-researcher, but also a good and thorough museum person-practitioner. (Laid 1943)

Laid considers her contribution even more remarkable because she only came to science when she was middle-aged. Despite this, Helmi Kurrik – working on topics that seriously interested her – had found a firm place in the small circle of male Estonian ethnological scholarship. Speaking of Helmi many years later, Elly Kurrik referred to her sister as "the soul of the museum".[32] The ceremonial act at the museum and a lengthy newspaper article in 1943 mark her recognition in Estonian academic and social spheres.

Sometime during the war years, Helmi Kurrik had lost her home to fire and with it "much of the scientific material she had collected". But despite this, "Kurrik's enthusiastic will to work, her belief in the fundamental value of Estonian culture and her collegial willingness to help" survived, Laid declaimed, using national and wartime rhetoric, characterizing her as a citizen always ready for the good and defence of her country (Laid 1943).[33]

In 1943, the Soviet bombing of Estonia (as well as the whole Baltic region) intensified, and the war front began to move westwards. From early 1944, the collections of ERM began to be evacuated to the countryside; the permanent exhibition was packed up and the exhibition rooms were reluctantly given over to the German army. Little is known about Helmi Kurrik's role in saving the collections, but she probably devoted herself to it as the last resort (Ränk 1962:169). At some point, however, she had to decide and save herself. Helmi Kurrik with her sister Elly fled to Germany, where their niece Nonna was awaiting them.[34]

The Kurrik sisters were among 70,000–80,000 compatriots who fled westwards in the autumn of 1944 before the rapid advance of Soviet forces, in a mass migration which Estonian history knows as the Great Exodus. Of those who fled, some 40,000 managed to reach Germany, and 27,000 crossed the Baltic Sea to Sweden (Tammaru et al. 2010:1162). These were political refugees, fleeing from fear of the return of Soviet power. People had not forgotten their experiences of repressions during the first Soviet year and especially of the brutal deportations in June 1941. Among the Baltic refugees, there was a high percentage of urban intelligentia, as roughly half of all Balts with higher education joined the flight to the West (Raun 2015:31). The majority of refugees hoped to return home soon after the Soviet Union had been pushed back to its former borders by the Western countries (Undusk 2015:324). As time passed, that hope faded. After a few years, all bar 3,000 of the refugees based in Germany – where the immediate post-war living conditions were terrible – migrated for better living and working conditions to the UK (6,000 migrants), Australia (6,000 migrants), Canada (11,000 migrants), and the USA (12,000 migrants) (Tammaru et al.: 1167).[35]

Helmi Kurrik took some scholarly materials with her to Germany with a wish to continue her research, but that initially proved to be impossible. Together with Elly, she stayed in Germany for several years, first they lived in Freiburg, and later in displaced persons' camps in Bad Rehburg, Hannover, and Oldenburg where they worked in hospitals run by the British Red Cross. They were also lecturers in the training of the nurses (Metslaid 2016b:114). In 1951, the sisters moved on to California, where Helmi lived for the rest of her life.[36]

Correspondence that Helmi Kurrik conducted with various people helps to reveal her life and thoughts in exile. The most voluminous and heartfelt was her correspondence with a young literary scholar, also a refugee, Otto Alexander Webermann, who studied at Göttingen University after the war and had a wide circle of acquaintances, in Germany and Sweden, and was associated himself several exile scientific organizations. It is not known how and when Helmi Kurrik and Webermann, who come from different generations, met for the first time. It could have been between 1937 and 1942 when he was an undergraduate at the UT or in a post-war displaced persons' camp in Germany. Webermann respected her as a researcher and tried to arrange publishing opportunities for her over the years, starting with offers in 1947.

Webermann encouraged Helmi Kurrik to reestablish contact with Per Wieselgren (1900–1989), a Swedish linguist and literary scholar, and professor of Swedish at the UT 1930–1941, who had left Estonia in 1944. Wieselgren was the editor of *Svio-Estonica*, a yearbook of the Swedish-Estonian academic society (Svensk-estniska samfundet). Webermann wrote to her in 1949:

> Over a couple of years, I finally got so far as to write to Prof. Wieselgren. I also mentioned that you have notes on museum materials on Estonian-Swedish cultural relations. He immediately asked for your address and will probably write to you then. I am sure that this theme will be of interest to the Swedes. (O. A. Webermann to Helmi Kurrik, Apr 15, 1949, ERM Ak 12-59-9)

Some months later, Webermann wrote to Helmi Kurrik:

> It is nice to hear that colleagues are finding you again and that Prof. Wieselgren is encouraging you to wake up the dormant fortunes. […] Since the Swedish government has earmarked certain sums of money for the collection and research of Estonian-Swedish material, I believe they will find ways to support your work. (O. A. Webermann to Helmi Kurrik, July 24, 1949, ERM Ak 12-59-9)

Helmi Kurrik mentions Wieselgren in a letter to Webermann in 1952:

> Neither have I written to Prof. Wieselgren, as the work did not progress while I was in Germany. However, I have drawn more than a houndred belt patterns with coloured pencils on squared paper, of which I had colored sketches and even some photos with me. I informed him that I have so many belt patterns, but because of my bad handwriting, he has read out "100 Gartenmuster" – instead of "Gurtenmuster" and he thought that these drawings might be of interest to Prof. Karling.[37] Since then, our correspondence has also stopped. (Helmi Kurrik to O. A. Webermann, 22 December 1952. ERM Ak 12-59-10)

There is no record of Helmi Kurrik's work having been published.

Correspondence reveals how difficult it was to carry out research in exile in a situation where most of the materials and books had been left behind in the home country. Helmi Kurrik repeatedly asked Webermann if he had found any works published by ERM. In 1952, she stated with regret that the institutions in New York, Washington, and Chicago with which the museum exchanged publications were too far from California for her to reach. In 1953, Helmi Kurrik wrote to Webermann:

> Interest in my research has not faded, on the contrary – some questions have been clarified and crystallized. But to finally come out with some very bold statements from a completely new point of view, a lot of work still needs to be done. But I need

> at least a limited number of handbooks to refine and check. (Helmi Kurrik to O. A. Webermann, October 1953, ERM Ak 12-59-10).

The situation was further complicated by Helmi Kurrik lacking an institution to rely on in her new country of residence, which did not compare with her colleagues who had fled to Sweden (see fig. 4). Gustav Ränk, Eerik Laid, Helmut Hagar, and Ilmar Talve all worked at the Institute of Folklife Studies (Institutet för folklivsforskning) in Stockholm.[38] As Professor Sigurd Erixon had needed collaborators for his massive atlas project, he hired these men who had suitable professional backgrounds. They had a relatively soft landing in exile, working for the Swedes but finding time to do their research (Viires 1998). Most importantly, refugee ethnologists in Stockholm formed a tight-knit group that at the same time belonged to a larger and culturally active community of refugee Estonians in Sweden. They belonged to refugee scientific societies and started to publish various journals, in which it was possible to publish Estonian-related studies. Some Swedish and Finnish academic journals also showed an interest in such studies (Metslaid 2022).

Eerik Laid wrote to Helmi Kurrik in March 1951, when she was still in Germany, and invited her to a congress of European ethnologists to be held in Stockholm in the autumn. He stressed that former colleagues from the

Figure 4. Helmi Kurrik in her garden in Fresno (USA), 1956. ERM Fk 2926:204.

museum would be very happy to see her and he was ready to find funds to support her trip: "And most importantly, we could exchange ideas about the challenges and future prospects of Estonian ethnography and feel like ERM's family once again" (E. Laid to H. Kurrik, 28 March 1951, ERM Ak 12-59-6). But as the Kurrik sisters were preparing to migrate to the USA, she was unable to attend the congress and see her colleagues.

Once Helmi Kurrik was more settled in the USA, she let Laid know that she was still interested in scholarly work and looked into the possibility of publishing her research. Laid answered in 1952:

> I believe that all scholarly works on Estonian folk culture could be published in either Sweden or Finland and I would personally be very happy to use all my old and new acquaintances to help with this. An overview of the folk costumes of the Estonian Swedes would certainly be of interest here and there would be publishing opportunities for that. (E. Laid to Helmi Kurrik, 7 July 1952, ERM Ak 12-59-6).

There is a record in her collection in the Swedish National Archives titled "My current intentions, 11.5.1959". It contains 38 research titles referring to various topics, starting with folk textiles, food economy, diseases, and superstitions, but also various themes in history writing. Many of them are familiar plans from earlier years, and some of the titles reflect her articles published in Estonia. Besides them Helmi Kurrik considered it important to analyse socio-cultural relationships, for example, those between the manor and the farm and the town and the farm in Estonia. She also intended to study folk costumes in exile and write down her memories).[39] She died a year later, aged 77. Shortly after her sister's death, Elly wrote a short biography of her sister, at the end of which she emphasized Helmi's longing for her colleagues and her plans to continue with research.[40]

When a Baltic Research Institute (Baltisches Forschungsinstitut), established in Bonn in 1953, asked refugee scholars from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to fill in a form to collect information about refugee scholars, then Helmi Kurrik wrote to Webermann, who was responsible for questionnaires from Estonian researchers:

> This time I'm sending it back to you in full, but please note that I'm doing this for you personally, in a very private way, and on condition that I am not placed in some clever book, next to great men who, especially now in exile, have been extremely productive. (Helmi Kurrik to O. A. Webermann, 12 March 1955, ERM Ak 12-59-10).

Helmi Kurrik considered research to be the content of her life even in exile, but despite the publishing opportunities offered her, she did not manage to publish any of the planned works. It seems that she was highly self-critical, which combined with a lack of literature and sources led to failure in implementing her plans. An idea of her character is evident from Laid's description in the obituary published in the refugee magazine *Tulimuld* in 1960:

> Helmi Kurrik's sanguine character, with her strong personal attachment to matter and people, was controlled by the demanding ethical notions that came with her upbringing. She was an aristocrat of spirit in the good sense of the word, and correspondingly she was pleasingly simple and unassuming in her conduct. (Laid 1960)

As the years went by, Helmi Kurrik faded into oblivion, remembered only in connection with the handbook of folk costumes. In Soviet Estonia, it was forbidden to write officially about scholars who went into exile. Their works could not be used for decades. When the grand old man of Estonian ethnology, Ants Viires (1918–2015), finally published an article about ethnologists in exile, he dealt only with colleagues who had worked in Sweden after the war, without mentioning the fate of Helmi Kurrik (Viires 1998). Her contribution to the discipline inevitably remained in the 1930s.

Conclusion

Helmi Kurrik was a woman who, in the course of her life, experienced Tsarist Russia, independent Estonia and its demise, survived both World Wars and her flight to the West, and finally adapted to a new life in the USA. At the same time, her life reflects the emergence of modern women in Estonia, who knew their vocation and were not afraid to embark on it, as Helmi Kurrik exemplified, starting in middle age and as a woman in a male-dominated society. For Helmi Kurrik, there was a free space in ERM and Estonian academic life in the late 1920s. She succeeded in claiming as her own a research topic which no one else was researching at that time, but which was also in demand in society.

Despite her late start, Helmi Kurrik was able to contribute to Estonian ethnology, cultural heritage research, and promotion. In just a few years, her thoroughness and analytical skills helped her to become an expert on folk textiles, and an acknowledged ethnologist who also participated in international research. Folk art exhibitions abroad helped to build relations with colleagues from other countries, which in turn enabled participation in several international congresses. Relations with colleagues from neighbouring countries were close, many of whom had visited ERM. They were united by a cultural-historical view of peasant material culture and a desire to trace the origins of cultural phenomena. Researchers at the time were also interested in the application of cultural heritage in the service of modern society. Helmi Kurrik's contribution was a handbook on Estonian folk costumes and tutoring in relevant courses in the 1930s. The handbook became a classic in Estonian ethnology.

Helmi Kurrik was regarded by her contemporaries with the respect she had earned through her devotion to museum and research work. They remembered her as the head of the Department of Ethnography who guarded the valuable collections even during the difficult war years. Despite being a woman, Helmi Kurrik achieved this position due to the small circle of ethnologists in Estonia and the Soviet reorganization of museum work in 1940. She was unable to continue her research in exile, and perhaps that is why she was long referred to only by name in the history of Estonian ethnology.

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[1] I have written about Kurrik on several occasions (Nõmmela 2009, 2010a; Metslaid 2016).

[2] Helmi Kurrik's certificate, ERM A 1:540.

[3] The extent to which family circumstances may have influenced women's life will be shown here by briefly introducing Helmi Kurrik's contemporary Helmi Reiman-Neggo (1892–1920). Her father was also active in the Estonian national movement. She was sent to study in Finland at the age of eight, where she finished high school. Reiman-Neggo continued her studies in 1911 at the University of Helsinki, where she studied ethnography and history under Uuno Taavi Sirelius and Kaarle Krohn and became the first Estonian professional ethnologist (Õunapuu 2004). Reiman-Neggo died young, so her scholarly legacy is not great. She did, however, become deeply involved in folk art, which later became Helmi Kurrik's main field of research.

[4] Helmi Kurrik's certificate, ERM Ak 1:540

[5] Arno Rafael Cederberg was the founder of the school of Estonian history studies at the University of Tartu. He worked in Estonia 1920–1928 (Rosenberg 1999).

[6] Ilmari Manninen was the founder of Estonian academic ethnology, he worked in Estonia 1922–1928 (see e.g., Talve 1992).

[7] When reviewing Helmi Kurrik's Master's thesis in 1939, the ethnologist Ferdinand Linnus referred to the influence of Cederberg's methodological school on her development as a researcher (Linnus's review of Helmi Kurrik's MA thesis, ERA EAA.2100.1.6348, pp. 57–59).

[8] Helmi Kurrik's study book, ERA, EAA.2100.1.6348.

[9] Three women defended Master's degrees in folklore in the 1930s: Erna Ariste (1931), Lucie Põdras (1932) and Aleksandra Aavik (1937).

[10] For an example from Germany, see Wiegelmann 1971, from Finland, see Talve 1971.

[11] Linnus's review of Helmi Kurrik's MA thesis, ERA EAA.2100.1.6348, pp 57–59. Ränk's review of Helmi Kurrik's MA thesis, ERA EAA.2100.1.6348, pp. 55–56.

[12] Helmi Kurrik's most questionable result concerned the explanation of the spread of blood acidification in Estonia, Finland, Sweden, and the Chukchi in Siberia by the homogenous isotherms (similar climatic conditions) of these countries.

[13] Ränk's review of Helmi Kurrik's MA thesis, ERA EAA.2100.1.6348, pp. 55–56.

[14] Helmi Kurrik's letter of service, ERM Ak 1-540.

[15] Helmi Kurrik's report for the working year 1929–1930, ERM A 1-515.

[16] Helmi Kurrik's report for the working year 1929–1930, ERM A, 1-515.

[17] See the article on Aliise Moora in the present issue of *Arv*.

[18] The magnificent permanent exhibition at ERM was opened three years earlier, in 1927 (Nõmmela 2010b).

[19] The ERM's yearbook continues to be published today.

[20] The situation was similar in other departments of ERM, such as the Estonian Folklore Archives, the Archival Library, the Cultural History Archives.

[21] Next to Kurrik, Ränk, and Linnus (names already mentioned above), one can name a fourth student of Manninen – Eerik Laid (1904–1961) who had become a heritage protection inspector in Estonia in 1936. Laid was also an archaeologist.

[22] Helmi Kurrik was not present there.

[23] See further Nõmmela 2009:45–50.

[24] La Commission Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires (the international organization for folklore and ethnology), a forerunner of SIEF (International Society for Ethnology and Folklore).

[25] Helmi Kurrik's letter to O. A. Webermann, 12 March 1955, ERM Ak 12-59-10.

[26] Linnus's letter to the director of the Department of Science and Arts of the Ministry of Education, 25 June 1937; Acting director Helmi Üprus's letter to the director of the Department of Science and Arts, 30 July 1937; Linnus's letter to the director of the Department of Science and Arts, 22 June 1938. ERM A 1: 80.

[27] Rivière used the French term folklore instead of ethnology that was common in Northern Europe.

[28] Nils Joachim Otto Cleve (1905–1988), Finnish archaeologist, the director of Turku Cultural History Museum 1934–1945.

[29] The importance of song festivals to Estonian history through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been analysed by Brüggemann and Kasekamp (Brüggemann & Kasekamp 2014).

[30] For further on the theme, see Nõmmela 2010b.

[31] Miscellaneous correspondence, working reports, information. ERM A 1: 166.

[32] Elly Kurrik on her sister, SE-RA-720989-1-1.

[33] It is not known whether the fire occurred in connection with the two-week bombardment of Tartu in July 1941 or sometime later. From the end of January 1943, the Soviet Union bombed Tartu and other Estonian towns with intermittent success. The major bombing of Tartu took place in late August-early September 1944. This was also the time when Raadi manor house, the home of ERM, on the outskirts of the city, was destroyed.

[34] Author's interview with Nonna Michel, 2007.

[35] For a better overview of the situation of Europe's displaced persons after World War II, see e.g. Cohen 2017.

[36] Elly moved back to Germany to live with her relatives in 1970.

[37] Sten Karling (1906-1987), a Swedish art scholar and art critic who was a professor of art history at the UT 1933-1941. He was later a professor of art history at the University of Stockholm.

[38] On the Baltic folklorists and ethnologists in Sweden, see Viires 1998; Klein 2017.

[39] „My current intentions", 11.5.1959, SE-RA-720989-1-1.

[40] Elly Kurrik on her sister, SE-RA-720989-1-1.

The Estonian Ethnologist Aliise Moora

A Female Researcher's Adaptation and Professional Fulfilment in a Changing Society

Anu Kannike, Ester Bardone & Marleen Metslaid

Abstract

The article focuses on Aliise Moora's (1900–1996) career as a researcher within the changing sociopolitical situation in Estonia from the 1920s until the 1980s. Furthermore, it situates her contributions within the field of ethnological studies. How were her research and position influenced by the change of regimes and the possibility or impossibility of keeping up with the development of her discipline in the West? How did she adjust to the official ideology and the restrictions the authorities had imposed on ethnological research? To what extent did she accept the post-war Soviet research discourse, and what was her role in preserving and advancing ethnology as a national science? The article also examines how Aliise Moora's career was influenced by being a woman, the wife of the renowned archaeologist and academician Harri Moora, and the mother of a big family.

Keywords: Estonian ethnology, Aliise Moora, Sovietization, woman researchers, research career, national sciences

Introduction

Several studies discuss the role of women in the development of ethnology and anthropology, balancing the overall picture that, for a long time, tended to highlight the contribution of leading male scholars only. The challenges of academic women in these disciplinary settings have been examined from biographical and autobiographical perspectives (Beer 2007; Cattell & Schweitzer 2006; Alzheimer 1990, 1994), the lens of disciplinary history (Klein 2013), and also from a feminist and gender studies viewpoint (Behar & Gordon 1995; Jordan & de Caro 1986; *Journal of Folklore Research* 1988). The authors emphasize the difficulties of balancing family and professional life, often resulting in a slower or interrupted career, remaining in assistant positions in academic and museum settings, and limited acknowledgement of women's professional accomplishments.

Our study does not address feminist scholarship or women's studies. However, in this biographical account of the Estonian ethnologist Aliise

Moora's (1900–1996) long career, we emphasize how being a woman, the wife of renowned archaeologist and academician Harri Moora (1900–1968), and the mother of six children (born between 1926 and 1942), had an impact on it. Aliise Moora belonged to the generation that participated in the rapid modernization of Estonian society. She could be called "a new woman", i.e., a woman whose path of life was still exceptional then and who made maximum use of the available opportunities for self-fulfilment (Robotham 1999; Kirss 2004). The transition from the largely oral peasant society to modern urban society, where the written word dominated in 1905–1915 (Kivimäe 2015), simultaneously meant the beginning of women's emancipation. In this process, the home milieu and education opportunities, possibilities for applying professional skills, and harmony between family and social as well as professional choices were of the utmost significance.

Estonia had become an independent nation state in 1918, and the University of Tartu, which had switched to Estonian as the language of instruction and accepted female students to study all disciplines from 1919,[1] greeted Aliise Moora in 1920 with a highly patriotic mentality and idealism. She graduated in 1927, qualifying as a teacher of history, already married and a mother of two children. In the 1930s–1940s the increased family created a long interruption in her professional life, which she was able to continue fully after World War II, now as an ethnologist at Eesti Rahva Muuseum (hereafter ERM; the Estonian National Museum) and later in the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. Her career as a researcher lasted for more than half a century.

The main focus of our paper is on the challenges of being an ethnologist under dramatic sociopolitical circumstances, demonstrating how personal history, political history, and the history of the discipline are closely intertwined. Furthermore, using Aliise Moora as an example, we deal at greater length with the Sovietization of Estonian ethnology in Stalinist society in the second half of the 1940s and the early 1950s, as the earlier treatments of research history have given a general overview of this era without examining biographical cases. Both ethnology as a discipline and its scholars experienced major political discrimination and repression in the Soviet Union (Karlsone 2019; Treija 2019; Knight 2000), and to a lesser extent, in the whole socialist Eastern Bloc (Bitušíková 2017; Kiliánová 2012; Posern-Zieliński 2005). The Soviet occupation of Estonia (from 1944 to 1991) was a period of broken dreams and ruptured lives (Jõesalu & Kõresaar 2013). The generation that began their careers in the 1920s and 1930s, like Aliise Moora and her colleagues, suffered the most from political repressions (Nugin, Kannike, Raudsepp 2016:20). Some Estonian ethnologists who started working before World War II and survived were also arrested or had interruptions in their careers during Stalin's regime; others fled to the West and tried to continue their professional life in different cultural and academic conditions. Concentration on research of peasant culture enabled Soviet Estonian ethnologists to covertly continue conveying pre-war patriotic ideas. Since the 1960s, Baltic intellectuals and creative personalities started consciously accentuating and valuing the local cultural or natural heritage to counterbalance Soviet reality and future-oriented ideology, particularly the vigorous Russification policy that began in the 1970s (Kaljundi 2022; Karlsone 2019). This has been described as a culture of resistance, searching for cultural roots, a revival of national romanticism, and at the same time, an escape from actual socialism (Aarelaid 1998:58, 208, 226; Kuutma 2008:590).

We shall observe how Aliise Moora's research and professional position were influenced by the change of regimes, including the limited possibilities to keep up with the development of her discipline in the West. As the longest part of her career as a researcher fell in the Soviet period, we analyse how she adjusted to the official ideology and the restrictions the authorities had imposed on the research field. To what extent did she accept the post-war Soviet research discourse, and what was her role in preserving and developing ethnology as a national science?

We mostly rely on the archival collections of ERM and the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, materials collected by Aliise Moora herself, reports on her ongoing work, her correspondence, and research publications. An entirely new microlevel insight into dramatic turns in Aliise Moora's working life is offered by her work diaries from 1948–1972, which were found in 2021 and transferred to the collections of ERM. These were compulsory official diaries that had to follow a strict format and were regularly checked by the leaders of the institutions, particularly in the 1940s and 1950s. Therefore, opinions about social or work atmospheres appear in them rather rarely. Nonetheless, they reflect the changes in the writer's status and duties during the decades and the fluctuating pressure on forming the research staff into Soviet specialists by different means of ideological re-education. Everyday tasks written down in detail, communication with colleagues, preparation for publications, and presentations provide a good overview of Aliise Moora's personality and development as a researcher.

The Period of the Independent Republic of Estonia

Aliise Karu (from 1925 Moora) was born in Tallinn to a working-class family with many children where education and culture were valued and the Christian worldview was considered essential, but ties with rural life were also honoured. Thanks to her father's progressive attitudes, she was able to get a secondary education and continue her studies at the University of Tartu in the autumn of 1920, in the initial years of the independent Republic of Estonia. The young republic started to rearrange its government, economic system, education, and research. The Estonian-language University of Tartu, which held its opening ceremony on 1 December 1919, even before the end of the Estonian War of Independence (1918–1920),[2] began to express the national mentality and idealism and fostered the development of patriotically-minded Estonian intellectuals (Karjahärm & Sirk 2001). The students who had started their studies in the autumn included soldiers who had just returned from the battlefield and women who had only now acquired the right to study all the disciplines.[3]

While creating the new structure of the University of Tartu, particular attention was paid to developing previously neglected research areas concerning Estonian culture. Departments were created for folkloristics, history, archaeology, literary studies, linguistics, art history, and ethnography or, in other words, "national sciences" the task of which was seen as "elucidation and consolidation of the specificity of the Estonian people" (Manninen 2005 (1924):317). As the number of Estonian intellectuals was small and attempts were made to avoid Baltic Germans or Russians in the teaching staff, several Scandinavian researchers were invited to teach in Tartu. Four Finns were significant in Aliise Moora's formation as a researcher – Professor of Archaeology Aarne Michael Tallgren, Professor of History Arno Rafael Cederberg, Professor of Baltic-Finnic Languages Lauri Kettunen, and Associate Professor of Ethnography Ilmari Manninen. In the first years, she studied linguistics, archaeology, and history, and after Manninen's arrival in Estonia also ethnography. Through her studies in archaeology, Aliise Moora also acquired a strong background in museology, as Tallgren was the first to lecture on it in Estonia (Linnus 1989). The disciplines she studied formed a symbiosis that provided a basis for later ethnographic research, which required profound knowledge of history and language. The early development of the discipline of ethnography closely followed the Finnish example (cf. Wolf-Knuts & Hakamies 2017; Siikala 2006).

Considering her later professional life, the most important part of Aliise Moora's education was the study of ethnography with Associate Professor Ilmari Manninen. She recalled it fondly after having passed the threshold of eighty: "I came to the understanding that research could be made of old rural life, for which I had felt the greatest sympathy and closeness in my life" (Tarand 1982). Nonetheless, the discipline was still in its infancy in the early 1920s, and Aliise Moora witnessed its advancement as a young scholar with a modest contribution. Manninen arrived in Estonia in 1922 and, at first, was director of ERM.

When ERM was founded in 1909, examples were taken from Finland (*Kansallismuseo*) and Sweden (*Nordiska museet*), and its aim was initially seen as collecting objects representing Estonian folk culture and folk art. Similar processes happened elsewhere in Northern and Eastern Europe, where the birth of regional disciplines grew out of earlier collections of objects and interest in ethnic peasant culture (Nic Craith 2008; Klein 2006; Löfgren 1990). Because of the need to arrange the museum collections and the concentration on studying material folk culture, the establishment of ethnographical research[4] at the University of Tartu was directly related to ERM (Viires 1991:123–125; Jääts&Metslaid 2018:120). The decision-makers took an example from the Nordic countries, where, for instance, in Stockholm, the corresponding professorship had been founded at the Nordiska museet in 1918 (Klein 2006:61).

Manninen was elected to the post of Associate Professor of Ethnography in 1923. His programmatic article *On the Aims and Limits of Ethnography in Estonia* (Manninen 2005 (1924)) remained the foundational text of Estonian ethnology for decades. It defined the research area and methods of the discipline. In Manninen's formulation, the aim of ethnography was to provide an integrated overview of Estonian material peasant culture relying on typological, cartographic, and historical-geographical methods. He considered it essential to study the cultural aspects of ethnographic objects and the environment where they had been made and used (Talve 1992). He also emphasized the need for studying the cultural ties between Estonians and the neighbouring peoples and the cultures of other Finno-Ugric peoples. Reliance on the analysis of material culture connected the budding Estonian ethnology with corresponding disciplines in neighbouring countries (cf. Rogan 2014), although the emphasis could be somewhat different.

Estonian folk culture began to be studied according to the programme created by Manninen. Students' first seminar papers usually dealt with a narrow phenomenon of folk culture, which, after the systematization of collections of objects, was analysed following the prescribed methodology. Later Master's theses often relied on the materials collected by the students themselves during fieldwork. In addition to lectures and seminars, Manninen sent students to rural areas in the summer to collect information on all kinds of ethnographic phenomena, based on which they later wrote ethnographic descriptions that were stored in the museum archive. The final aim was seen as describing each particular "white spot" and "mapping the nation" (cf. Ó Giolláin 2007:63–93). During the interwar period, Estonian ethnologists studied folk costumes, folk art, buildings, fishing, beekeeping, and food (Jääts & Metslaid 2018:122). Folklore and ethnography, institutionalized as separate disciplines in the 1920s, were nevertheless close to each other. In the 1930s, ethnologists took a broader approach to culture, encompassing themes of religion and folk tradition (Metslaid 2016), and folkloristics in Estonia became more ethnological in its choice of topics and approach (Berg 2002:27).

Manninen returned to Finland at the end of 1928. Thereafter, Estonian ethnology was kept up by a few Estonian researchers, all of whom worked at ERM and lectured at the university part-time. Thus, as in the Nordic and

German-speaking countries, research mainly concentrated on material culture and remained closely connected with the museum's collections of objects. It was also necessary to consider the tasks of the museum as a heritage institution, be it the preparation for a grand permanent exhibition of Estonian folk culture (opened in 1927) or participation in activities popularizing folk costumes and folk art as part of the cultural propaganda directed by the state in the 1930s.

Like many of her fellow students,[5] Aliise Moora started working at ERM during her studies. From 1923 to 1926, before the birth of her first child, she was a temporary assistant at the museum. Working along with her university studies was necessary because of her economic situation, but she also enjoyed it, and this determined her choice of profession. In addition to the theoretical knowledge acquired at the university, arranging collections of objects at the museum under Manninen's supervision gave the young student practical experience in the basics of systematization and analysis of folk culture. In addition to cataloguing and storing, Aliise Moora assisted in replenishing the museum's permanent exhibition by utilizing her close personal connections in the country to acquire new objects. For example, for the suit of a man from Harju-Jaani parish, her grandmother dyed the yarn with indigo, and her aunt wove the cloth (Marksoo 2000). The first ethnographic fieldwork at her mother's home parish of Harju-Jaani and later systematization of the collected materials for the museum's ethnographical archive gave her profound experience in creating ethnographic knowledge.[6]

However, becoming a married woman and a mother of several children did not enable Aliise Moora to continue her working life after graduation.[7] During her studies in 1925 she married the archaeologist Harri Moora. Unlike many other women students, she did not stop striving for education when creating a family but managed to graduate in 1927 with the qualification of a history teacher. At that time, she was one of the few women with a university degree in Estonia.[8] In the 1930s, Aliise Moora inevitably concentrated on family, like several other female scholars of her era elsewhere.

For the first academic women in Europe and America, a combination of a career and a family was generally impossible (Svanfeldt-Winter 2019:223). They faced a particular dilemma: marriage was a big risk that could endanger a future career, while remaining unmarried meant a certain breach of social norms. Several talented women decided to remain unmarried, for example, Martha Bringemeir and Mathilde Hain in Germany (Alzheimer-Haller 1990:262–267). Marrying an academic colleague was considered a good option as (if the marriage was happy) it provided intellectual and financial support. Yet, often this meant that the wife fulfilled the tasks of the husband's assistant, as in the cases of Jenny Paulaharju, Helmi Virtaranta, or Lyyli Rapola in Finland (Laakso 2005). Often married women postponed their active professional lives until late middle age. Having children was another aspect of private life that often blocked women from continuing a career. Therefore, for example, in the case of the Finnish academic women, only one fourth had children in the 1930s and 1940s (Svanfeldt-Winter 2019:225).

Unlike his wife, Harri Moora made a quick career – as early as 1929, he became Acting Professor of Archaeology and later Full Professor, also working as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Tartu. In the 1930s, Harri Moora belonged to the board of ERM, which meant close ties with the museum and guidance of its work. Through her husband, Aliise Moora kept in touch with academic and museum life. This probably helped her develop a clearer understanding of the opportunities for work in her discipline and her research interests. Experience with museum work was likely to strengthen her belief that she might also work as a researcher. Her personal career still had to wait for some time, but she wrote some articles about history and national culture for the magazine *Eesti Noored* (Estonian Youth) (Moora 1939a, 1939b, 1939c).

Generally, it could be said that, for a young woman at that time, graduation from the university opened an entirely different outlook on life than her ancestors had had, although a university diploma did not always secure a job in the 1920s–1930s. This was the time in Estonia when "the woman raised her head as a social thinker" (Mäelo 1999:73). By the second half of the 1930s, women's independent careers and social activity had become acceptable, although not the predominant choice in Estonia (Kannike 2021). During the brief period of folklife studies before World War II, no women obtained a doctorate in ethnology (or folkloristics) in Estonia, but in Latvia, for example, the folklorist Anna Bērzkalne completed her doctorate in 1935 (Treija 2019, 24) and in Finland, the folklorist Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio in 1932 (see in detail: Laakso 2005; Svanfeldt-Winter 2019). In comparison, the androcentric bias was similar elsewhere: even such distinguished American women anthropologists as Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead (who received their PhD degrees in the 1920s) were given professorships only in their mature years (Banner 2003); and in Sweden, women working in academia or museums were long taking assistant positions before achieving the posts as docents, full professors, or curators (Klein 2013). In Estonia, the first doctoral degrees in ethnology were awarded in 1938 to Ferdinand Linnus (1895–1942) who was a director of the ERM and lecturer at the University of Tartu, and Gustav Ränk (1902–1998), who started his studies in ethnology later than Aliise Moora and was elected Professor of Ethnography at the University of Tartu in 1939 (Metslaid 2016).

From Stalin's Time to Khrushchev's Thaw: 1945–1956

The years after World War II were difficult for the national research disciplines in Estonia. The majority of the leading researchers who had been productive before the war or had just started their research had perished or fled to the West.[9] The building housing ERM – the Raadi manor in Tartu – had burned down; the museum collections had been partly saved by evacuation and partly destroyed. During Joseph Stalin's leadership (1922–1953) in the Soviet Union, ethnography as a discipline had already, since the late 1920s, been subjected to ideological pressure (Slezkine 1991), hundreds of scholars were repressed, killed, or died in forced labour camps (Knight 2000). For instance, Aliise Moora's contemporary, a Ukrainian folkorist and ethnographer, Kateryna Hrushevska (1900–1943), was sentenced to a forced labour camp for anti-Soviet and nationalist activities and died in the Gulag (Hrymych 2020:123–125). A Russian ethnographer, folklorist, and writer, Nina Gagen-Torn (1900–1986) was sentenced to the Gulag twice for anti-Soviet activities during Stalin's purges (Applebaum 2011:69–81).

The Stalinist period in Estonia (1944–1953) was not unambiguously repressive. Previous studies have characterized the first post-war years (1944–1948) as a relatively mild "breathing spell" or even "post-independence time", as researchers and creative personalities could, broadly speaking, continue their earlier work, adjusting it only externally (quoting the classics of Marxism-Leninism, using topical political slogans) (Kreegipuu 2007; Karjahärm & Sirk 2007:203; Kalda 2002:55). In 1949–1950, however, ideological pressure increased sharply, and repressions followed. The central events of these years were the mass deportations of 1949 and a new wave of repressions after the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Estonia in March 1950. The post-war repressions among researchers were extensive: in 1945–1950 nearly 200 researchers, particularly representatives of national research disciplines, were dismissed from work for up to 15 years (Karjahärm & Sirk 2007:543). Dismissals were accompanied by the demotion of people who had held leading posts to lower positions and the "strengthening of collectives" with Stalinists, Estonians with a Communist Party background who had come from Russia, and Russians. The aim of the attacks was to destroy Estonian national culture and exclude independence-era intellectuals from influential positions (ibid.:203).

In 1945, Aliise Moora was invited to work at ERM again, where she devoted herself to the restoration of museological activities. In 1947, she became the research secretary of the museum. The museum continued its work entirely in the pre-war spirit.[10] On her initiative, the ERM network of correspondents (established in the 1930s), was revived and preparations were made for reopening the exhibition of peasant culture. Compiling the *Overview of Estonian Ethnography* was planned (Astel 2009:214–215). In 1946, Aliise Moora started fieldwork with her colleague Ida Kaldmaa in Petseri County with the aim of collecting ethnographic items as well as folklore from local Russians and Seto people (ERM EA 43:1/13–233; see

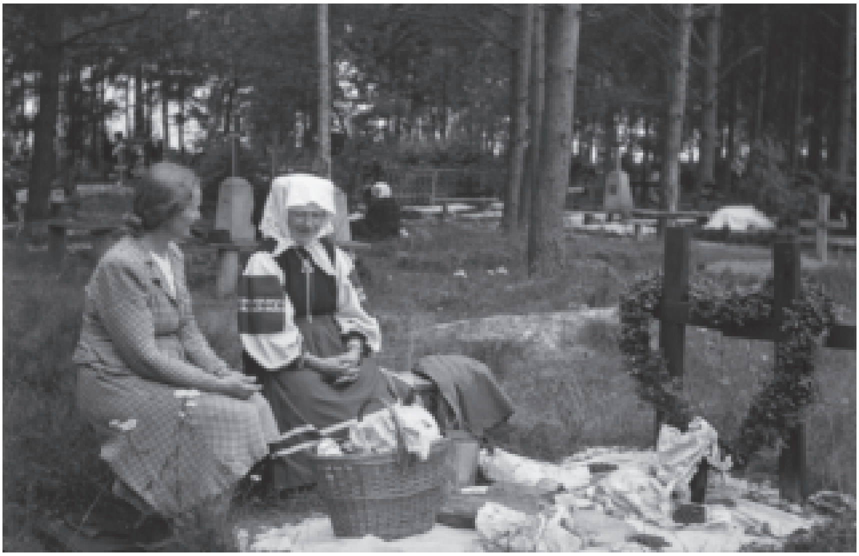

Figure 1. Aliise Moora talks with Seto woman Natalie Laine at Obinitsa cemetery, Petseri County. 19 August 1946. Photo: Ida Kaldmaa. ERM Fk 1071:28.

fig. 1). In the following year, Aliise Moora travelled through several counties in Estonia, restoring and enlivening relations with the museum's correspondents (ERM EA100:2/154–329).

In the first years, however, the ideological pressure on museum work was still chaotic and weak, the guidelines of Soviet ethnography had to be complied with. In the post-war years, the main focus in Soviet ethnography was ethnogenesis and studying ethnic groups in the Soviet Union as well as elsewhere. The theoretical basis was evolutionary Marxism, and ethnic mapping and cartography were important methodological tools. Ethnography was considered a branch of the discipline of history, even though attempts were made to study contemporary Soviet society. Using the works of Western ethnologists or anthropologists as well as "bourgeois" scholars of the pre-Stalinist era was ideologically prohibited (Alymov 2019; Alymov & Sokolovskiy 2018; Sokolovskiy 2017).[11] Like the entire life of the USSR, ethnography was a hierarchically centralized system, at the top of which were the Ethnography Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow and the leading researchers working there. Representatives of the centre visited the periphery to instruct local ethnographic researchers.

As there was a shortage of ethnologists with academic degrees in Estonia, the theoretical and methodological development of the discipline was entrusted to Aliise Moora's husband, Professor of Archaeology Harri Moora, whose groundbreaking article "On Soviet Reconstruction of

Estonian Ethnography" appeared in the first post-war yearbook of ERM in 1947 (Moora 1947).[12] Harri Moora tried to adjust the requirements of Soviet ethnography to Estonian circumstances. In his assessment, ethnography had to continue to concentrate on studying the old, pre-capitalist peasant culture but consider more than before the social context of cultural phenomena and pay attention to the neighbouring peoples. From the present-day viewpoint, Moora was a patriotically minded man who tried to preserve ethnography, which was essential for national identity, under the new conditions (Jääts & Metslaid 2018:126). The analysis of Aliise Moora's research and organizational work in these years leaves no doubt that, in principle, her position was similar to her husband's – in the Soviet surroundings, she tried to preserve the essence of the ethnonational research discipline at the price of some compromises.

The entries in Aliise Moora's work diary, which was started as an obligation in 1948, show that, in her tasks and responsibilities, Aliise Moora was both a conceptual and administrative leader who compiled work plans and reports, prepared all research papers for printing, was responsible for the museum's official correspondence, and also for the popularization of museum research and the content of the exhibitions. She coordinated the work schedules of all the staff members and, if necessary, acted for the director. The list of work tasks in her work diary includes 17 items; it is also specified that she is an employee with "unlimited working time".[13] As a great part of the ERM staff had no command of the Russian language, which had become particularly important, Aliise Moora often had to do various translation jobs and guide museum tours in Russian. As a good communicator and a member of Harri Moora's interdisciplinary research group on ethnic history, she also constantly conveyed the research papers and methods of leading Russian ethnologists. In addition, she edited colleagues' papers that had been translated into Russian and helped them practise how to conduct exhibition tours in Russian. Each year, visits were arranged to Moscow, Leningrad, Latvia, and Lithuania; the works of the leading Soviet ethnographers Nikolai Cheboksarov, Sergei Tokarev, Pavel Kushner, and others were analysed at ERM and the Institute of History.

In addition to work tasks, Aliise Moora had to participate in extremely intensive political education. Despite being the mother of several young children, she had to attend the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism, and only in 1948 could she pass exams in Marxism-Leninism, history of the USSR, dialectical and historical materialism, and foreign policy and international relations. She also had to read ideological literature at home (at night, after the Evening University): Lenin and Marx as well as Stalin's topical speeches or, for example, the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Andrei Zhdanov's[14] assessments of the journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*.[15]

A significant research theme in Soviet ethnography since 1948 was life on collective farms or kolkhozes. It was state-directed and ideologically biased research in which Soviet propaganda ideals were mixed with actual observations and (self-)censorship.[16] Ethnographers struggled with the challenge of finding the right kolkhozes in the USSR that would correspond to an imagined Soviet reality. Mentioning the challenges of actual rural life was unthinkable in Stalinist public discourse. In some cases, focusing on historical issues (e.g., peasant life before collectivization) or material culture enabled the avoidance of certain aspects of social life in kolkhozes (Haber 2013; Alymov 2011; Abashin 2011).

In 1949, on the initiative of the Ethnography Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, ERM organized the first joint fieldwork expedition to document contemporary life in recently founded collective farms in Estonia.[17] Such expeditions continued in the following years and can be considered part of the Sovietization with the aim of integrating the local ethnographers into Soviet research methodology (Konksi 2004:14). Nonetheless, the methodological guidelines set by leading ethnographers in Moscow were not appropriate for Estonian circumstances, where collective farms had just been established and people were forced to join them (Jääts 2019:6). In spite of ideological pressure, fieldwork in Estonia concentrated on studying the pre-modern peasant society.

Aliise Moora's 1,323-page ethnographic description of the kolkhoz Võimas Jõud (Mighty Power) in Tartu County is based on fieldwork from 1949 to 1951 (ERM EA 101:1/2-368; ERM EA 102:1/2-275; ERM EA 103:1/2-180; ERM EA 104:1/5-278; ERM EA 105:1/5-13). It is worth mentioning that she chose this collective farm as a field site because it enabled her younger children to accompany her fieldwork encounters and also enjoy summer leisure time (Moora 2022, see fig. 2). She concentrated less on modern collective farm life and more on the traditional way of life of peasants, which locals remembered, or which was still a part of the collective farm's materiality. Ideologically, this kind of text met the aims of Soviet research and was presented so in work reports. Its content, however, corresponded to the classical ethnography of peasant culture. Aliise Moora valued fieldwork highly and took interviewing seriously. Being a skilful communicator and familiar with folk culture, she knew how to make her conversation partners talk. The materials stored at ERM archives show that she managed to create a trusting atmosphere even in the difficult post-war times,[18] so that the locals were ready to share personal information. Yet, we have to consider self-censorship on the part of informants as well as Aliise Moora herself because it was impossible to mention certain topics. Generally, the theme of collective farm research remained remote for the Estonian ethnologists of the period, and no comprehensive study was compiled.

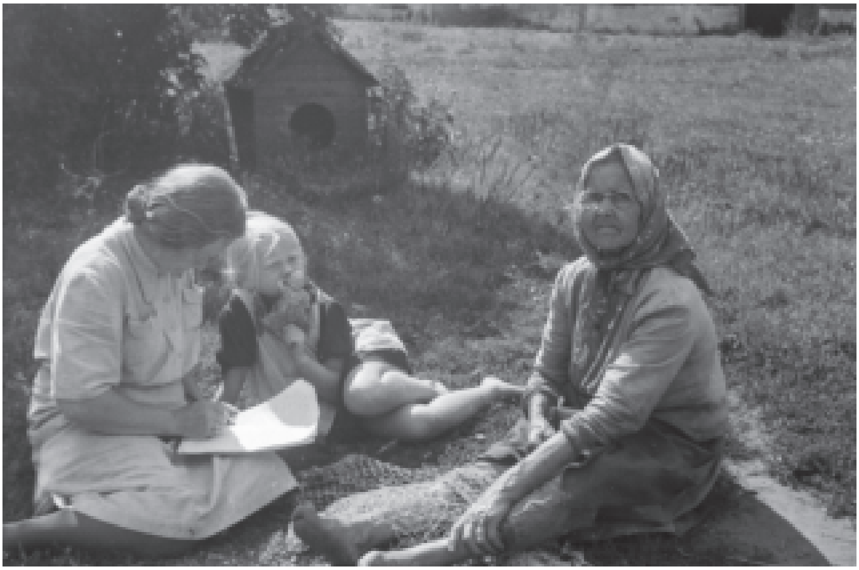

Figure 2. Aliise Moora, accompanied by her daughter Liis-Mail, interviews Ann Ope, on a field trip to the collective farm Mighty Power in 1949. Photo Harri Moora. ERM Fk 1182:85.

Thanks to Harri Moora's good relations with Russian ethnographers and his reputation among them, it was possible to concentrate on ethnogenesis and, through this, primarily on historical research (Viires 1993:11). In 1952, the Moscow Institute of Ethnography organized the Baltic ethnographical-anthropological expedition, or a complex expedition,[19] which operated until 1960 (see fig. 3). Although the central authorities prescribed this format for cooperation, it allowed Estonian researchers in ethnonational research disciplines to maintain continuity in their work during challenging times and to foster collaboration between archaeologists, historians and ethnologists.

In the 1940s and 1950s, Aliise Moora dealt with several research themes in parallel, but in her work diary and reports, she emphasizes the studies of Estonian-Russian relations. This theme was also politically commissioned, and not only the contacts between Estonians and Russians but their "friendship" and the example and positive influence of Russian culture had to be emphasized. Although the museum staff were obliged to read Soviet Russian ethnographers' works and discuss them together, Aliise Moora's activities reflect the traditional approach. She worked with the sources of the Historical Archives, dealt with language materials concerning vocabulary, and looked for Russian loan words in Baltic German sources.[20] Concentration on ethnogenesis enabled her to study the traditional themes

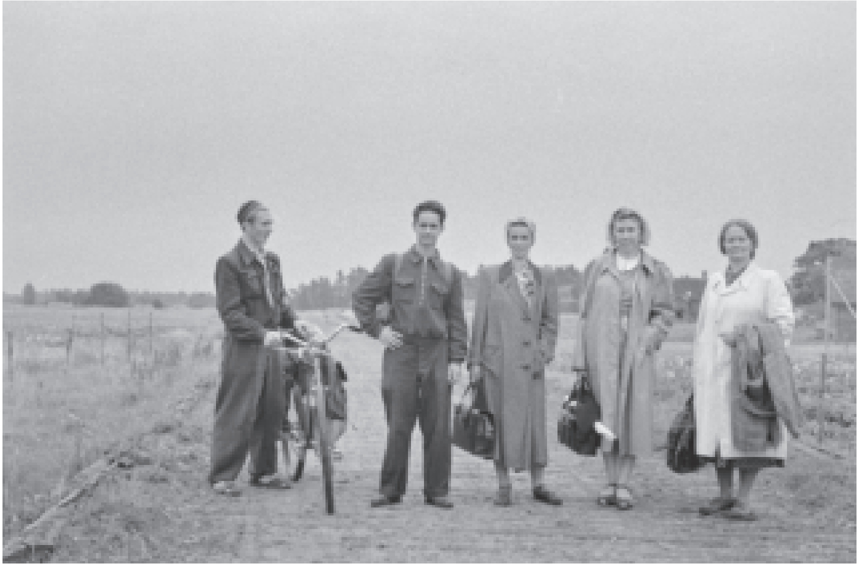

Figure 3. Ethnographers on a complex expedition in Jõhvi district, 31 July 1952. From the left: photographer Uudo Rips, Dimitri Grevens, Natalie Grevens, ethnographers Aino Voolmaa from ERM and Aliise Moora from the Institute of History.

of folk culture, as settlement types, agricultural tools, folk costumes, etc., using the pre-war historical-geographical method, an essential part of which was drawing distribution maps and using sources of language history and materials from the Historical Archives. In 1954 and 1955, she passed the exams necessary for obtaining the Candidate's degree,[21] but managed to defend her dissertation only ten years later. In the article "On Historical-Ethnographical Areas in Estonia", published in 1956 in the collection *On the Ethnic History of the Estonian People*, Aliise Moora substantiated the division of the country into Northern, Southern, and Western Estonia based on the analysis of material culture (Moora 1956). By doing so, she supported the approach that had already been developed in ethnology in the 1930s but did it in a new Soviet research context.[22]

Along with ethnological studies, Aliise Moora and her colleagues had additional obligations caused by the misery of post-war everyday life, such as procuring and transporting firewood for the museum, assisting collective farms with grain harvesting, and participating in the liquidation of the war-related destructions on Sundays. The so-called socio-political activities were also compulsory; the work diary included a separate field for them. Every week, there were also obligatory political information sessions during worktime where Aliise Moora had to make presentations. For example, she had to acquaint the ERM staff with Lenin's works and, if necessary, translate them, provide overviews of, for example, the construction of the Volga-Don canal[23] or explain the lowering of prices.[24]

As early as 1945, Estonian intellectuals and creative personalities had to submit individual plans of work where so-called production, deadlines, and tasks of ideological and political education were noted down. Total planned economy prevailed; the fulfilment of plans of different levels (from months and years to five-year periods) was checked and discussed at the meetings of work collectives, creative unions, and their Communist Party organizations. The diaries show that although the main methods in ethnography – work with sources and literature, fieldwork – remained similar to the prewar period, they had to be formulated and presented in Soviet rhetoric as "struggles" or "battles". Additional tasks had to be fulfilled and reported at "production meetings" to demonstrate the employees' loyalty and enthusiasm. Collective criticism of completed research papers became a usual practice (Karjahärm & Sirk 2007:209–210; Olesk 2022:60). Aliise Moora's work diaries also reflect the load of Soviet bureaucracy: continuous statistical and political reports, five-year plans, and plans of staff education. These requirements, however, were not systematic but intensely chaotic, as Aliise Moora notes with frustration even in her official work diary in spring 1949: "…compiled the account of using ERM collections since 1946 for Comrade Kilvits again in a new variant (for the fourth time!)."[25]

From the end of 1948, so-called revealing meetings began at the universities, research institutions, and creative unions of the Estonian SSR and gained greater momentum in 1949–1950. The peak of the revelations and purges was in 1950, and in April of the same year, Harri Moora was attacked at a meeting of party activists in Tartu (Vääri 2001:32). He lost his job as Professor of Archaeology at the University of Tartu but could still continue as Head of the Archaeology Department at the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences. At the same time, ERM was "revealed" as a nest of bourgeois-nationalist views and personalities. The director, Ida Kaldmaa, was dismissed, and Aliise Moora was demoted to the post of junior researcher. Most probably, the factors used to her detriment were her education acquired in the independent Republic of Estonia, papers written in the spirit of classical ethnography, and the degradation of her husband's position. Reading her work diaries from 1949–1951, it is noticeable that she frequently had to be on night watch duty and guard the exhibition, which also seems to have been a peculiar form of repression.

The atmosphere of the period is vividly described in the minutes of the ERM work meeting of 17 May 1950. Among other questions, there was a discussion of Aliise Moora's article "Estonians", which was meant to be published as an overview in Russian in the USSR collection *Peoples of the World.* The article was sharply criticized by Oskar Sepre, an economist who had held high public offices in the Soviet Union.[26] He found that the article had to be fully rewritten to emphasize class struggle and that "the huge progress of agriculture and all aspects of life in Soviet Estonia had to be shown."[27] Neither did the article sufficiently mention the Russian influence and "help"; it was also blameworthy that the influence of Russian culture was presented "too dryly".[28] In the section on Soviet Estonian agriculture, the author was also compelled to write about "the example of the collective farms of the sister republics".[29] Conversely, in the section on the historical development of Estonian handicraft, the negative influence of the Germans should have been highlighted.[30] Ignoring historical facts, the author was also forced to foreground the deterioration of agriculture and nutrition in "bourgeois" Estonia or in 1918–1940.[31] In the summer and autumn of 1950, Aliise Moora supplemented her article, particularly on collective farm life and other themes, but not according to the recommendations of Comrade Sepre but of Harri Moora, another leading archaeologist, Artur Vassar, and the folklorist Eduard Laugaste.[32] Despite corrections, the article was not published, and it was put on hold. She resumed working on it in 1959, and the article was published as late as 1964.[33]

Although Aliise Moora was in disfavour, her work diaries confirm that her workload and responsibility did not actually decrease. She still remained a leading ethnologist whose opinion had weight in the main research trends of the discipline and who constantly assessed and reviewed colleagues' and degree applicants' papers. She also advised the Faculty of Philology and History at the University of Tartu concerning curricula and the arrangement of studies.[34]

In 1952, the name Estonian National Museum was abolished as being too nationalistic, and the institution was renamed the State Ethnographic Museum of the Estonian SSR.[35] In the same year, Aliise Moora started working in the archaeology sector[36] at the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences[37] as a junior researcher. Her work diary, however, shows that this year and a major part of the next, she still worked at the museum and continued her earlier tasks. Thus, she dealt with organizing the network of correspondents, compiled folk costume outfits for a pertinent publication, and conducted fieldwork in East Estonia in the framework of the complex expedition.[38]

Since the second half of the 1950s, Aliise Moora was also active as an expert in ethnology in the broader cultural space – she advised Estonian theatres and the film studio on questions of folk culture, reviewed film scripts, and published popular scientific articles on folk culture in the press and spoke on the radio. The proportion of direct political obligations dropped and was replaced with expert contributions essential from the viewpoint of national culture, such as consultations for researchers of local history, a tourist home or in relation to song celebrations. Nonetheless, for example, on 15 January 1956, she had to take an exam in air defence against nuclear weapons.[39]

Despite political campaigns and persecutions, Aliise Moora's research predominantly continued to rely on classical ethnography and focus on peasant culture. Her studies demonstrate that although Moscow stressed the need for ideologization of humanities and the significance of studying the socialist present, the changes remained superficial, and, by the end of the Stalinist period and the beginning of Khrushchev's thaw, ethnology, archaeology and folkloristics had become even more conservative than before World War II (Saarlo 2018; Konksi 2004). By changing the discourse, an impression about the acquisition of the Marxist-Leninist worldview was created, but the necessary references and quotations had a ritual character. In the Stalinist era Aliise Moora retained a modest position in the official system of research due to political repressions against her as a scholar and as Harri Moora's wife.

A Mature Researcher in Advanced Socialist Society, 1957–1980

In the second half of the 1950s, Aliise Moora continued studying Russian-Estonian relations and folk culture on the shore of Lake Peipsi, with the aim of defending a Candidate's degree in history. The work diaries, however, show the diversity of her tasks, which clearly fragmented her energy and attention and caused a delay in completing the dissertation. For example,

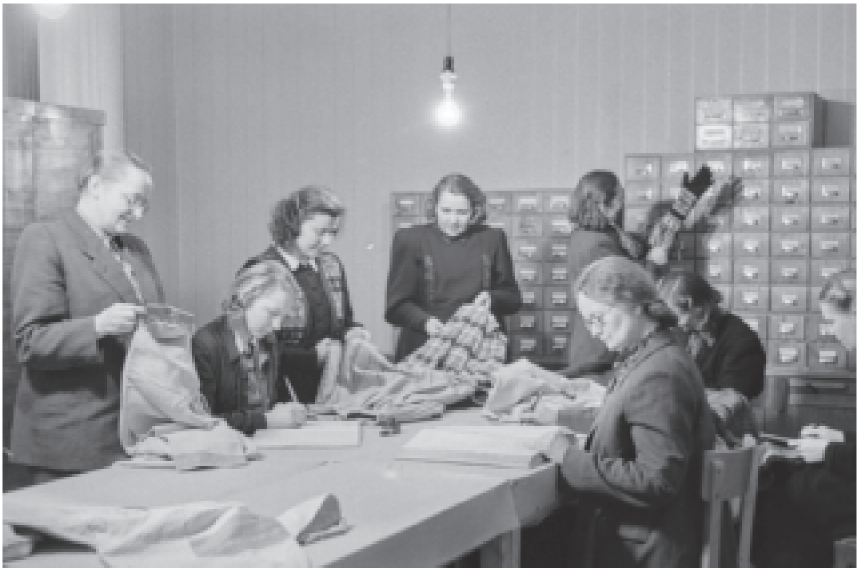

Figure 4. Women ethnographers preparing a book on folk costumes at ERM in 1953. Standing from the left Jenny Nõu, Tamara Paevere, Endla Lõoke, Ella Vahe. Seated Lehti Konsin, Aliise Moora, Tiina Võti and Linda Trees. Photo Uudo Rips. ERM Fk 1185:29.

in 1957–1959, she reviewed the articles, reports, and fieldwork summaries of seventeen colleagues and helped them compile ethnographical questionnaires.[40] She also compiled an overview of peasant culture for the general history of the Estonian SSR and partly wrote and edited a book on folk costumes (Moora 1957). Although Harri Moora has been marked as the chief editor of the latter, the contribution of Aliise Moora and her female colleagues at ERM is clearly greater (see fig. 4). This is another example of women's invisible work in both academic and museological contexts (Klein 2013).

It is also noteworthy that, in addition to her own fieldwork in East Estonia and the Leningrad and Pskov regions of Russia, Aliise Moora also participated in her husband Harri Moora's archaeological expeditions, for example in 1957, even at three different places.[41] Her activity as an expert was also extensive. She started counselling at the Estonian Open Air Museum, founded in 1957, and remained a member of its research council until the end of her life. She also advised on how to arrange the ethnographical collection of the Estonian History Museum. Likewise, she consistently gave advice about local history research that had been revived in the late 1950s. The latter became for decades one of the activities for preserving Estonian patriotism and opposing the Soviet treatment of history. The leading role in this movement belonged to pre-war intellectuals.

During the Stalinist regime, the works of Western researchers were inaccessible to Estonian ethnologists. The studies of both Estonian and Western colleagues written before World War II had been either destroyed or placed in special collections of libraries.[42] In the late 1950s, researchers could read foreign authors' works again after a long time. The work diary shows that in 1958, Aliise Moora could use Toivo Vuorela's dictionary of ethnography (*Kansatieteen sanasto*) published in the same year.[43] In the following year, she could read Kustaa Vilkuna's papers on the folk calendar.[44] Little by little, personal contacts were revived. Vilkuna was the first foreign ethnographer to visit Estonia after World War II, in February 1956.[45] In the autumn of the same year, other scholars of the humanities, including Vuorela, came to Estonia (Raudsepp 2023:211). It can be supposed that during this visit, Vilkuna also met Harri and Aliise Moora. As Vilkuna had close contacts with Gustav Ränk, who lived in Sweden, he was most probably able to act as a mediator of information between Estonian ethnologists living in the homeland and abroad. It is also noteworthy that on the 50th anniversary of ERM in 1959, Niilo Valonen, who was Associate Professor of Finno-Ugric Ethnology at the University of Helsinki, was also allowed to visit the museum, and Aliise Moora talked to him. In 1960, she gained access to a book by August Nigol, who had studied Estonian settlements on the shore of Lake Peipsi but his works were prohibited in Soviet time.[46] In 1963, she could read the book on Votians by Gustav Ränk (Ränk 1960), and, in 1964, Ilmar Talve's study on the sauna and the threshing barn (Talve 1960).[47] Both scholars had emigrated and were until then considered enemies by the Soviet regime. The mildening of the socio-political atmosphere can also be seen from the fact that from 1962, the compulsory field "ideological and political work" disappears from Aliise Moora's work diaries and is replaced with "voluntary work", which consisted of popularizing research as well as singing in the women's choir of the Academy of Sciences.[48]

Aliise Moora defended her Candidate's dissertation *On the Ethnic History of the Shore of Lake Peipsi* as late as December 1964, when she was 62 (Moora 1964).[49] This concluded her research on Estonian-Russian relations and ethnogenesis that started in the 1940s. The dissertation is a regional study that deals with cultural contacts and the formation of ethnic composition in the region. The whole monograph is characterized by precision in historical and ethnographic details. Her approach is interdisciplinary, incorporating historical, archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic analysis as well as the region's ecological and economic historical context. Along with settlement history, the author deals in greater detail with the history of agriculture, horticulture, fishing, handicrafts, and other fields of life in the region. She also discusses thoroughly the themes of folk economy, buildings, customs, food, folk costumes, the regional vocabulary, and semantics of folk culture in the border areas (in addition to Estonian-Russian contacts also Votian and Izhorian materials). Following the guidelines of the era, Aliise Moora emphasizes the friendly relations between Estonians and Russians, although the delay in the completion of the study enabled her to moderate the Soviet ideological rhetoric compared to the 1950s. Considering the time and circumstances of writing the dissertation, using contemporary Western studies was impossible.

Instead of the patronizing attitude to research subjects common in Soviet humanities research of the period, Aliise Moora showed sincere respect and attention to her interviewees, which is also expressed in the preface to the *Ethnic History of the Shore of Lake Peipsi*:

> My deepest thanks go out to the people in the villages on the shore of Lake Peipsi who trustingly opened the doors of their homes during my expeditions to collect the material and kindly shared their knowledge, observations, and memories (Moora 1964:5).

In Soviet Estonian ethnography, the aim of ethnographic descriptions was to give as objective a description of culture as possible. The personalities of both the researcher (or questioner/collector) and respondent had to be eradicated from it. Consequently, often "man was completely eliminated" from Soviet-era ethnographies (Pärdi 1995:79–80). Thus, it is somewhat exceptional that in her ethnographic accounts, Aliise Moora has given voice to her informants, which characterizes her empathic attitude. In retrospect, she has emphasized her emotional connection with traditional rural life since childhood, which helped her understand and value what country people shared with her (Tarand 1982). Such an attitude is expressed in the following examples from her monograph:

> To get an idea of how this work is done, we let the Estonian women of Mustvee and Kasepää who grow chicory speak for themselves.
>
> The life of Estonian fishermen in the Peipsi region is characterized by the memories of Ann Ope (born approximately 1870) who came from an old fishermen's family. (Moora 1964: 161, 167)

She does not, however, analyse the storytelling or narratives collected from people *per se*; stories are included in the ethnographic text as examples illustrating the historical reality of bygone times (cf. Metslaid 2019).

Even after Aliise Moora had been awarded the Candidate's degree, a great deal of her working time was filled with various technical tasks, e.g., taking minutes at meetings, technical editing of colleagues' manuscripts, dealing with formalities related to printing, editing, and proofreading of Russian translations, etc. Such tasks can be characterized as "institutional housekeeping" in academia because "it involves the invisible and supportive work of women that is usually performed without resources and recognition and is related to issues of institutional responsibility and women's academic advancement" (Bird, Litt & Wang 2004:195). In addition, she regularly wrote popular scientific articles for magazines, performed in radio broadcasts, and gave advice on questions concerning the cultural context in films and theatre productions.

The work diaries and work reports from the 1960s and early 1970s[50] reveal that, from the second half of the 1960s, one of the focuses of Aliise Moora's research was Estonian peasants' foodways. She worked on the relevant material in the collections of ERM, the archive and card index of the State Literary Museum of the Estonian SSR, and the materials of the dialect sector of the Institute of Language and Literature. To find comparative material, she did fieldwork in Latvia, Lithuania, and the Leningrad region of Russia. A real breakthrough in Aliise Moora's work was in 1969, when she got permission to work for three weeks in Helsinki.[51] She worked intensively at the University of Helsinki, the National Museum of Finland, and the Finnish Literature Society, collecting material on the sources of folk food culture and consulting pertinent studies. Participation in the international congress of Finno-Ugrists in Tallinn in 1970 and in the USSR congress of Scandinavian studies in 1973, where she delivered the paper "Common Features in Estonian and Scandinavian Peasants' Food", also provided new opportunities for keeping in touch with contemporary Western research.[52]

Aliise Moora's monograph, *The Older Food of Estonian Peasants*, which is until now the only historical ethnographic overview of Estonian peasants' food culture, remained unpublished for many years. Its first part appeared as late as 1980, and the second part came out in independent Estonia in 1991 (Moora 1980; 1991). On the one hand, the delay in publishing research papers was usual in the Soviet period because of the bureaucracy; editing, censoring, and printing took months or even years. On the other hand, the holdup of Aliise Moora's study reflects the marginal status of food culture as a research topic in Soviet ethnography. Furthermore, the decision to focus on historical peasant foodways enabled her to avoid the challenges of Soviet reality. (Soviet food culture became a research interest for Estonian ethnologists only in the 2000s (see Bardone and Kannike 2020)). As noted by Håkan Jönsson, although research on food has been part of ethnological studies since the beginning of the 1900s, it was rarely considered the main research topic and has been revived in European ethnology only since the 1970s. Researchers of this period focused on mapping food as a form of cultural expression: the origins of foodstuffs, their production and consumption, and habits and customs related to food and eating (Jönsson 2022:181–182). Considering this, Aliise Moora's study fitted well into the ethnological scholarship on food of the time, albeit with limited connections with colleagues from the West.[53]

In her research on food culture, Aliise Moora gave prominence to the methodological aims set by her teacher Ilmari Manninen for studying peasants' traditional material culture (see Manninen 2005 (1924)). She also paid great attention to language history, which was related to the historical-geographical method used in Estonian ethnography from the 1920s to the 1980s. Additionally, she also included the principles of diffusionism, or the spread of cultural elements, which were earlier known in anthropology (Annist & Kaaristo 2013; Jääts & Metslaid 2018). When writing *The Older Food of Estonian Peasants*, Aliise Moora's aim was to create a possibly comprehensive overview, to identify the most essential foods and the geographical spread of their typological variations, to establish the ethnographical cultural regions related to essential foodstuffs and dishes, and to find relations between the food cultures of Estonians and the neighbouring peoples. Following the historical-geographical method, Aliise Moora's study contains numerous distribution maps on which she provides an overview of the spread and names of concrete foods and drinks, ways and means of food processing, and eating habits and customs. The passion for mapping food culture survived longer in food research than in other fields of European ethnology (Bringéus 2000).[54]

In *The Older Food of Estonian Peasants*, as with the study of the ethnic culture at the shore of Lake Peipsi, Aliise Moora values the manner of expression of her informants or the correspondents of the Ethnographic Museum, their language, and their world view. Aliise Moora also expressed this research principle in her article on "Collections of the Ethnographic Museum as a Basis for Studying Peasant Food":

> the researcher gains a lot from the respondent's vivid explanations and apt comparisons about the phenomenon discussed. This can be more inspiring for understanding the situation in the past and drawing conclusions than a dry list of facts. (Moora 1973:264)

Aliise Moora's descriptions of the role of different foodstuffs in Estonian culture are also based on expressive and abundant folk heritage – for example, in the case of fish, descriptions of fishing rituals, attitudes towards varied species (e.g., eels were despised as food in older times), regional names, exchange of fish for grain, and finally, evaluation of farm masters depending on what kind of fish and how much was given to servants for food.

When writing *The Older Food of Estonian Peasants*, Aliise Moora relied on abundant material comparing Estonian and neighbouring cultures with the aim of pointing out cultural contacts and influences – what is original, what has been borrowed and from where, and how the cultural loans have been adopted and adjusted to the local situation.[55] Instead of the mainly Russian influences that were predominant in her dissertation, the author finds comparisons with peoples in the Baltic Sea region and kindred Finno-Ugric peoples. Particularly often, she used the works of the older generation of Finnish and Swedish researchers (Sigurd Erixon, Kustaa Vilkuna, Toivo Vuorela, Nils-Arvid Bringéus). To some extent, the studies of German ethnologists from the 1950s–1960s were also available to her. This reflects both the mildening of ideological pressure and the author's maturation as a researcher, including her ability to integrate the Estonian material into a broader cultural context and research discourse.

Aliise Moora's study on food has notable similarities with *From Milk to Cheese* (1966) by Gustav Ränk, who worked as Associate Professor of Ethnology at the University of Stockholm from 1955 (Ränk 1966). Ränk also relied on written answers to ethnological questionnaires, collections of objects and drawings at museums, and fieldwork in Sweden, with the aim of providing an extensive, synthesizing, and comparative study on the history of cheese in the Nordic countries (Ränk 2010:341–343). Both researchers were interested in the longer development history of foodstuffs from the archaeological material to the twentieth century, as well as the mapping of broad cultural geographical connections and influences. They documented the methods and tools of food processing, their regional differences, and the place of foodstuffs in the peasant diet and eating habits. Aliise Moora refers to most of Ränk's works published either before or after World War II and to his study on cheese which he sent to her in 1971. Nonetheless, the preserved correspondence shows that the two researchers communicated, asked for, and gave each other advice.[56]

In the 1970s, when already a professor emeritus, Ränk commented appreciatively on Aliise Moora's research in his letter to her:

> The most important is that you, as soon as possible, present the descriptive Estonian material, and completely. The field of the food economy in which you are working now is innovative and, therefore, has great value for research. When you finish it, you have done real pioneering work, which future researchers, not only in the homeland, will appreciate highly.[57]

It is telling that her colleagues in the homeland did not fully acknowledge the significance of Aliise Moora's research, but recognition came from a compatriot living in exile. Ränk's assessment was more valuable, as he could see Aliise Moora's contribution in the broader context of European ethnology and food culture studies.

Even though the monograph *The Older Food of Estonian Peasants* is structured mainly around different foodstuffs, their production, and consumption, considerable space is also dedicated to meals and by whom, how, and when they are prepared and eaten. The attention paid to daily meals and eating habits as research units makes it possible to compare Aliise Moora's work with the trends in ethnological and anthropological food research in the 1970s. The German scholar Ulrich Tolksdorf called for the study of meals as complex sociocultural events structured not just by food but also by shared participation in space and time, whereas Günther Wiegelmann emphasized that a meal should be the basic research unit as it comprises all important aspects in ethnological food research; any eating situation can be considered a meal that is not only structured by culture but also structures people's everyday lives (Tolksdorf 1976; Wiegelmann 1972). The British anthropologist Mary Douglas saw a similarity between the grammatical structures that organize language and the elements and structures that organize meals in different cultures (Douglas 1972; Douglas & Nicod 1974). Although Aliise Moora does not use the theoretical ideas suggested by these scholars, she reaches fairly similar results when discussing peasants' eating habits in her monograph, demonstrating how working days were divided into periods between meals, which were the main meals of the day, and when some light snacks were taken, which foods were eaten on which days of the week, and which foods were used together during one meal, which special foods were eaten on holidays and at festive events, how the peasant family ate at the table on working days, and what rights everyone had (Moora 1980:65–97; Moora 1991:245–264). Moora likewise emphasizes how it is essential to view meals as social events, as by studying the meals one does not only get information on food but also on the culture and society of a period.

Despite her academic degree, fruitful activity, and research contacts, Aliise Moora had to compile a new CV and list of research papers in 1971 (at the age of 71!) to apply for the position of senior researcher. Thus, unlike her male colleagues, whose careers had also been interrupted during Stalin's time, Aliise Moora remained at the lowest level in the hierarchy of researchers until the end of her professional life.[58] The same applies to other women who were active in ethnonational research disciplines – in ethnology, archaeology, and folkloristics; the positions of professors, museum directors, heads of departments, or sectors at institutes were without exception filled by men in the Soviet period.[59] Until the 1970s, women's situation in ethnology was challenging also in Scandinavian countries.[60] In addition, Aliise Moora's working conditions as a researcher were most inconvenient, even at her mature age. This can be seen from her letter sent to the director of the Institute of History in 1960, where she asks for permission to work at the institute in the evenings:

> As our workroom has become ever more crowded, there is no peace and quiet there for working in the daytime. As you know, our room is used by 11 people; in addition, other staff members use the archives, catalogues, plans, etc., that are held in cabinets in our room. The collected material and everything else necessary for work is at the institute, and I have no room of my own for working at home either.[61]

From the late 1950s, Aliise Moora's work diaries and research papers reflect how, in the slowly liberalizing Soviet society, she used the opportunities to abandon politically compulsory themes and to delve into the history of peasant culture, which interested her most. Estonian peasants' pre-modern food culture gradually became her main research focus. She broadened her scholarly perspective by relying on Western colleagues' contemporary works that had become available through Finland. During her entire career as a researcher, Aliise Moora did not accept the paradigm of Soviet ethnography, which emphasized academic objectivity and distance from the research object and depicted peasants' material and intangible heritage as a backward phenomenon compared to the "progressive" present.

Conclusion

Aliise Moora's long life and career as a researcher provide a unique example of a female researcher's opportunities for self-realization and of using these opportunities for more than half a century under different political circumstances. She followed the guidelines and techniques of contemporary ethnology based on Scandinavian models in her research and work at the museum prior to World War II.

Aliise Moora's work diaries allow us to state that being the wife of Harri Moora, one of the most eminent Estonian researchers in the humanities in the 1930s–1960s, influenced her path as a researcher in a contradictory way. Thanks to joint interests in research, her connections with the development of ethnology and museology were not broken when she was taking care of their children in the 1930s. However, her husband being proclaimed a "bourgeois nationalist" in the peak years of the Stalinist regime hindered her career and even led to repressions. All through her long life, it was essential for Aliise Moora, along with her own research, to help her spouse in his research and take care of their large family.

In the post-war years, Aliise Moora played a leading role in restoring the pre-war ethnological research and mission of ERM, but thereafter, she was demoted to a marginal position for political reasons. In Stalin's time, Estonian ethnologists had to follow strict ideological guidelines from Moscow in their research. Nonetheless, Aliise Moora used traditional sources and methods of ethnology in her research and preferred the politically more neutral historical analysis of peasant culture. Since the late 1950s, she managed to re-establish her authority as an ethnological expert but nevertheless remained in the position of a junior researcher. In the 1960s and 1970s, the control of and pressure on research by Soviet central authorities decreased, but contacts with foreign colleagues remained limited. Working at the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences, Aliise Moora could again gain access to Western studies, and establish personal contacts and correspondence. In her Candidate's dissertation on the ethnic history of the shore of Lake Peipsi, she had to consider the Soviet ideological framework and methodology to a certain extent. The subsequent treatment of peasants' food culture, however, was comparable to similar studies in European ethnology and social anthropology at the time.

Aliise Moora was a talented researcher and research administrator, but her career did not progress – obtaining the Candidate's degree was delayed, and she remained a junior researcher until her mature years. Although she was an undisputed authority in Estonian ethnology and its neighbouring disciplines and a consultant for many colleagues, a great part of her work consisted of technical and organizational activities. Aliise Moora did not join the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was indispensable for advancement in one's professional career. Although the Soviet ideology emphasized equality between women and men, the research hierarchy was rather chauvinist, and it was considered natural that leading positions were filled by men. Women, however, fulfilled institutional housekeeping tasks in academic institutions.

Aliise Moora made a remarkable contribution to Estonian humanities as both an ethnologist and a research organizer. In the Soviet period, ethnological research was, among everything else, one of the ways to support the suppressed national identity. Aliise Moora's work has lasting value as a basis for contemporary interpretations of cultural heritage at both academic and applied levels.

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[1] The University of Tartu had begun to admit women as late as 1915, initially only to the Faculties of Medicine, History, and Philology, and they had been inscribed from 1917.

[2] The peace treaty with Soviet Russia was signed in February 1920.

[3] In 1920, the number of students at the University of Tartu was approximately 700. In 1920–1940, approximately a third of the students were women. Still, many of them interrupted their studies for economic and family reasons (Laidla 2019).

[4] The designations of ethnography and folklife studies (rahvateadus; kansatiede in Finnish; folkslivsforskning in Swedish) were both used in the interwar period; under the Soviet regime, the only accepted term was ethnography. From the contemporary perspective, we refer to the discipline as ethnology.

[5] These included several women who studied ethnography at the same time: Helmi Reiman-Neggo, Helmi Kurrik, Ella Koern, and Helmi Üprus.

[6] ERM EA 6:2/139–508

[7] She worked temporarily (1927–1928 and 1930–1931) at the Archaeological Museum of the University of Tartu (ERM Archive, Stock 1, Series 1, Item 69), but stopped working in the 1930s.

[8] In total, 1537 women graduated from the University of Tartu in 1919–1939 or 27% of all the graduates (Lepp 1940:229). Nonetheless, in 1934, such women comprised only 0.3% of the population of Estonia (Poska-Grünthal 1936:87).

[9] For details see Viires 1993:7–8.

[10] In 1946–1963 ERM was subordinated to the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR.

[11] As mentioned above, many Soviet scholars were also accused of conducting anti-Soviet research and were repressed.

[12] The same yearbook included the instructive article by Sergey Tolstov, a leading Soviet ethnographer of the period, “Ethnography and the Present Day” (Tolstov 1947).

[13] Work diary 1948–1950.

[14] Andrei Zhdanov (1896–1948) was the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading figure in cultural policy in Stalin’s time.

[15] The resolution published in August 1946 criticised the apolitical stance and bourgeois mentality of these literary journals, primarily the creations of Zoshchenko and Akhmatova published in them.

[16] Censorship in academic research was practised at multiple levels, from researchers' field diaries, institutional reports, to publishing houses.

[17] Collectivisation of farm-based rural life in Estonia began after the war, but became a mass campaign in 1949 after about 20 thousand people were deported.

[18] Country people were forced to join collective farms by threats of violence and repressions.

[19] The Baltic researchers who participated in complex expeditions were subjugated to control by Moscow researchers and had to submit reports to Moscow, but the material was analysed locally.

[20] Work diary 1948–1950: 1948, 1949.

[21] The Candidate of Sciences was equivalent to a PhD, yet, the demands were high, the bureaucratic procedures complicated and therefore the thesis often turned out to be a scholar's lifework (Vunder 1996:17). Until the second half of the 1970s ethnologists could obtain the degree in Estonia, but later, according to the new rules, applicants had to defend their degrees at the universities in Moscow, St Petersburg, Minsk etc. (Viires 1993:16).

[22] This division had earlier been described by Ferdinand Linnus (1895–1942), Gustav Ränk (1902–1998) et al. For understandable reasons, Aliise Moora could not refer to their studies.

[23] Work diary 1952–1954: Sunday, 8 June 1952.

[24] Work diary 1948–1950: 1949; work diary 1952–1954: 1952, 1954.

[25] Work diary 1948–1950: 16 March 1949.

[26] Oskar Sepre (1900–1968) had been imprisoned for communist activities before World War II. After the 1940 coup, he was Chairman of the Estonian SSR Planning Committee, later academician and researcher at the Institute of Economics.

[27] ERM Archive, Stock 1, Series 1, Item 47, p. 2. Work meeting of the Estonian National Museum of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences on 17 May 1950.

[28] Ibid, p. 3.

[29] Ibid, p. 4.

[30] Ibid, p. 5.

[31] Ibid, p. 6.

[32] Work diary 1948–1950: 1949.

[33] Peoples of the World: Ethnographic Essays. Peoples of the European Part of the USSR / Academy. Moscow: Nauka, 1964. - Such long publishing cycles were typical in the Soviet Union.

[34] For example, in spring 1953, she discussed with Hilda Moosberg, Head of the Department of History at Tartu State University, the syllabus of ethnography – lectures, seminar papers and organisation of summer fieldwork for students. Work diary, February-March 1953.

[35] For the sake of clarity, we will still refer to the museum as ERM.

[36] Harri Moora was the leader of the sector. There were two ethnographers working there at the beginning, Aliise Moora and Jelizaveta Richter. The latter also came over from the museum.

[37] The number of ethnologists working in the sector of archaeology increased during the years. A separate sector of ethnography was founded as late as in 1983 (Viires 1993:15).

[38] Work diary 1952–1954: 1952–1953.

[39] Work diary 1954–1965: 15 January 1956.

[40] Work diary 1957–1958; Work diary 1959–1962.

[41] Work diary 1957–1958: 1957.

[42] To use them, a special written permit had to be applied for, which presumed consent by the management of the institution and security organs.

[43] Work diary 1957–1958: 1958.

[44] Work diary 1959–1962: 1959.

[45] This was obviously possible thanks to Vilkuna's political reputation – he was a close adviser of President Urho Kekkonen. For details see: Honko 1981.

[46] Work diary 1959–1962: 1960. August Nigol had been killed by Bolsheviks in 1918.

[47] Work diary 1962–1964: 1963.

[48] Work diary 1962–1964.

[49] In the Soviet Union, women could retire at the age of 55, but Aliise Moora continued working for several decades after retirement.

[50] A. Moora's research report for 1968–1973.

[51] In the eyes of the Soviet authorities, Aliise Moora was a suspicious person, as her eldest son, Rein Moora, had fled Estonia during the war, served in the Finnish army, and later lived in Sweden. The situation was even more complicated as, in the 1950s, the KGB tried to use Harri Moora to establish contacts with exile Estonian researchers in Sweden, writing letters under his name (for details, see Salminen 2012:106–107). Harri Moora visited Sweden for the first time in 1957, and both spouses went to Finland and Sweden in 1967.

[52] Research report for 1968–1973.

[53] For instance, she could not attend international conferences organised by the Ethnological Food Research Group, which was established in 1970 following its first symposium in Lund the same year (see Bringéus 2000).

[54] Nils-Arvid Bringéus notes that one of the peculiarities of the ethnological food studies of the 1970s was the focus on different food elements, particularly material objects related to food culture, as a considerable part of food research was conducted in museums where household utensils formed a significant part of the collections; and additionally in institutes responsible for ethnological atlas work (1981:230).

[55] Manninen 2005 (1924); Viires 1970; on similar approach in Europe in general, see, e.g., Nic Craith 2008:9–10.

[56] ERM Ak 5:2/3, pp. 81–98.

[57] Gustav Ränk`s letter to Aliise Moora, April 26, 1972, ERM Ak 5:2/3, p. 91.

[58] Ants Viires defended his Candidate's thesis in 1955 and became head of the ethnography sector at the Institute of History; Jüri Linnus defended his thesis in 1983 but held several leading positions, including that of research director at ERM from 1956–1986.

[59] The first woman Professor of Ethnology at the University of Tartu, Elle Vunder, was elected to this post in 1994.

[60] For example, Anna Brigitta Rooth (1919–2000) of the University of Uppsala became the first Swedish woman professor of ethnology as late as in 1973, and it was not simple for her to prove herself in the company of men (Klein 2013:140).

[61] Aliise Moora's application to the director of the Institute of History at the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, 19 January 1960.

“She Did Not Want a Husband, and Least of All This One”

Marriage and Gendered Power Relations in Icelandic Folk Legends

Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir

Abstract
The article looks at how marriage appears in Icelandic folk legend collections from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while focusing on the portrayal of femininity and gendered power relations. The focus is on legends of women and nonsupernatural men as well as women and male outlaws, which are common in Icelandic folktale collections. The legends show women being forced into marriage, difficulties within marriage and eventually perhaps women’s hopes for a better life. The article considers the messages about and for women conveyed in the legends, bearing in mind that while legends tend to reflect the societies to which they belong, they can also potentially affect and shape their environments.

Keywords: legends, femininity, marriage, iceland, outlaws, violence, Iceland

Introduction

In nineteenth-century Iceland, one of the main institutions of society was the family, which usually started with marriage. Marriage in Iceland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a contract made by two people, a man and a woman. It was not always based on romantic love but was a mutual agreement which was supposed to be beneficial to both. Nevertheless, the man was the head of the house, and according to ruling ideology, the wife should be obedient to her husband (Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir 2011:83–85).

While relatively few Icelandic folk legends tell of wedding ceremonies or festivities, there are many which focus on the themes of love and/or marriage. In this article the focus will be on those legends which tell of the position of women within marriage and the gendered power relations which appear in them. The legends examined here tell of marriages between non-supernatural men and women, as well as between women and male outlaws.[1] They focus on women who are forced into marriage, either by their fathers or future husbands, difficulties and violence within marriages and finally legends which might reflect women's hopes for a better life. I seek to examine the portrayal of these women and the power relations found within them, as well as what impact those legends might have had on those who heard them.

Looking at legends as sources for the societies in which they were told, as will be done here, is a well-known method in folkloristics. While legends cannot be considered accurate historical sources, they nevertheless convey a certain truth as they offer valuable insights into the societies in which they were told (Alver 1989:149; Röhrich 1991:9; Palmenfelt 1993:157; Tangherlini 1994:15–17). Therefore, it can be said that they contain a reflection of people's ideas about the world around them (Holbek 1998:435; Dégh 1989:181; Siikala 1990:39). Legends can also work as a guide to what was considered appropriate behaviour, what was considered normal and what should be avoided (Gunnell 2008:15). Legends can thereby be said to contain unwritten rules about behaviour and communication, not least with regard to gender and class. Legends are thus both affected by their society and have the ability to shape and impact it, mediating certain ideas to those who hear them. It is important to note that in Iceland, legends are sometimes longer than elsewhere, meaning that the borders between legends and wonder tales can sometimes seem blurred (Guðrún Bjartmarsdóttir 1988:15; Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson 1989:228). Nevertheless, as in other countries, Icelandic legends purport to take place in the real world of the people who told them; they are often set in a specific time and connected to specific places and people.

When working with legends it is always important to bear in mind where the material originates from and how it might have been influenced by factors such as individual storytellers and collectors. Here, the emphasis is placed on the material contained in the three earliest and most extensive folktale collections,[2] as well as the only collection from this time made by a woman, Torfhildur Þ. Hólm. Her legend collection is important as it is also the only one which includes more legends attributed to female storytellers than male (Júlíana Þóra Magnúsdóttir 2010:134). This gender bias found within the collections is something which must always be kept in mind, especially when examining the portrayal of women and gendered power relations within the material. The *Sagnagrunnur* Icelandic legend database, which contains information on 10,110 published legends, was used to find additional legends which will be considered where relevant (*Sagnagrunnur*; Gunnell 2010; Trausti Dagsson & Holownia 2020). This article draws on both folkloristics and gender studies, the approach being essentially historical folklore studies with an emphasis on gender history and gendered power relations (see, for example, Gill, 2000:172–190; Phillips and Jørgensen

2002:61; Sigríður Matthíasdóttir 2002:32–34; Ingólfur Á. Jóhannesson 2010:252).

Marriage in Iceland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Up until the late nineteenth century Icelandic society was primarily a rural farming and fishing community. The farm was both the home and the workplace of most people, and social and legal restrictions as well as religious ideology had a great deal of influence on social standing and human rights. Most women in the nineteenth century became either housewives (if they got married) or housemaids (Guðmundur Hálfdánarson 1993:18).[3] However, not all women had the possibility to get married. Up until the end of the nineteenth century a set of laws called *Vistarbandið*, intended to ensure that everyone had a place to live and that farmers had cheap workers, placed marriage restraints on workers. The laws forbade marriage among the unpropertied classes, stating among other things that people who had received money from the parish during the last ten years were not allowed to get married. This situation was not specific to Iceland but known all around Europe. What was specific to Iceland though was that around 25% of the population remained in the position of unpropertied labourers throughout the nineteenth century (Gísli Gunnarsson 1987:32–38; see also Vilhelm Vilhelmsson 2017). While for male farmworkers the situation was often temporary, many women remained housemaids throughout their lives (Guðmundur Hálfdánarson 1993:18). Among other things, this law also resulted in the average marriage age in Iceland being rather high compared to other countries at the time. In the years 1891–1895, it was age 30.8 for men and 28.2 for women (Símon Jón Jóhannsson & Ragnhildur Viðarsdóttir 1991:73).

Marriage granted women some additional rights. From the time of Iceland’s settlement until the nineteenth century, arranged marriages were not uncommon, and autobiographies of people from the late eighteenth until the late nineteenth century suggest that romance was not always the biggest factor in choosing a spouse (Inga Huld Hákonardóttir 1995:121). When marriage was considered acceptable, the tradition in Iceland was that the men proposed to women, rather than the other way around, and in upper-class families at least, men were required to seek the father’s consent to marry his daughter (Árni Björnsson 1996:191).

As can be seen by mass-produced texts written or translated by Icelandic men for Icelandic women, as well as personal sources and memoirs, in nineteenth-century Iceland, girls were brought up in a way that directed them towards becoming either good housewives and mothers or loyal housemaids.[4] Girls were taught to raise children and do housework and chores neatly, and to be helpful and obedient to their husbands or masters (Símon Jón Jóhannsson & Ragnhildur Viðarsdóttir 1991:55; Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir 2011:83; Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir 2020:293). One of the best-known Icelandic guides for young men and housewives was written by the priest Björn Halldórsson (1724–1794). He published his guide for young men around 1780 and wrote a guide for housewives around the same time. His guide for women however was not published until 1843, after he had passed away. In the guide for men there is a section on how to choose a spouse. There it is noted that the best qualities to look for in a wife are that they are hardworking and clean, save money, are reliable, obedient, sociable and god-fearing (Björn Halldórsson 1983:58; Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir 2011:84). The later guide for women is aimed at the wives of wealthy farmers, ministers and officers. According to this book, the housewife is responsible for raising children, telling workers what to do and running the home with determination, frugality and resourcefulness. The book also underlines that a woman should be god-fearing and an icon of goodness and tolerance. As a wife, she must be her husband's best friend, adviser and confidant but still be submissive and follow her husband's advice (Björn Halldórsson 1973; Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir 2011:84–85).

The idea that women should be obedient to their husbands is also echoed in ministers' speeches at wedding ceremonies in Iceland in the nineteenth century, where it was stressed with references to the Bible that the man was at the top of the hierarchy and the wife should obey him (Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir 2009:87). Women were given by their fathers to their husbands, and married women did not become financially independent until the 1900s and the man remained in charge of estate until 1920 (Símon Jón Jóhannsson & Ragnhildur Vigfúsdóttir 1991:98). Emphasis is also nevertheless put on the fact that both men and women should have the respect and support of their spouse (Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir 2009:92–93). By the end of the nineteenth century things begin to change and one can see discussion and objection to gender inequality, both in general and in relation to wedding ceremonies and marriage (Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir 2009:100–101).

For a long time, marriage was also a very binding contract, as it was difficult to get divorced. During the sixteenth century in the Nordic countries both men and women had equal rights to divorce on the grounds of adultery, impotence and malicious desertion. These provisions remained formally in force in Iceland until the modern marriage and divorce legislation of the twentieth century was implemented (Ólöf Garðarsdóttir & Brynja Björnsdóttir 2018:95–96).[5] Divorce rates in Iceland were similar to that described in the Nordic countries during the nineteenth century: stable and low. As the historians Ólöf Garðarsdóttir and Brynja Björnsdóttir have noted, it could be risky for people to get divorced as it could affect their position within society. Divorced individuals had to negotiate a financial settlement and men and women could move from being farmers into the position of workers or paupers (Ólöf Garðarsdóttir & Brynja Björnsdóttir 2018:101).

Women Who Are Forced to Marry

As noted above, while relatively few Icelandic legends focus on or tell of weddings or wedding ceremonies and festivities, many of them deal with themes such as love and/or marriage. While naturally some Icelandic legends include happily married people or portray marriage as the ultimate goal of men or women (as is often the case in wonder tales),[6] there is often little description of their married life or role as husband or wife in those legends and they give us limited insight into the gendered power relations at work. However, as Ulf Palmenfelt and Bengt Holbek have both pointed out, conflict between the sexes is one of the main driving forces in many legends and wonder tales, effectively reflecting the society these narratives belong to (Palmenfelt 1993:151; Holbek 1998:416). The legends dealt with here include such conflict, as they give us further insights into the gendered power relations which exist within married life.

The focus here is first and foremost on legends which tell of marriage between non-supernatural men and women, as well as those legends which tell of marriage between male outlaws and women. In Icelandic legends outlaws are often presented as dangerous almost inhuman or supernatural figures. They live outside of human society and are known to steal both sheep and people (Lindow 1998:109; Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir 2016:38). Outlawry was a form of punishment in medieval Iceland and involved people being banished from society either for three years or even permanently for breaking the law. Legends of outlaws can be said to be on the border of legends and wonder tales. It is nevertheless clear that some Icelanders believed in and feared dangerous or supernatural outlaws until the nineteenth century (Ólafur Briem 1983:7–9). The connection between the legendary outlaws and reality has been discussed by several scholars since. These include Kirsten Hastrup, who argues that the outlaw figure became increasingly supernatural in Iceland over the course of time, and Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, who believed that their relationship to the real world kept them from fully transforming into trolls (see Hastrup, 1985:143; Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, 2003:222–225; see also Írena Líf Styrkársdóttir, 2019). Meanwhile, Ragnheiður H. Þórarinsdóttir has argued that legends of outlaws were mostly intended to be educational rather than a form of entertainment, as they teach us how not to behave (Ragnheiður H. Þórarinsdóttir, 1998:313).

When examining the legends it is clear that they confirm the idea that women's fathers were in charge of whom their daughters married.[7] Many

Icelandic legends tell of women who are forbidden to marry the men they love. Such legends usually have a tragic ending as the women often die of sorrow as a result.[8] Other legends tell of women who do not want to marry but are forced into marriage. These legends will be examined further here.

As mentioned earlier, marriage could provide women with more rights, yet according to the legends not all women wanted to marry. That could be complicated, as in Icelandic legends it is usually dangerous for women to refuse men either sex or marriage, as that most often results in them becoming victims of violence as the men who have been refused seek revenge (Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir 2020). Many legends also tell of "stubborn" women who turn down any man that asks for their hand in marriage and are as a result eventually forced into marriage, usually by their fathers. This is for example the case in various legends of outlaws. One legend type found in several variants in the Icelandic legend collections[9] is a great example of this. The legend tells of a young girl who meets a group of outlaws (often when staying home and watching the farm while the others are at church). The girl manages to kill all the outlaws except one, who escapes. Years later, a mysterious man appears and asks to marry the young girl. She does not want to marry him but her father decides she should, as can be seen in the legend "The Bishop's Daughter in Skálholt" told by an unknown storyteller to Jón Árnason:

> The bishop spoke to his daughter about marrying this man, but she flatly refused. He said that she was being short-sighted to refuse all men: "I won't be living with you forever," he says, "and when I die you will be left without any assistance." She was unimpressed and said that she didn't want a husband, and least of all this one. The bishop said he was not going to put up with this any longer, and that he was now going to take charge of all of her affairs, meaning that she would marry this man. The bishop told the man that the marriage would take place soon and that this problem would not prevent it taking place (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, II:231).

They get married. On their wedding night, the man admits to being the outlaw who escaped all these years ago and now wants revenge by killing his new wife by running burning iron through her heart.[10] In all these legends the women manage to escape the horrible violence their new husbands intend to inflict on them.[11]

All these legends tell of women of the upper class, as their fathers are bishops, clerics or farmers. This is understandable since, as noted above, at the time it was nearly impossible for housemaids to marry. Legends of this kind also often note that the women in question have refused every man that has asked for their hand in marriage, the only reason given for this being the women's stubbornness. The fact that the women are so selective is thereby used to explain why, when the outlaw returns, often disguised as a well-educated, wealthy and powerful man, their fathers feel compelled to take action and force them to marry. Thereby, the women are shown to be at least in part to blame for their situation.[12] Here it is worth considering Mimi Schippers' idea of "emphasized femininity" and "pariah femininity". According to Schippers, emphasized femininity consists of characteristics defined as feminine or womanly and establishes and legitimates a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity. Pariah femininity on the other hand pollutes the usual power relations between masculinity and femininity in which femininity is subordinated, it encourages independence and rebellion against hegemonic ideas of gender, and those women who fall into the category of "pariah" femininity are often portrayed in a negative manner or punished in one way or another (Schippers 2007:94–95; Connell 1987:183–188; Gyða Margrét Pétursdóttir 2012:8). It is safe to say that women who kill a group of outlaws and do not want to marry can be seen as rebelling against hegemonic ideas of gender. The women are punished for not wanting to marry by being forced to marry the outlaw. Nevertheless, considering how these marriages turn out, in the case of these particular legends it could be argued that these narratives imply that forcing women into marriage is problematic, at least with mysterious men outside of the society. At the end of the legends, however, the women are regularly noted to have married someone else who proves to be a good husband. The fact that the women who did not want to get married at all in the beginning and nevertheless end up getting married diminishes their feelings towards marriage in the end. The women end up in traditional female roles as the housewives, something that is still shown as desirable, even after their previous husbands try to murder them, and therefore they do not become pariahs as they do not threaten the social order.

In the legend collections one can also find legends where it is not the father of the bride that forces her into marriage, but rather her future husband. Such legends often tell of women who are abducted from their community, most often by outlaws,[13] who intend to marry them. A good example of this can be seen in the legend "Ólafur at Aðalból", told by an unknown storyteller to Jón Árnason, in which a young woman who is engaged goes out to pick herbs but is abducted by outlaws. Her fiancé goes searching for her but cannot find her. When seventeen years have passed, a couple of sheep do not return from the mountains and the fiancé sets out to search for them but stumbles upon the valley of the outlaws who have stolen the sheep. He meets the leader of the outlaws, who tells him that he stole his fiancée all those years ago to keep as his wife:

> "I caused her disappearance and she is now my wife so you cannot have her. But our daughter is of no less worth. I have also caused the disappearance of the sheep you are searching for, to get you here. Now, I want to give you my daughter so that you will not be disadvantaged in affairs of marriage. Shall I treat you so well that you will be very happy when you part." (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, II:199)

The man takes the outlaw's offer and marries his ex-fiancée's daughter (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, II:197–201). These types of legends are also known in several variants in the Icelandic folk collections.[14] The women in these legends are usually abducted while collecting herbs, doing laundry, or travelling. It is interesting to note that in these legends very little mention is made of the feelings of the women who were abducted and how they felt in captivity all these years. It is also clear in many of the legends that the most discomfort seems to be caused to the fiancé who has lost his wife-to-be and must be compensated for that, eventually by marrying her daughter.[15]

Although there are few mentions of the feelings of the women, it is clear that they were taken against their will, as can be seen in the legend "The Story of Skúli the Farmer", which tells of the abduction of a woman by a supernatural man.[16] When she is reunited with her human fiancé, she tells him:

> A man came and took me, put me on a saddled horse and tied me on top of it. I tried to call for help, but it wasn't enough because he covered my mouth so I couldn't make a sound. Then he took me to this valley and married me. It's the same man you saw walking out of the house. He is the commissioner of this part of the country […] (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:365–367).

No further mentions are made of violence in these legends, although many of the women are also said to have had a child with their captor. Here it is also important to note that the outlaws in these legends all seem to be of the upper class, as they are sheriffs and ministers among the outlaws. The women seem to be at peace with their fate as they also do not return but stay behind with their captors.

In some versions of legends in which women are abducted by outlaws, they are rescued by their former husbands or fiancés. The legend "Ólafur and Helga", told by an old woman in the West of Iceland to Jón Árnason, tells of an outlaw who is not of high status and appears rather troll-like. In this legend it is clear that the girl is very unhappy. As the brother of the outlaw tells her former fiancé:

> She does not want to be with him and feels bad. She is kept in custody and my sisters often sit with her to comfort her and everything is done to make her as happy as possible. But it's all in vain. She neither sleeps nor eats and is overwhelmed with grief and sorrow (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, II:221).

In this version the girl is saved by her fiancé, and they get married (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, II:220–223). It is interesting to note that in the instances in which the women are rescued they have not had children with the outlaws and in some cases emphasis is put on the fact that they have not been violated by the outlaws. It could be argued that this implies that some sort of "purity" has been maintained. This can be seen, for example, in the legend "The Bishop's Foster Son from Skálholt" told by Ingibjörg

Skíðadóttir to Jón Árnason, where it is noted that in the three years that the woman was kept in captivity by the outlaw, he had "sought her affections, but in vain" (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, II:226–230). Some legends however note that although the women have been taken with the intention of marriage, when they object, they are not harmed or "forced" to do anything but rather kept as housemaids.[17]

It is interesting that although the women in these legends do not want to marry at first, all of them eventually end up married, whether it is to the outlaws and their captors or their former fiancés or rescuers. The women therefore seem to see the error of their ways and end up in their intended roles, something that might explain why they do not completely turn into pariahs in the legends, as they do eventually marry and become housewives (Schippers 2007:94–95; see also Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir 2022a:330–331). Naturally, however, not all marriages were easy.

Difficulties Within the Marriage

Several legends in the Icelandic legend collections also tell of conflict within the marriage of non-supernatural men and women. This is often because the women go against hegemonic ideas of femininity, are too independent or stubborn and become "pariahs" (Schippers 2007:94–95). In legends which tell of women who go against hegemonic ideas about femininity and take on roles more commonly attributed to men, such as running their own farms or being merchants or fishers, the women are often connected to sorcery, as a way to downplay and explain their position (Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir, 2021:300).[18] These women often also show great independence, and go against dominant ideology of what was expected of wives, such as being obedient to their husbands. This is often said to cause trouble and power struggles within the marriage.[19] A good example are legends of Þuríður formaður, an independent woman who was the captain of a fishing vessel and got a special permit to wear trousers instead of skirts. Legends surrounding her describe how she tried to get married three times, in each case the relationship ending because of how authoritative she was. The collector notes that the men chose to keep their independence rather than be in a relationship with her (Brynjúlfur Jónsson, 1975:45). A striking struggle can be seen in legends which tell of Stokkseyrar Dísa, a merchant who owns her own fishing boat in addition to taking on other male roles. In the legend told by an unknown storyteller to Jón Árnason, her husband, who is described as "dispassionate", is said to have crushed a tin dish at their wedding and told Dísa that "that is how disobedient women should be treated" (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, III:578). It is clear that he is referring to his wife, who in the legend is said to "have been known for her temperamental behaviour and malevolence" towards those who disagreed with her (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, III:578). Additionally, her husband cuts her favourite piece of underclothing to pieces, kills her favourite horse and bends her down and cuts along her back through her dress so that she bleeds, to punish her when she refuses to help his friend. The legend also notes that this was a known method to deal with disobedient women and that after this treatment she improved her behaviour (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, III:579). It is therefore clear that here the difficulties within the marriage are blamed on Stokkseyrar Dísa.

Several other Icelandic legends tell of gender-based violence within marriage. However, as in the legends of Dísa, it does not appear to be the violence that causes the trouble within the marriage but the misbehaving wives. In several legends the women are shown as deserving of punishment by their husbands for speaking up to, fighting or belittling men, reflecting the idea that women were to respect and obey them.[20] Their stubbornness is also shown as being a cause of violence. The legend "You Have Not Carried the Saddle as I Have", told by Elín Guðmundsdóttir to Torfhildur Hólm, is a good example of this. The legend tells of a farmer who has three daughters, the youngest of whom "had the temperament of being extremely stubborn", which was why no man dared to marry her (Torfhildur Hólm 1962:46). She eventually marries. On the newlyweds' way back from the wedding, she starts falling behind. Her husband asks what is wrong, but she does not answer. She then takes off in the opposite direction and her husband goes after her. When he catches her, he throws her off the horse and beats her up before leaving her there. She finally returns home, and they do not speak for the whole winter. On the last day of winter, they go and visit their families and the man wins a bet on who has the most obedient wife. The legend then notes that after this the couple stay very much in love and the woman is never stubborn again (Torfhildur Hólm 1962:46–47).[21]

In these legends the violence appears to be merely seen as a way for husbands to temper their ill-behaved wives, something that was not seen as being in opposition to the general principles of acceptable behaviour in the past (see further, Dobash & Dobash 1981:564; Lawless 2003:247; Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir 2020).[22] In Icelandic society during the period in question, it was regarded as being the responsibility of the men of the house to uphold discipline and moral values on their farm. In the Directive on Household Discipline (Húsagatilskipun) issued by the Danish king in 1745, it is stated that the farmers were free to do this by any means they saw fit (Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon 1997:145). It is nonetheless difficult to conclude exactly how common violence against women was in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Iceland, partly because very little historical research has been undertaken on the subject.

It is clear in these legends that these women appear as "pariahs". Their unfeminine qualities are underlined, and they pollute the power relations between men and women and therefore deserve to be punished. It is interesting to note that comparatively many legends which tell of domestic violence are told by women and found in the collection of Torfhildur Hólm. Here it is important to keep in mind the power relations that existed between those who collected legends and those who told them. In Iceland, as elsewhere, the collectors were mostly educated men or clerics (Gunnell, 2012:1–4). As various scholars have noted, people tend to censor themselves when talking to authorities or someone of a higher class (Foucault 1991:193; Gunnell 2012:12–13; Ólína Þorvarðardóttir 1998:259). For women these power relations were often intersectional as they were subordinated on the basis of both their gender and their class (see Crenshaw 1991 on intersectionality). It is understandable that some women might have been hesitant to tell male collectors stories about violence and difficulties within marriages. Here it is also important to note that while many of the legends found in the collection of Torfhildur Hólm and told by women, the portrayal of the women is not in their favour. As Angela Carter has noted, in patriarchal communities women commonly absorb and recapitulate dominating patriarchal values (Carter 1990:xiii). However, even though it is often the case that women are blamed for the violence that is inflicted on them, this is not always the case.

Escaping a Bad Marriage

Very few Icelandic legends from this time tell of divorce, perhaps understandably so, as it was uncommon during the period in question.[23] A particularly interesting legend type, found in several versions, can nevertheless be said to reflect the idea of women escaping bad marriages when they are abducted by outlaws, but are in the process saved from their violent husbands.[24] The legend "Sigríður from Dalur and Her Siblings", told by an unknown storyteller to Jón Árnason, is an excellent example of this. The legend tells of Sigríður, a farmer's daughter, who falls in love with a farm labourer called Gísli and after getting approval from her father, they get married. On the way home from their wedding Sigríður gets lost. She is found by an unknown man who invites to help her find the others, she agrees, and they continue for a while. Eventually, however, it becomes clear that he is an outlaw, and he is not taking her back to her husband but to his own home in a deserted valley. Sigríður is angry and does not speak for the first few days. During her first night she wakes up with a man in her bed whom she chases away with a knife. A few days later the man who took her tells her that he intends to marry her to his brother, who is a sheriff among the outlaws in the valley:

> He said he had fetched her for him since he had lost his wife this spring. There she was and she married the magistrate. They lived together for a few years and had one child. She was never cheerful or showed any joy, but was always idle (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:330).

Time passes, and one evening her husband asks her if she would like to know of her ex-husband Gísli. He goes on to tell her that Gísli did go looking for her after her disappearance, but when he could not find her, he married her sister Rósa:

> He then showed her in [a magic] mirror that Gísli was pushing and beating [Rósa]. Sigríður then put her hands around her husband's neck and tearfully begged him to come up with some way to free her sister from his clutches. He cared little about this. This was the first time she showed him some tenderness, but she always kept it that way and was more comfortable with him every day (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:331).

Shortly after, her sister Rósa shows up at the outlaw's home, cold and tired, and tells them that she had forgotten to take in the laundry so Gísli had beaten her. Rósa also moves to the valley and is saved from Gísli (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:331).

While there are not many legends of this kind, they are nevertheless worth considering. In the legend told above the outlaw uses a magic mirror to show the woman what her fate would have been had he not taken her. In many other variants, though, he simply tells her that her sister is being mistreated by her former husband. In the legend above, Sigríður had married her husband out of love but in many other variants the women are often forced into marriage by their fathers or brothers. This is the case in the legend "Páll's Story", told by Sigríður Sigurðarsdóttir to Sigfús Sigfússon, in which the girl's brother asks her if his friend could propose to her. She "rejected it harshly and said she did not want to have him or anyone else at the moment". When he proposed to her, she denied him and the legend states that her father "disliked this and said that he thought that one day she would pay for her stubbornness" (Sigfús Sigfússon 1982–1993, IX:315–327).

It is also interesting that most of the legends note that the women are visited by the outlaw during the night, and they wake up with him lying in the bed next to them. The women commonly have a knife which they use to either threaten or cut him. This can for example be seen in the legend "The Sisters from Möðrufell", told by an unknown storyteller to Ólafur Davíðsson, in which a man named Jóhann has abducted a young woman:

> One night Jóhann came in and laid down on the bed in front of her. She was so weary of his romantic advances that she wanted to stab him with her pocket-knife; he then recoiled (Ólafur Davíðsson 1978–1980:48).[25]

In the legends the women are usually scolded for threatening the men. In some versions the man returns the night after but that time the women do not use the knife and eventually agree to them sleeping in their bed.[26] One wonders whether this implies the threat of sexual violence in the house of the outlaw, although it is never mentioned.[27] In these legends it is also interesting that, as opposed to the legends examined earlier in which violence against women seems to be accepted, here it is not. Here it is also important to stress, however, that no emphasis is put on the women being disobedient to their violent ex-husbands, although they do not want to marry them right away. It is also important to note that in these legends the outlaws are also of an upper class, which is interesting since the women are then not only moving to a different society (the outlaws), but they also often move up to a higher class in the process. Eventually the fact that the women were abducted is completely dismissed. Although even though the women are upset at first and do not eat, or speak, they quickly accept and forgive their abductor after hearing how their old husbands treats their sister (and would have treated them). Thus, according to the legend it turns out that the abduction is in their best interest and the abductors turn into their saviours.

These legends are also quite unusual due to the fact that normally in Icelandic legends relationships between humans and the supernatural do not end well (Guðrún Bjartmarsdóttir 1988:22–23; Ólína Þórðardóttir 1995:14–15; and McKinnell 2005 on such relationships in earlier Norse myths and legends). However, this is not the case here. Some scholars have wondered whether legends of outlaws perhaps reflect the ideas of people's hopes and dreams for a better life (Gísli Sigurðsson 2002). Here, one wonders if that is the case with these legends examined here, whereas they might reflect the hopes and dreams of women for a better life, where they are rescued from their current situation or an unpleasant marriage by a mysterious man. Unfortunately, we have little information on who told these legends since most of them were collected from unnamed storytellers.

It is important to note here that the women in these legends also end up married, even though it is to the outlaw, keeping to their role of housewife. The women here can therefore be argued to fall under the category of hegemonic femininity, as they confirm the ruling ideology of women's roles and their relationships legitimate the hierarchical relationship to hegemonic masculinity (Schippers 2007:94–95).

A very interesting variant of the legends examined here is found in the collection of Torfhildur Hólm. The legend "The Disappearance of the Minister's Daughter" told by Guðný Einarsdóttir, tells of the daughter of a minister who disappears. The minister is upset by this and promises that whoever finds her can marry her. The years pass until one autumn, when many of the minister's sheep do not return from the mountains. One of his workers, who had been in love with his daughter, volunteers to look for the sheep. He eventually finds a house which belongs to the outlaws, and when he knocks, he is greeted by the minister's daughter, who lives there with a husband and a child. He gets to stay there for the night but kills both the husband and child. She is terrified by this, but he gives her two options:

> Either she would follow him home to her father, or he would kill her and her children. Most people prefer life, and she decided to go with him back to the settlement (Torfhildur Hólm 1962:163).

He then returns her to her father, telling him that he wants to marry her:

> But the minister's daughter was very sad and aloof and did not want to have him. Her father said that they would decide for her this time, she herself had decided the first time. "Although I have him," she said, "you should know that I will never be faithful to him and he will beware of me." (Torfhildur Hólm 1962:163)

Thus, they get married, have children and the years pass. One time when her husband got home from a day of fishing, he is very tired and goes to bed early. The next morning her husband is found with a pair of scissors through his heart, and the wife and children have disappeared. The storyteller adds that many suspected they had returned to the mountains (Torfhildur Hólm 1962:162–164). This legend is interesting, since the woman here is abducted from the outlaws and brought back to her home. However, she does not want to be rescued and eventually kills her husband. The message that she should have been allowed to be in charge of her own affairs seems rather clear. The fact that this legend is found in the collection of Torfhildur Hólm is also especially interesting since here we can see the woman getting revenge and taking her fate into her own hands.[28] It is also the only legend of this type in which the woman does not end up in marriage.

Conclusion

It is clear that many Icelandic legends tell of gendered power relations within marriage. It is interesting to note that in this regard comparatively many can be found in the collection of Torfhildur Hólm and relatively many are told by women or unknown storytellers.

The legends commonly show women's operating space within society and marriage as limited. The role of the women's fathers in choosing their spouse is made very clear in the legends, although they do not necessarily show it in a positive light. The legends rather show that while women should not be too stubborn or selective when it comes to marriage, they should nevertheless be listened to, at least in the case of arranged marriages. However, that does not seem to be an issue in those legends where women are abducted. Then it is either shown to be an inconvenience for men, in the women's best interest, or they are rescued.

In the case of violence within marriage, the women who go against the ruling ideology of what was considered feminine, or are too independent or stubborn, are often punished and in some cases can be argued to turn into pariahs. The contradictions found within the legends show that the views of society are always nuanced and complicated. While violence seems to be condoned in many of the legends, showing it as an effective way of controlling one's wife, the legends which tell of women abducted by outlaws and thereby rescued from their husbands who would later violate them are an interesting opposition to this. One wonders if it is possible there to see a reflection of women's hope for a better life, outside of their own community. Here, the question of class is also interesting, as although the women in these legends are of higher class (such as the daughters of farmers or ministers), they often also move up to an even higher class when getting married to the outlaws, who are ministers or sheriffs in the outlaws' societies.

It is clear in the legends examined here that the women in the legends are expected to marry, and although they do not want to at first, in almost all the legends the women end up married. Thereby, the legends commonly show the women as trapped within the tradition of marriage, showing it as the best (and perhaps only) option for women at the time.

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[1] Outlaws are liminal beings, as they were men that had been banished from society for crimes and lived in the highlands of Iceland (Hastrup 1985:143; Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 2003:222–225).

[2] These collections are: *Icelandic Folk- and Wonder Tales (Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og æventýri*; extended 6 volume edition published in 1954–1961; original edition in 1862–1864) collected by Jón Árnason (1819–1888) with Magnús Grímsson (1825–1860); *Icelandic Folktales (Íslenzkar þjóðsögur*; extended four-volume edition published in 1978–1980; original edition published in 1895) collected by Ólafur Davíðsson (1862–1903); and *Icelandic Folktales and Legends (Íslenskar þjóðsögur og sagnir*, revised eleven-volume edition published 1982–1993; original edition in 1922–1959) collected by Sigfús Sigfússon (1855–1935).

[3] Women naturally also fell into other categories such as being paupers or vagabonds (Jón Jónsson 2018:11–21).

[4] As has been pointed out by various scholars, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a shift took place with regard to the way people thought about gender roles and the gap between the genders widened in the Western world. Those ideas did not appear out of thin air but had deep roots, for example, in philosophy and religion (Beauvoir 1949; Laqueur 1990:5–6; Sigríður Matthíasdóttir 2002:38). This resulted in the idea that women were meant to stay at home and oversee the private space, while men went outside to work and were in charge of the public space. In the rural society of Iceland, however, things were a little more complicated as the sharp separation between public and private space did not apply and the sexes worked together although their fields of work tended to be different (Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir 2011:83; see also Stark 2011 on gender and power in Finland where the same applied).

[5] Nevertheless, research has also shown that as early as the 1790s Icelandic couples were granted divorce through royal dispensation on the grounds of incompatibility and based on mutual agreement (Ólöf Garðarsdóttir and Brynja Björnsdóttir 2018:95–96).

[6] For further information on this in Icelandic wonder tales see, Áslaug Heiður Cassata 2014:46–47; see also Tatar 1993:94–98; Röhrich 2008:58, 114.

[7] Naturally there are exceptions to this, for example in legends which tell of young women who go looking for lost sheep and are found by an outlaw who returns the sheep and rescues her. They intend to get married, but her father disapproves and takes him to Parliament to have him executed for his previous crimes. However, the women rescue the men and marry them, against their fathers' will (see, for example, Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:271; Sigfús Sigfússon

1982–1993, IX:237–244; and Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir 2021:295).

[8] See, for example, Torfhildur Hólm 1962:85–86; 88–89.

[9] See, for example, Einar Guðmundsson 1932–1947, II:85–96; Jón Árnason 1954–1961, II:230–234; IV:393–395; Ólafur Davíðsson 1978–1980, III:257–259.

[10] These legends fall under the ATU tale type number 956B *The Clever Maiden Alone at Home Kills the Robbers* (see Uther et al. 2004:596).

[11] With one exception, found in a legend told by Guðríður Eyjólfsdóttir to Jón Árnason, in which a housemaid is stabbed to death by the outlaw when he returns (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:394–395).

[12] Something that would today be referred to as victim blaming, in which violence against women is blamed on the women themselves and normalized (Maestre 2013:311; Finnborg Steinþórsdóttir & Gyða Pétursdóttur 2019:4).

[13] Here, it is interesting to note that fewer Icelandic legends tell of women being abducted by trolls, something well known in other Nordic countries. In Iceland it is more common that female trolls take men to keep as husbands or lovers (Conrad 2021; Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir, 2022b). Women are more often abducted by either outlaws or hidden men (elves).

[14] See, for example, Jón Árnason 1954–1961, II:194–197, 197–201; IV:332–334, 342–344, 365–367; Ólafur Davíðsson 1978–1980, III:259–260.

[15] In one version it is the foster brother of the woman who find her and is compensated by marrying the daughter of the outlaw and in another version the compensation is money and various gifts (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:342–344, 365–367). In one of these legends the abductor is a hidden man (elf), but the collector Jón Árnason categorizes the legends with legends of outlaws due to their similarities to those legends (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:365–367). This idea of men being compensated for women can also be seen in ghost legends where ghosts rape women who will later marry (Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir 2020:29).

[16] In this legend the storyteller talks about a hidden man (elf), but the collector chooses to categorize the legend with the legends of outlaws due to its similarities to legends which usually focus on outlaws (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:365–367).

[17] See, for example, Jón Árnason 1954–1961, II:232–233.

[18] See, for example Jón Árnason 1954–1961, I:576–578; Ólafur Davíðsson 1978–1980, III:175; Sigfús Sigfússon 1982–1993, V:407; Brynjúlfur Jónsson 1975:45.

[19] See, for example, Jón Árnason 1954–1961, III:577–578: Ólafur Davíðsson 1978–1980, III:175; Sigfús Sigfússon 1982–1993, V:407; Brynjúlfur Jónsson 1975:45.

[20] See, for example Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:231; Sigfús Sigfússon 1982–1993, X:235–236; XI:260–269, 278–290; Torfhildur Hólm 1962:45–48, 55.

[21] This legend evidently falls under the famous tale type ATU 901 (The Taming of the Shrew), also known from William Shakespeare's comedy (Brunvand 1966:346; Tatar 1993:106–108; Uther et al. 2004:524).

[22] Naturally there are exceptions to this. A quite interesting one is that if the women are pregnant in the legends, the violence is always frowned upon (see, for example Torfhildur Hólm 1962:28–29; Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir 2020:32).

[23] Nevertheless, some examples can be seen in legends such as Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:175–178; V:433–434; Ólafur Davíðsson 1978–1980, I:46–47; Guðni Jónsson 1940–1957, I:15–16.

[24] See, for example, Jón Árnason 1945–1961, II:201–203; 203–209; IV:344–347;329–332; Ólafur Davíðsson 1978–1980, I:47–49; Sigfús Sigfússon 1982–1993, IX:315–327.

[25] It is important to note that in this variant the woman is abducted by a hidden man. However, it is very similar to those legends that tell of outlaws.

[26] Some of the legends also talk about the women being attacked by monsters during the night (Jón Árnason 1954–1961, IV:329–332, 344–347).

[27] Several Icelandic legends tell of women being assaulted by ghosts while sleeping (Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir 2020:28–30).

[28] Here it is also interesting to note the fact that in the legend collection of Torfhildur Hólm, one can often find unique variants of well-known legend types, often showing women in a more leading role (see, for example, Torfhildur Hólm 1962:3–4; Dagrún Ósk Jónsdóttir 2020:30).

Mapping Female Folklore Collectors in the Norwegian Folklore Archives

Therese Foldvik, Mari Ringnes Gløtberget & Line Esborg

Abstract

This article adopts a map methodology to explore the forgotten female folklore collectors in the Norwegian Folklore Archives, examining their connections to the archive and what they collected. By focusing on historically invisible female collectors, the risk is that they are isolated as gender representatives and thus never become a part of the mainstream canon. Still, by literally putting these women on the map, it is our ambition that this will inspire a new take on the question of gender in the history of knowledge of folklore archives. The methodology employed combines remote reading and close reading, zooming in on a particular collector's life and actions. The article reveals the spatial dimensions of mobility with the aim of expanding our understanding of the female collectors who left their mark on the collection of folklore.

Keywords: map methodology, historical data, history of knowledge, folklore archives, female collectors.

"Why have there been no great women artists?" The art historian Linda Nochlin's rhetorical question still translates beyond her disciplinary field (Nochlin 1973). The Norwegian Folklore Archives (NFS) include a variety of collectors from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but posterity seems to have forgotten the women they encompass. A recent inventory demonstrates that the archive contains material by approximately 500 collectors of folklore. A fifth of these collectors turn out to be women. Who were these female collectors? What were their connections to the archive? Why, how, when and what did they collect?

Some answers might be found by way of mapping. By mapping, we refer to the process of discovering and identifying information about something, as well as the process of visualizing space by plotting geographical information on a map. With the inventory mentioned above as our starting point, we set out to complete the ongoing work of making a database of female folklore collectors in the Norwegian Folklore Archives. Once we knew the women's name, their birthplace, residence and where they collected folklore, the places could be transferred and converted into dots on a digital map.

The method for this article can be compared to toggling, where we combine remote reading and close reading (Karlsen 2019:285). The remote reading is applied to database information and the digital map in our effort to make sense of patterns in heterogeneous historical data. Thereafter, we zoom in on the life and actions of one particular collector.

Archival material is not created out of nothing. It is somehow connected to place or places. It could be the place it was written down, the places it describes or the place where it is archived. The nature of the archival material may also be influenced by the place where the collector or archivist was born, lived, travelled to or worked. The relation is changeable as the material is moved or distributed through time and space. Albina Moscicka therefore refers to archival material as movable monuments, and its relation to geographic space as more complicated than immovable (2011:228).

By mapping female folklore collectors previously forgotten in the dark drawers of archival memory, our ambition is to contribute to the history of knowledge of the tradition archives.

Map Methodology

A map makes something visible. It provides the reader with a visualization of several kinds of information; in this case, about the places where the folklore collectors were born, lived and worked. More importantly, a map displays spatial dimensions of mobility, i.e. how someone or something moves over distance. The spaces the collectors moved and collected within are not empty. Space is connected to time and stories, and links geography with history, at the same time as it reflects the values and cultural codes within societies (Bodenhamer 2016:207). Persons and stories are inevitably, in one way or another, connected to space, and it is important to explore this dimension to get a fuller understanding of who the female collectors were, and how they made their mark on the collection of folklore. Visualization is an essential factor in the analysis of how phenomena and processes move in geographical space (Andrienko & Andrienko 2013:3).

As a part of the SAMLA project[1] we have begun to explore visualization tools and methods such as the use of maps. The aim of the examination was to see what information a map could provide and what functions a more developed map in forthcoming phases of SAMLA should contain. This effort can be seen in the context of an ethnological and folkloristic research tradition historically dominated by a keen interest in origin and distribution. However, maps have also been used to compare movements, to mark borders and regions, and to discover uncovered areas (Skåden 2018:79). Inspiration can also be drawn from other research fields, such as literary studies. In the article *Hamsuns litterære geografi*, Frode Lerum Boasson and Lars G. Johnsen sought to investigate the spatial relationship between the places in the Norwegian author Knut Hamsun's corpus (2020:140). They extracted all the place names from the corpus – fiction, non-fiction and letters – before creating a map based on these three categories. The map visualized a difference between the types of writing. The letters mirror the places where Hamsun himself and the people he knew lived (Lerum Boasson & Johnsen 2020:145). The fiction was more national than the non-fiction, and more fictional places appear in the fiction (Lerum Boasson & Johnsen 2020:152–153). Lerum Boasson and Johnsen's main point is that the use of maps gives an overview which is difficult to obtain by traditional close reading of archival sources (2020:139).

However, as Kristina Skåden suggests, digital tools are closely connected to the analogue (2018:77), which is also the case in our examination. The archive sources of NFS form the foundation of the database, and the map is again made from the database as an extension. In the process we have completed the database of female folklore collectors in NFS with information from the archive collections and additional sources. The limited number of women made it possible to manually work on a detailed level. Data regarding the women and their activity was collected from NFS's digital catalogue, which contains information about the archive collections. We also looked at documentation from earlier research on the female collectors done by previous employees in the archive.

A total of 59 female collectors were registered. Three of the women lacked information regarding the place of activity but were still plotted on the map with the place of birth and residence. Further, all the information gathered was transferred to KulturNav. KulturNav is an open cloud-based service provided by KulturIT, an a technology company which serves the sector, supported by the Arts Council Norway (KulturNav, n.d.). In KulturNav, institutions can create open name authorities and vocabularies, which can be used by other institutions. In SAMLA KulturNav is used to generate authority data utilized in the annotation of digitized archive sources. As a part of this ongoing process, each female collector was created as a name authority, with information about date of birth, death, place of birth, residence, activity and so on. A spreadsheet with all the data was then extracted from KulturNav and used as a basis for the investigation for this article. This complete list of female collectors contained a few names that were not plotted on the map. These were left out because their status as collectors was uncertain, or because the archive did not contain any material attached to their name. A couple of collectors were also left out for reasons of privacy.

Further, the application Google My Maps was used to create the map of female collectors, as it is free of charge and had the basic functions which were needed. Each pin on the map was given the name of a collector. The application enabled layers for each place category, and the possibility to colour-code them. Place of birth is marked with a green infant icon, and residence, where the collector lived, with a blue house icon. Place of activity, marked with a red check icon, represents the place the material is from. This place might differ from the place of both birth and residence. Google My Maps also allows lines to be drawn in colour codes between the pins to connect the places for each collector. Colour codes and different icons were used to distinguish the pins and lines from one another. There are green lines drawn between place of birth and place of activity, and blue lines between residence and place of activity. To highlight the patterns for this article, the icons and lines were converted to black/white. The lines visualize how the places are connected, over short or longer distances. Each layer can be hidden or made visible, depending on what kind of information or pattern the viewer wants to see. For larger areas, where the pin could not be put in a specific spot, for instance regions like Østlandet (Eastern Norway), the marker was placed where the application suggested. Some of the collectors were active within a small geographical area, and in those cases the pins were merged together (see also "Limitations").

Limitations

The Norwegian Folklore Archives' database of female collectors is, as already pointed out, a result of the research and registrations of various employees over the years. The level of details registered for place names varies. This is a common challenge with movable monuments (Moscicka 2011:228). The initial plotting of the map might be inaccurate or have a varying level of detail for the different collectors. For some collectors, we had information about each village (*bygd*) they had collected from. For others, the list only provided names of larger areas. The different levels of detail might entail a skewed image of the plotted place names. Place names may also have changed over time. However, the aim was not to go into every single collector's material to complete or adjust the place names.

The pins that represent place of activity can also be misleading. Some material is registered in the database with specific place of origin, and therefore pinned on the map as a place of activity. But the collector might never have been there herself. Regardless, the pin will represent a place of interest for the collector.

Some pins are missing on the map. As noted above, the level of detail varies, and some places are registered as "nationwide collection". As this information is impossible to pin down, it has been left out. Also, the USA is missing from the map because of lack of information. Tora Østbye (1876–1967) emigrated to the USA in 1916. We currently do not know where she lived in the USA, why she emigrated or whether she wrote or collected something that could be connected to Norwegian folklore while she was there.

Mobility Patterns

The map clearly shows that the female collectors were mobile during the whole period (Figure 1). Given the national romantic idea of stable isolated farming communities, this may come as a surprise. The archive in itself gathers “the contemporary”, which in time may become the starting point for constructions about the future. However, in the nineteenth century population growth was more rapid than in any other country (Myhre 2006:249–253). The reasons were development in industry, the improvement of agriculture, transport and communication, and urbanization. In the wake of modernity, the geographical and social mobility of the population increased.

As a result of the mapping, patterns of mobility emerged. Some of the female collectors limited their collecting to their local community, but many also travelled beyond their place of residence. Most of the movement is between the east and west of Norway, and between areas where the population density is high, typically towns. We also see that a few collectors travelled great distances between the north and south of Norway. The reasons for the mobility might be found by taking a closer look at the individual collectors. Judith Olsen (1896–1989) was born and lived in the north of the county of Nordland. Later she moved to Bærum (south-east). Her material is an account of her childhood (1896–1917) in the trading town of Risøyhamn in Nordland. From her own writings we know that she moved south with her husband as a newlywed sometime after 1917, where he worked as a lead engineer. And it was here she would write down her recollections of her childhood in the north. Hallfrid Christiansen (1886–1964) was born at Gimsøy in the Lofoten area, also in Nordland. She went to school and worked at several places in northern Norway before moving to Oslo to study philology, Norwegian and German at the University. After finishing her PhD in 1935, she worked in Oslo and Bergen. Christiansen collected folklore both in Nordland where she grew up, and in Buskerud and Oppland (inland counties in southern Norway). Olsen and Christiansen both represent mobile women, illustrated with long lines on the map. Other women’s pins are placed closer together, demonstrating that they collected in their home area. Johanne Ferkingstad (1884–1966) from Karmøy (south-west), Olga Knutsen (1887–1973) from Kragerø (south) and Thora Skolmen (1868–1933) from Nordre Land (inland) all collected in or around their place of residence.

The map and database alone provide no answers to why some collectors moved. But we do know that many of the female collectors had a profession or education that might relate to an interest in collecting. The activity could be related to their own occupation, or reflect how they travelled with their husband in his profession. Many were teachers, or married to teachers, which often led to moving to whatever place they could find employment. Some fieldwork is therefore work-related.

A few collectors did fieldwork with scholarships from the Norwegian Folklore Archives. Giving out grants for collecting folklore, as initiated by Knut Liestøl, was a "means to carry out the systematic and nationally-coordinated project of collecting" (Kverndokk 2018: 96). One of the recipients of a grant was Gunvor Ingstad Trætteberg (1897–1975). Trætteberg was born in Tromsø (north), studied at the National College of Art and Design in Bergen (west) and the Norwegian National Academy of Craft and Art Industry in Oslo. She lived and worked in Bærum and Oslo (south-east). She was a collector, ethnologist and did research on Norwegian folk-costumes. In 1948 she travelled on an NFS scholarship to multiple places in Sunnhordland (a western county of Norway), collecting folklore, customs, and traditions.

Out of NFS's total 91 scholarships, nine were granted to women. Most of them were educated working women, like the folklorist Elin Frøyset (1921–2004) from Østfold, and the teacher Ruth Hult (1910–1996) from Halden. Among the scholarship recipients, however, there are also the housewife Martina Søylen (1884–1983) from Voss, known for her voluntary work, the self-educated painter and writer Tone Gudve Gjelstad (1908–1978) from Hof in Vestfold, and the housewife Ingerid Johanna Lavik (1913–2001) from Austevoll.

Density – Areas in Norway

The collectors covered large sections of Norway. We see that the place of birth, where they lived and where they collected are concentrated in the same

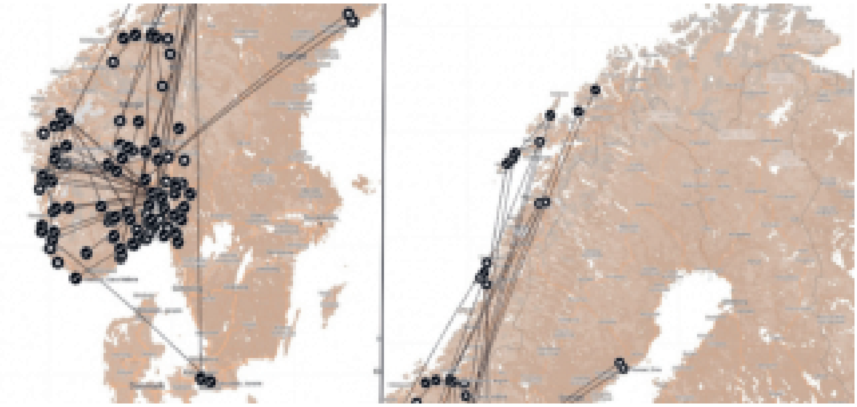

Figure 1. Mobility.

areas. The eastern part of Norway, the west coast south of Nordfjord, and Lofoten has a higher density of icons from all three categories. The highest density is found in Eastern Norway (Østlandet). The activity and place of residence corresponds to the highest density of the population according to maps from 1875 (Figure 2) and 1950 (Kartverket, n.d., b) which are approximately the start- and endpoint of the active collection period of the female collectors. The earliest recorded material stems from 1830–1850, by the collector Olea Crøger (1801–1855), recognized by posterity as a significant Norwegian collector of ballads. However, the bulk of the activity took place between 1920 and 1957. The timeframe corresponds to the formative years of the new institution the Norwegian Folklore Archives – from the appointment of Knut Liestøl as a professor of the new institution in 1917 and a few years later the internationally recognized scholar Reidar Th. Christiansen as its first archivist. The "reign" of Liestøl and Christiansen lasted until the 1950s, with the death of Liestøl in 1952 and Christiansen's retirement in 1956. As Kyrre Kverndokk has pointed out, "The institutionalization of folklore in the early 20th century implied a scientification of not only folklore as a cultural category, but also of the practice of collecting folklore and the shaping of the folklore records" (Kverndokk 2018:107).

The map also visualizes some large voids where there are no records of activity whatsoever, whether place of birth, residence or place of collecting: the northern part of Norway (Finnmark), large areas between Trondheim and northwards to Lofoten, the coast and inland in the north-western part of Norway, and mountain regions between the east and west of Norway. One

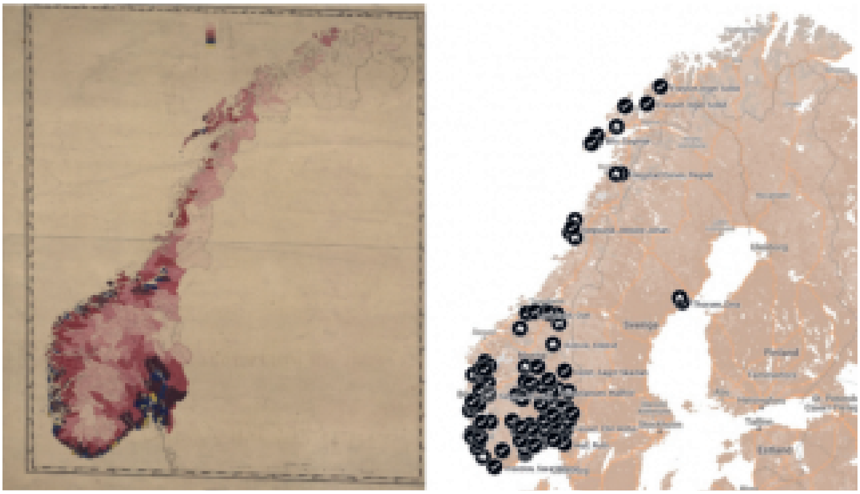

Figure 2. Correspondence between the map of population distribution from 1875 where dark areas indicate high density (Kartverket, n.d., a), and the map of Norwegian folklore collectors.

explanation can be found in the topography of Norway, where many areas are difficult to inhabit. Another explanation can be the proximity to more developed means of communication, for instance in larger towns, which made it easier both to collect and to hand in collected material.

Identifying Dina

Both the availability of sources and the kind of sources we use for research are defining for the stories that can be told (Götlind & Kåks 2014). A map can only begin to tell the story. As seen above, it provides initial information about mobility, where the collector was born, lived, worked or collected. Still, some categories of information are not easily drawn from a map. This was the case with information related to time and temporality, such as questions about when the fieldwork took place or the duration of it. Our work with the spreadsheet, however, shows some general tendencies. Around 37 of the women were born in the 1800s. Most of them collected as young adults. Magny Waadeland (1892–1993), collected legends in the 1920s, but contacted the archive years later when she herself was in her fifties about a legend from the 1850s. Waadeland had some education, but is listed as a housewife after marriage. The occupational affiliation in our selection of folklore collectors is diverse. There are farmers and schoolteachers, tenants and even a few (4) who are given titles by virtue of being the wife or daughter of someone, like a "a pastor's daughter" like Kristiane Lommerud (1848–1941), "the wife of a clergyman" (Dina Bugge 1841–1921), or simply "housewife" like Waadeland. The majority however, are in fact scholars or educated women of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who served as folklore collectors in their spare time. The map has limitations regarding *what* the women collected. What we can extract from the database presents no certain patterns in the women's collections. In general, the material shows a wide span in both content and range. Most records are about folk tales, legends and ballads; folk beliefs; or rituals and traditions. There are some exceptions, for instance quite a substantial record about work and working life, or supernatural manuscripts like the two carefully archived black books owned respectively by Barbro Pedersdotter (1837–1891) and the unidentified Kjersti Bakken. This brings us back to Götlind and Kåks' statement, which also underlines the necessity of studying different types of sources, depending on the purpose of the research.

In the following we will discuss how a selection of additional sources and close reading can be used to contextualize and expand the information shown on the map. One of the pins on the map refers to the collector listed in the archive as Dina Thorsen (1834–1886). She was born in Tyristrand on 8 November 1834, and baptized as Mariane Randine Thorsdatter Kolbjørnrud in the local parish church in June the following year. She would remain unmarried, move to different towns working as a housekeeper and eventually end her life at the age of 71, as a financially independent woman in Sweden. In making a complete register of all the folklore collectors represented in the archive, we met many challenges when trying to identify each person. Dina Thorsen was no exception. As an individual and as a collector she is intriguingly visible and invisible in posterity.

Initially, we knew that Thorsen had collected in Ringerike and that at some point she possibly had moved to Sweden. But we did not know where she was born or if she had lived in other places. However, considering that the map already had shown that most of the women had collected in their home place, it was plausible that this was also the case with Thorsen. A closer look at a letter from Thorsen to Moltke Moe, where she mentions her "childhood memories" at Tyristrand in Ringerike, confirmed our assumption. Digitalarkivet (the Norwegian Digital Archives) and Nasjonalbiblioteket (the National Library of Norway) provided us with relevant sources that might tell us more. Still, name searches in digitized censuses, books, and newspapers gave few results and no good matches.

The dates of the two letters in the archive, 1884 and 1888, made it possible that Thorsen was born sometime between 1810 and 1860. When her place of origin was confirmed, it helped us identify her father, the farmer Thor Olsen Kolbjørnrud. In his obituary, printed in *Christiania Intelligentssedler* on 9 May 1860, his children were listed, and among them was Mariane Randine Thorsdatter Kolbjørnrud. The farm of Kolbjørnrud is located at Tyristrand on the western side of Tyrifjorden, the same place that Thorsen mentions in one of her letters. At the time, it was not uncommon to use shortened forms of names. Taking all the new information into consideration, it was very likely that Mariane Randine Thorsdatter Kolbjørnrud was the birth name of our Dina Thorsen.

A possible full name gave better search opportunities and more results. One person with the name Mariane Randine Thorsdatter Kolbjørnrud was found, born in 1834. As a young adult she had worked as a housekeeper in Sandefjord and Trondheim. But there was no other information about her in any Norwegian public sources. Luckily, there were still clues left in her two letters, addressed to Moltke Moe and Peter Christen Asbjørnsen. Both were signed in Sweden, at the ironworks of Holmfors, belonging to the Olofsfors ironworks in Levar, in Nordmaling municipality in the north-eastern part of the province of Västerbotten. The possibility that Thorsen had moved to Sweden as an adult clarified the lack of information about her in Norwegian sources. In censuses of Nordmaling from 1880, 1890 and 1900, we found Dina Thorsen, listed as Marianne Thorsen, now living with her younger sister and the sister's husband. Thorsen's older sister and brother, both unmarried, had also moved to the same area. Her brother and sister's husband both had significant positions at Olofsfors.

The sources show that Thorsen remained unmarried until her death in 1906. After working as a housekeeper in several Norwegian towns, following the household of the District Magistrate Peter Vogt Ottesen from Sandefjord via Trondheim to Kristiania. She is not registered with any occupation after moving to Sweden. With her brother-in-law's position in the local industry, it is possible that their income would enable him to provide for more family members. However, there is an interesting detail in the Swedish census of 1900. Here, listed as Mariana Randi Thorsen and now living in Levar, her occupation is *kapitalist* (capitalist). This title signifies someone who lives off inherited funds or wealth. The title has the same meaning in both Norwegian and Swedish. In the censuses there are often connections between widowhood and the occupation as *kapitalist*. In Thorsen's case the plausible explanation is that she inherited the property of her father in 1860, who owned half of the farm Kolbjørnrud (Høyendahl 2022:60) or that she even was the heir of her childless sister and brother-in-law after 1898. With this new information we could put two more places on the map, Holmfors ironworks and Levar, both in Nordmaling, Sweden (Figure 3). This shows the relationship between her movements over a great distance. First, employment explains some of these relationships on the map. Second, there are family ties that lead her out of the country. Last but not least, we now understand that despite the mobility illustrated by the pins on the map, referring to the different places she lived and worked, Thorsen chose to collect (or recollect) and share folk tales restricted to the area of Ringerike where she had spent her childhood.

"Meddelt af Frøken Dina Thorsen"

A close reading of her collection in the Norwegian Folklore Archives reveals more about Thorsen, both as a folklore collector and as nineteenth-century female. Like all the other named folklore collectors represented in the archive, her records are filed and organized alphabetically by the collector's family name and stored in filing cabinets. In one of the drawers, there are two archive folders marked "NFS Thorsen" – a signature which refers to the archive and the collector. Compared to other collections in the archive, Thorsen's is rather small, consisting of approximately 130 handwritten pages. The main part consists of Thorsen's folklore records: 19 folktales and a few legends, in addition to the two cover letters mentioned above. The time of recording is not certain but is estimated to have been sometime in the 1870s or 1880s. Some records are written on loose pages sent to Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Moltke Moe with the additional cover letters, dated respectively 12 January 1884 and 25 April 1888. Most of the records, however, are bound as a manuscript, beautifully decorated with a marble pattern. Moltke Moe's handwritten index on the first page and a note on the

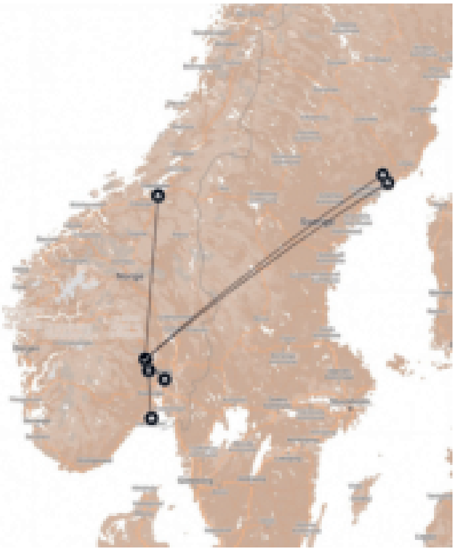

Figure 3. Movements of Dina Thorsen.

cover indicates that Thorsen's records were bound on his initiative. His note on the cover says "Frøken Dina Thorsen's optegnelser fra Ringerike (især efter hendes gamle afdøde mor)", which translates to "Miss Dina Thorsen's records from Ringerike (mostly from her old deceased mother)".

Thorsen is one of the few known female nineteenth-century collectors. This also makes her interesting in representing a part of the history of collecting and collections, prior to the establishment of the new national institution the Norwegian Folklore Archives in 1914. By the time she addressed Asbjørnsen he was a well-established authority on folktales. Since the 1840s he had published numerous collections (the first ones together with Jørgen Moe) of folktales and legends.[2] After his death, she contacted his heir, the young Moltke Moe. As the first professor of folklore from 1886, and the owner of a considerable private collection, Moe held a unique position in both the academic and the public sphere (Kverndokk 2018:194). In 1907 he donated his collections to the Norwegian State, on the condition that the Norwegian Folklore Archives would be established.

To get a better understanding of Thorsen's folklore records, the folktale catalogues are useful. These were made with the aim of categorizing and classifying folktales. A classification of the Norwegian folktales can be found in *The Types of the Norwegian Folktale* (1984) by Ørnulf Hodne. Hodne's catalogue is based on the Aarne-Thompson classification system (Aarne & Thompson 1961). In the classification system the same folktale types are grouped based on shared topics, and then given an AT number based on the sequences of action and motifs. Thorsen's records are mostly classified as the type “tales of magic”, but there are also “animal tales”, “religious tales”, “tales of the stupid ogre”, “stories about a woman (girl)” and “jokes about parsons and religious orders”. In the Aarne-Thompson classification, tales of magic are listed as part of the category “Ordinary folktales”, which interestingly shows that these tales were considered as the true folktales within the genre. The tales of magic are long epic tales that take place in a magic universe where the hero most often faces great challenges that are solved with support from good helpers and supernatural powers. The majority of the tales of magic in Thorsen’s collection indicate that there were many tales of magic in circulation in Ringerike at the time. However, it might also reflect what Thorsen considered worth collecting.

“De 3 Ryttere som skulde til Paris”

Some of Thorsen’s folktale records are particularly noticeable. “De 3 Ryttere som skulde til Paris” (The three riders who wanted to go to Paris) is described in *The Types of the Norwegian Folktale* as follows:

> Three friends who are seeking their fortune eat a magical bird, and they all get something that brings them luck. One of them gets a purse that will never be empty, the second one a bag that mobilizes 15 soldiers for every blow he gives it, while the youngest one sees his future bride. This is the same princess as a king has promised to the person who can free his kingdom of a dragon. The youngest succeeds and marries her. The other two give false evidence against them and persuade the king to put them in prison and sentence their children, a boy and a girl, to death. They are rescued by the maid and grow up with the king’s miller. After a time they are recognized because of their golden hair and have to flee. At last they return to the king’s palace, persuade the king to set free their parents and expose the delinquents. (Hodne 1984:160–161)

In Hodne’s additional comments the location is set to Ringerike, Buskerud. The time of recording is estimated to be around 1875 and the collector is D. Thorsen. No other versions of this folktale are listed in Hodne’s catalogue. Reidar Christiansen’s *Norske eventyr. En systematisk fortegnelse efter trykte og utrykte kilder* from 1921 provides another classification of the story. Christiansen classified “De 3 Ryttere som skulde til Paris” as the eighth out of 50 variants of AT 400: De tre prinsesser i Hvidtenland (The man on a quest for his lost wife). Christiansen describes it as “sterkt opblandet, muligens reminisc av nr. 400”, (a mixture, possibly reminiscent of AT 400) which states that he has uncovered some known elements from no. 400 in Thorsen’s record (Christiansen 1921). Although referring to Christiansen’s classification, Brynjulf Alver would later on make an interesting additional comment. Alver describes “De 3 Ryttere som skulde til Paris” as a folktale with well-known events and motifs, and with a logical course of action in terms of the genre. Further, he assumes that the folktale is written by someone who thoroughly knows the genre, most likely Thorsen herself (Alver 1969:223). This indicates that Thorsen had knowledge about and is herself a part of the folklore tradition in Ringerike. Moltke Moe's note, "mostly from her old deceased mother", on the manuscript cover indicates the presence of an oral tradition in Thorsen's childhood home. In other words, Thorsen knew of a lot of folktales in addition to being able to retell them.

Herremannsbruden

Another of Thorsen's folktales that stands out is "Herremandens Brud", assumed to have been collected sometime before 1876. "Herremandens Brud" is the first record in the bound manuscript, which expresses the special significance of the folktales. In Hodne's catalogue, the folktale is identified as AT 1440 Herremannsbruden (The tenant promises his daughter to his master against her will) and categorized within "Stories about a Woman (Girl)". Hodne's summary of the folk tale: "A rich master wants to marry the handsome, but unwilling, daughter of his tenant. On the wedding day the master sends for 'that which was promised him'. The daughter sends the horse, and it is taken into the master's chamber and dressed as a bride" (Hodne 1984:255).

Dina Thorsen's "Herremandens Brud" was published in 1876 in P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's *Norske Folkeeventyr; Ny samling. Anden udgave* as "Herremandsbruden". This book was the second extended edition of *Norske Folkeeventyr. Ny samling* published in 1871. There are many interesting aspects to this folktale. First, Thorsen's version from Ringerike seems to be the only one known. Two variants are listed both in Hodne's catalogue and in Reimund Kvideland's *Norske eventyr* (1972). Still, Kvideland refers to these two as Asbjørnsen's own rewritten versions; "Utforma for utgiving ["Formulated for publication"] (NFS Var C 108.2 og 12.)". A closer look at these two variants confirms that they are Asbjørnsen's edited versions of Thorsen's original record, used in the published text in 1876. Asbjørnsen himself has marked them with "Herremandsbruden, kasseret omskrevet. Meddelt af Frk. Dina Thorsen. 1876" ["Herremandsbruden discarded rewritten. Communicated by Miss Dina Thorsen"]. In other words, "Herremandens Brud" seems to be quite unique, which might explain why Asbjørnsen chose to publish it.

"Herremannsbruden" has been described by the art historian Leif Østby as "a little gem of narrative art" ("liten perle av fortellekunst", Østby 1969:53), a characterization that shows the significance of this folktale. Østby refers to the folklorist Olav Bø, who believes that Asbjørnsen did not make any major changes when publishing "Herremandsbruden", except a possible stylistic editing. Still, Bø also states that Dina Thorsen was known for her narrative skills. If Dina Thorsen was known in her time as a narrator, her invisibility in the archival context is at best ironic. However, the source of Bø's statement is unknown. What we do know is Ringerike's significant position in nineteenth-century folklore collecting. The farm of Moe, which had fostered two generations folklore collectors; Jørgen Moe and Moltke Moe, was also located in Ringerike. Peter Christen Asbjørnsen, Jørgen Moe's close friend and partner, had studied, travelled, and collected a great deal in this area. In many ways, Ringerike is considered as the centre of the Norwegian folktales collected and published by these two leading Norwegian folklore collectors (Alver 1969:5). It is not unlikely that Thorsen was affected by this activity and the living oral tradition of Ringerike.

There is no preface to the second edition of *Norske Folke-Eventyr; Ny samling.* The book therefore gives no information about the choice of adding five new folktales to this edition, published by the Danish publishing house Gyldendal. However, an appendix with both a glossary and information about the informants and the 49 published folktales was added, mostly because Frederik Hegel, the publisher, found it necessary for Danish readers (NFS Asbjørnsen Brev, fra Frederik Hegel 10 November 1876). In addition, the appendix reflects Asbjørnsen's acknowledgement towards his informants. "Herremandsbruden" is the last of the 49 and comes with a rather short note: "Fra Ringerige. Meddelt af Frøken Dina Thorsen" ["From Ringerike. Communicated by Miss Dina Thorsen"]. On Thorsen's original record, Asbjørnsen has made a note that says "benyttet omfortalt" ["utilized retold"], which refers to the published variant and states that the folktale is recited there (NFS Thorsen 2, p. 1). However true to the Grimmian ideal, Asbjørnsen evidently retold the stories he encountered for several reasons (Esborg 2022).

Asbjørnsen acknowledges Thorsen when he sends her the book where "Herremannsbruden" is published. As mentioned above, Thorsen sent a letter to Asbjørnsen on 12 January 1884. Here, she thanks him for sending her the book:

> Saa venligt af dem at komme mig ihu! Jeg ble saa glad da bogen kom. Min Svoger siger at det første Eventyr, (*Væderen og Grisen*) er det bedste i bogen, men min søster og jeg synes best om *Herremandsbruden* og det kommer vel deraf at vi kjænde hende fra vi vare smaae. Jeg har i den senere tid veret i huset hos min gifte søster som er bosat her i Nordmalingssocken, Vesterbotten, Sverige, og de kan troe at det var eget at komme herop fra Christiania, det var som om jeg minst skulde vere kommen 30 aar tilbage i tiden, folk her oppe ere saa fulde af overtroe, det myldrer af Nisser og Smaatrold i hver krog og hver stor sten og hvert træ har sit "Rå" som kan gjøre folk ondt om de komme stenen eller træet for nær. Nede ved Olofsforsbrug 2 Mile herfra boer en gammel mand, Boman hedder han, som i sin ungdom var forlovet med Huldren […].
>
> [How kind of you to remember me! I was so pleased when the book arrived. My brother-in-law says that the first story (*Væderen og Grisen*) is the best in the book,

> but my sister and I like *Herremandsbruden* best, which is probably because we have known her since we were young. Recently I have been in the home of my married sister who lives here in the parish of Nordmaling, Västerbotten, Sweden, and you can imagine how strange it was to come here from Christiania, it was like going back at least thirty years in time, people up here are so full of superstition, there are hordes of goblins and little trolls in every nook, and every big stone and every tree has its "Rå" who can harm people if they come too close to the stone or the tree where she lives. Down at the Olofsfors ironworks 20 kilometres from here lives an old man, Boman by name, who was betrothed in his youth to the Huldre […].]

The letter reveals several interesting aspects of Thorsen's relation with Asbjørnsen. The obvious reason for writing is to thank him for sending his new edition of folktales including some of her own stories. The letter reveals that she is clearly pleased with the fact that she is remembered. Her description of her life situation and family also discloses a form of familiarity, perhaps dating back to their common connection to Ringerike. Whether the letter was a part of an ongoing correspondence, we do not know. However, considering the years between the publication of "Herremannsbruden" in 1876 and Thorsen's letter from 1884, it is possible that they had been corresponding for years.

Another interesting aspect lies in Thorsen's reflection on the published folktales and her observations of the folk culture in her local area. Referring to her family's discussion of the published folktales reveals both a literary knowledge and a knowledge about folklore genres. She also describes her experience with vernacular folk beliefs in her current location in Nordmaling in Sweden, and how it makes her feel that she has been set decades back in time in this rural area.

The case examined above demonstrates how mapping of places connected to one single collector can initiate further research. It also shows how a limited amount of data can lead to new information and enable a close (re)reading of already known sources.

Conclusions – Recognition and Representation

As Daniel Chang et al. from Stanford University concluded after their digital work on The Republic of Letters: "the questions that this visualization has opened up for humanities scholars have already proved more important than the direct insights and answers that the visualization has provided. These new questions include direct questions about the data, such as missing data and missing attributes, but also questions that will lead historians back to the archives to discover other sources to explain patterns […]" (Chang et al. 2009:2).

The map itself is most useful as a method to make sense of larger sets of historical data. It provides direct insight into general patterns of mobility;

many of the female folklore collectors moved over great distances. We also see that the density follows the same pattern as the general population of Norway at the same time. However, it is in itself not a sufficient tool to provide answers. We still need a close reading of the analogue archival material and other sources to go into depth with each female collector.

New questions arise when looking at the map: why did they collect and what kind of material did they collect? And how does the activity of the female collectors compare to that of male collectors? Further exploration of the use of digital tools will be interesting to use in order to see what kind of information will be uncovered. A map combined with a timeline with year and dates of birth, active years, residence and perhaps a detailed map of where and when the different material was collected, will yield a better overview of how long the collectors lived at different places, give an idea of what they collected in different areas, and maybe also show if two or more operated in the same area at the same time. With more complex maps and the possibility to generate statistics, we could find out whether the movement of certain collectors was due to their occupation, or if they moved with their family or husband. What could provide more answers in the future is to map all the male collectors in the same manner and then see if the movements and places of birth, residence and activity correspond to the female pattern. Another possibility to expand the map is to plot the individual stories collected, to ascertain which are connected to a place, and see where and when the stories were told. Further possible gender differences could be explored.

Women have historically been underrepresented in many fields. By highlighting female folklore collectors, we recognize their contributions and provide them with representation. At the same time, we must acknowledge, in line with Judith Butler (1990), that any attempt in the realm of identity politics runs the potential risk of alienating the subject we want to highlight. By focusing on historically invisible female collectors the risk is that they are isolated as gender representatives and thus never become a part of mainstream canon. Still, by literally putting these women on the map, it is our ambition that this will inspire a new take on the question of gender in the history of knowledge of folklore archives.

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[1] In the project SAMLA, the archival material and collections of three Norwegian tradition archives – the Norwegian Folklore Archives (NFS) at the University of Oslo, the Norwegian Ethnological Research (NEG) at the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History, and the Ethno-folkloristic Archives at the University of Bergen – will be digitized and made accessible. SAMLA is financed through the Norwegian Research Council's INFRASTRUKTUR programme, and is included in the Norwegian roadmap for Research Infrastructure.

[2] See Østberg 2011 for a detailed bibliography on Asbjørnsen.

“You Uncultured Northerners Don’t Know What Rhythms Are”

The Ethnomusicologist Birthe Trærup’s Fieldwork in Yugoslavia, 1954–1976

Lene Halskov Hansen

Abstract
This article is a presentation of the ethnomusicologist Birthe Trærup (1930–2022) who was a pioneering fieldworker and disseminator of Eastern European folk music in the 1950s. She concentrated her fieldwork among Albanians in Kosovo in the period 1959–1976, but also visited other countries and other areas of the former Yugoslavia. Despite being a pioneer, she has not received the attention she deserves. The Danish Folklore Archive at the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen contains a wide range of material donated and bequeathed by Trærup.

Keywords: female fieldworker, pioneer, Kosovo-Albanians

This article gives an overall presentation of the ethnomusicologist Birthe Trærup (1939–2022) and her fieldwork during the period 1959–1976 in the former Yugoslavia, primarily in Kosovo. It is mainly based on my survey and registration of the written and visual part of Trærup’s extensive material from fieldwork, research, and (in part) dissemination, submitted to the Danish Folklore Archive at the Royal Danish Library (DFS 2016/001; DFS 2018/005; DFS bnr. 19874–884).

In her day Birthe Trærup was a pioneer in Denmark and the Nordic countries when it came to doing ethnomusicological fieldwork in Eastern Europe and also through her wide-ranging dissemination of her knowledge of the subject. Besides teaching and publishing books, articles, and videos, she produced 122 thematic broadcasts for Danmarks Radio from the 1950s to the 1980s (Sørensen 2004:4–5). See the lists up to 2004 of Trærup’s books, articles, encyclopaedia articles, reviews, translations, CD and video booklets in connection with Inge Bruland’s interview with Birthe Trærup (Bruland 2004:22–29).

She was prominent on other fronts as well. In 1972 Trærup was the first woman to be employed as a lecturer at the Department of Musicology, University of Copenhagen, by virtue of her research. She was thus also the first person in the department to teach the subject of ethnomusicology (Bruland 2004:8). She helped with the international dissemination of ethnomusicology, working closely for several years with her colleague, the ethnomusicologist and composer Poul Rovsing Olsen (PRO) of the Danish Folklore Archive. Together they created the basis for a research environment for the study of music that could not be embraced by a Western European understanding of music. This research environment developed into a natural part of the musicological research field (Kirkegaard & Sørensen 2022). From 1981 to 1986 she was also the first chairman – and the first chairwoman – of the Danish National Committee under the International Council for Traditional Music (Torp 2022).

Despite all this, she has never received the professional attention she deserves, as Annemette Kirkegaard, lecturer at the University of Copenhagen, and emeritus Søren Møller Sørensen write in their obituary of Trærup (Kirkegaard & Sørensen 2022). On the other hand, she has left behind material from her fieldwork for future research, which will make it possible to examine and analyse, from new angles and with a new focus, her activities as a fieldworker, researcher, and disseminator; her written records and sound recordings; the possible impact of her fieldwork on those she recorded; and its possible significance for the local population in Kosovo today. There are diary entries, letters, and photos/slides that could serve as a basis for an ethnological study of what fieldworkers do during their breaks and their "everyday life" when they are in the field, such as repairing an old wooden bridge so that it could support the field expedition's van, or when a fieldworker bursts into convulsive laughter at the donkey bray that they are recording, and on another occasion does a brilliant performance with a hula hoop on one leg (DFS bnr. 19877, II:e and 19877, I:22).

"The People Who Play"

Trærup's primary ethnomusicological fieldwork was conducted with the Albanian population of central Kosovo, with the Albanian Muslim Gorani people in the mountains south of Prizren, and among the area's professional Roma musicians. Among the Albanians in central Kosovo, she was particularly interested in their epic and lyrical songs and in the long-necked lutes. Among the Gorani she documented several hundred lyrical songs and especially studied the wedding customs of the people. She was interested in the instruments, the music, the songs, the tunes, the singing styles, and the people behind them. The article "Wedding Musicians in Prizrenska Gora, Jugoslavia" clearly reflects her broad approach in her fieldwork. The article is divided into sections on instruments, repertoire (tunes, dances, songs), and other activities that could take place at a wedding, such as horse

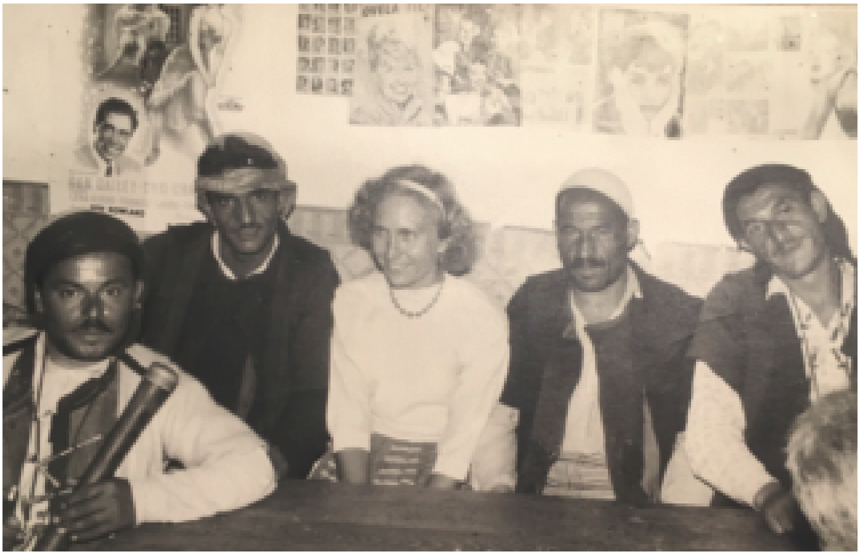

Figure 1. Birthe Trærup between musicians at a bar in Vraniste, Kosovo, 17 August 1959. The musician "Ramce" (left) has said that the most talented musicians have to play when some difficult dance is to be performed; but when the girls were dancing, he thought nothing of going out to have a pee. Photographer: unknown. (Dansk Folkemindesamling, DFS bnr. 19877:23; DFS 2016/001, VI A, volume I:16; Prizren, 25.6.75)

racing, wrestling, and more recently football matches. But it was especially "the people who play" she was interested in. The article therefore continues with sections describing who the musicians were; how they organized themselves; the function of each member of the band; informal learning; the musicians' performing season; economic circumstances, living conditions, and dress; the disadvantages of being a musician; the tale of Jakup's shawm; a little about Jakup's famous uncle; and finally an extract from a conversation with a musician about this famous uncle (Trærup 1977; see also Trærup 2005 (1996–97) about her fieldwork: http://www.scanderbeg.dk/Birthe-Traerup-Feltforskning.htm). She returned to some of the musicians repeatedly, and some became her friends (Trærup 1962:10).

From Classical Music to Ex-Yugoslav Folk Music

Inge Bruland's interview from 2004 reveals that Birthe Trærup, very early in her life, was interested in both language and music, not least classical, but also with some knowledge of traditional Danish instrumental folk music. Her parents were musical (having previously played the piano), and her older brother (Ejner Trærup) became a composer and organist, while her grandfather ("Spil Jens Peter" Larsen) and his father before him had been traditional fiddlers from Vendsyssel. She listened to classical music daily at home from childhood, and at high school she was active in choirs and in the school orchestra, where she played the violin. At the age of 15 she learned Esperanto and later Serbo-Croat and other languages. She was unsure whether to study music or languages, but she chose music and in 1959 gained her bachelor's degree (cand.mag.) with Serbo-Croatian as a minor subject (Bruland 2004:9–11). Her good ear for language undoubtedly enabled her to get into conversation with people wherever she went, establishing contacts and making friendships.

Her first acquaintance with Eastern European folk music came during her studies, when she was presented with a recording of "a very strange, two-part parallel song in untempered intervals from Istria [Kosovo]". Shortly afterwards, in 1952, she was in Konstanz, Germany, at a conference where she saw a "Yugoslav documentary with folk dance and music, played on flutes and bagpipes, among other things". In 1953, she attended the World Congress of Esperanto in Zagreb, where she witnessed a state ensemble of folk music (Bruland 2004:12–13). These musical experiences laid the first foundation for her lifelong preoccupation with Eastern European folk music – reinforced by a one-year Yugoslav exchange scholarship to Serbia and Croatia from autumn 1954 to spring 1955 (Trærup 1962:5; Bruland 2004:13 [wrongly dated 1953–54 by Bruland]).

Before starting at the Academy of Music and the Institute of Musicology in Belgrade in the autumn of 1954, and subsequently at the Institute of Folk Art in Zagreb, she spent a few weeks on her own in Zagreb. During ten days she "got to know a lot of wonderful people" and thus established contacts with whom she could spend the night when travelling. She had been to the opera five times, seen two films, and attended folk dancing once, she had visited museums, art collections, and an international market, she had made excursions to forests and villages in the surrounding area, and so on. In addition, she had given lectures in the Esperanto Club about Danish folk songs, singing five examples. The event was reported in a newspaper and led to a translation of the lecture into Croatian to be read on the radio, and once again Trærup sang the five songs. She wrote about this – and much more – on 10 September 1954, in a letter to her parents and her brother (DFS 2016/001, I B, 10.9.54). After one attempt at folk dancing, she had evidently decided to do more dancing – which apparently no one, perhaps not even herself, had thought would happen. Again she wrote home:

> Prepare yourselves for a shock! I've started learning folk dance! Twice a week I hop and jump in a "kolo" [a chain dance]. It is glorious but strenuous, especially "drmes", which requires shaking constantly, rhythmic, lovely… After two hours of "kolo" I am soaked in sweat. Next time I'll wear something light. […]. (2016/001, A I, 23.10.54:5/55).

Both in Belgrade and in Zagreb she was introduced to the transcription of melody recordings with local singers. In her letters home to Denmark she seems overwhelmed by how exciting it was, most of all the Croatian singing from Istria and the island of Krk: "As for me, I am so completely absorbed in my work. It's *insanely* exciting." She was busy every day, trying to transcribe steel tape recordings from Krk. She wrote in a letter on 7 February 1955 to her parents and brother that she had previously read articles in which "scholars" discussed whether the people on the island sang in "parallel seconds, minor thirds, diminished thirds, or in untempered minor thirds". The latter is assumed, in Trærup's words, "to be the least wrong". She adds that they always sing duets in "'thirds' or 'sixths', and it sounds strident enough to chase ten Danish professors far away" (DFS 2016/001, I A, 7.2.55:103; Trærup 1962:5–6). But not Birthe Trærup.

Besides taking singing and piano lessons, during the two terms she had been taking lessons in Serbian, song literature, and folklore, she had practised singing three-quarter notes, participated in collecting/fieldwork, learned local folk dances, transcribed songs that were difficult/impossible to attach to the staff lines, and among many other things she had even found a singer-informant. When she thought she had grasped the rhythm, "her" singer shook his head and said, "You uncultured northerners don't know what rhythms are…" (DFS 2016/001, I A, 5.11.54:65).

In the summer of 1955, when her one year of study was over, she went to Sarajevo, where she was introduced through the National Museum to Bosnian two-part singing and to the orientally influenced solo singing. During the same period she attended Yugoslavia's Second Folklorist Congress in the Bjelasnica Mountains. From there she went to Skopje to spend a few months, participating as a student in a collecting and research trip with the Folklore Institute to an area near the Bulgarian border (Trærup 1962:6).

Breakthrough as an Ethnomusicologist, 1959–1961

In 1959, the same year that Trærup graduated from university, she was asked to take part in a Scandinavian-German ethnomusicological field expedition to Kosovo and Macedonia and a little way into Greece. The expedition lasted for two and a half months from August to October. Besides Birthe Trærup, the expedition consisted of Ernst Emsheimer, director of the Stockholm Music Museum, and Felix Hoerburger, research associate at the Institut für Musikforschung in Regensburg. Emsheimer's wife came along on the sidelines. The aim was to study musical life among Albanians outside Albania, in the neighbouring areas of Yugoslavia and Greece. Among other things, they documented a wedding in Vraniste over three days. On the Sunday evening on the second day of the wedding, however, Trærup had

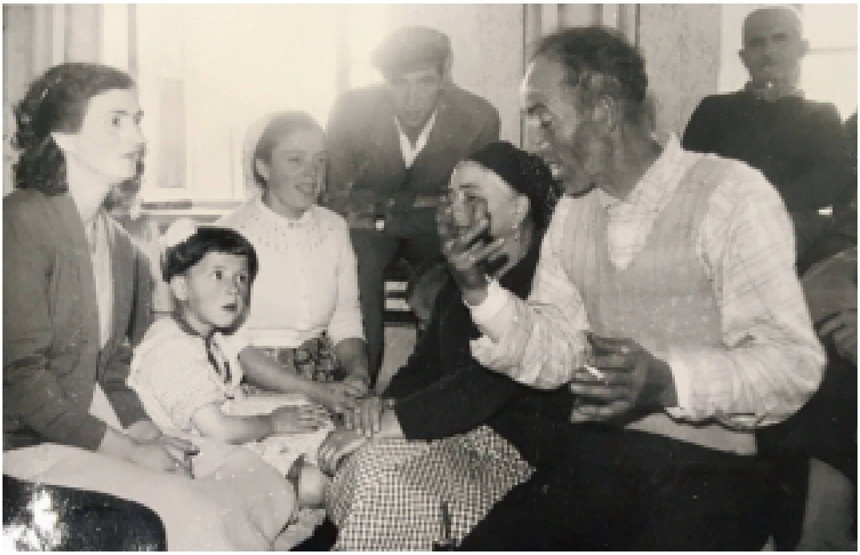

Figure 2. A man mesmerizes the men, women, and children in a room with his singing. Krani, Kosovo, 7 September 1959. Photographer: probably Birthe Trærup. (Dansk Folkemindesamling, DFS bnr. 19877, I:47, picture 40).

had enough of fieldwork and wrote in her diary: "Late in the evening Felix and I went down to watch the dancing in front of the bridegroom's house, although we were very tired. We had been filming all day and taking photographs and recording music, but now I wanted to join in properly. While Felix noted some male dances, I danced the kolo with the women in the bridegroom's yard" (DFS 2016/001, II B, 16.8.59:38–39).

After the Scandinavian-German field expedition she remained in Yugoslavia for two years with a scholarship from the Yugoslav state. This gave her the chance to go on working with musical life among the two Albanian communities in Kosovo from 1959 to 1961. In her field diaries she discusses in various ways that she feels at home, that she belongs in Yugoslavia, and in February 1960 she expresses her great love for Zagreb, where she will stay for three weeks, close to the Folklore Institute, the theatre, and the Esperanto club. Things could not be any better:

> I am in love with Zagreb. Several different factors contribute to this love, which I have also felt in the past when staying in Zagreb and which has always made me stay longer than intended. This time I could not extend the stay due to my strict work schedule. I have to spend the whole of March in Pristina, April in Vrnjacka Banja, May at the seaside, etc. But it will be three happy weeks in Zagreb. Maja found me a lovely room right in the centre (with Mrs Cipika, Amruseva 7), just two minutes from Trg Republike, ten minutes from the Institute [of Folk Art] or the theatre, five steps to the Esperanto club (Amruseva 5). In this way, I am really satisfied with the

Figure 3. Felix Hoerburger shows his skill with the hula hoop during a break on the way to fieldwork in Kosovo, 1959. Photographer: unknown. (Dansk Folkemindesamling, DFS bnr. 19778, picture 16; DFS 2016/001, XIX B:32 [in blue ink]).

> room, which actually became my centre, where I could rest and change clothes in between my many activities. And the room was nicely furnished, which is rare in Yugoslavia. It cost 7,000 dinars without heating, and since I didn't feel cold I found no reason to light the fire.
>
> Every morning I ate yoghurt and kifle or graham rolls in a milk bar. I got to the Institute at 8:30. (DFS 2016/001, III A:22 [February] 1960, see also III B:2).

The following month, we get a small concrete example of what the interaction between fieldworker(s) and singer(s) can result in. On March 11, Trærup had made recordings with two singers, one of them being Tahir Drenica. There was also a fourth person present: "The last and longest song Tahir improvised about all four of us and told the whole story of my journey" (DFS 2016/001, III A, 11.3.60:28).

She continued her fieldwork in varying conditions until 1976: after 1959–1961 she was back doing fieldwork in 1963, 1964, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1975, and 1976. She visited Yugoslavia in a different capacity in 1965 and 1988, when she also met some of the musicians again. In 1967 she arranged a concert tour in Denmark with three musicians from Kosovo, and likewise in 1973 with Tahir Drenica, one of the musicians with whom she seems to have had a long-standing friendship (DFS 2016/001, XVII B).

Birthe Trærup's Material in the Danish Folklore Archive

Birthe Trærup's diverse material in the Danish Folklore Collection consist of written material, pictures, sound recordings, and a few edited videos. There are also books and articles that will not be mentioned here, there may be additional relevant material, as well.

Written material and images can be found in the Royal Danish Library's search system, www.soeg.kb.dk. The material is only for use in the research reading room in the Black Diamond, the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen.

To listen to *sound recordings*, contact the Danish Folklore Archive through the Royal Danish Library, www.kb.dk: "Ask the library". The same applies to *videos.*

Written material: DFS 2016/001, "Birthe Trærup's collection concerning musical life in the former Yugoslavia, especially among two Albanian population groups in Kosovo". Distributed in eight archive boxes:

- Travel letters to her parents and brother – handwritten and fair-copied.
- Letters. Postcards.
- Field diaries– handwritten and partly fair-copied. Miscellaneous notes.
- Summaries of recording situations.
- Survey of informants.
- The informants' repertoires of song and music.
- Tune transcriptions.
- Transcriptions of lyrics.
- Transcriptions of interviews.
- Notes (registers) of photographs and slides.
- Registers of audio and video recordings.
- Conference notes.
- Thematically classified field material (e.g. on wedding customs).
- Tour schedule etc. for Kosovo musicians' tour in Denmark.
- Scripts of radio talks and other lectures.
- Articles.
- Overview of lectures at the University of Copenhagen.
- Biographical and family-related information on Trærup – including data on the fiddler "Spil Jens Peter" (Larsen), Birthe Trærup's grandfather.

Written material: DFS 2018/005, "Ethnomusicological material especially in Serbo-Croat from Birthe Trærup concerning Albanians in Kosovo". Donated by Minna Skafte Jensen. Concerns Birthe Trærup's recordings among Albanians in Kosovo. Three archive boxes:

- Notes in Serbo-Croat on expeditions etc. 1959–76.
- Film register in Serbo-Croat, "Goranska Svadba" 1966.
- Reviews in Danish and Serbo-Croatian of a concert tour in 1967 in Denmark with three musicians from Kosovo.
- Transcript in Serbo-Croat of an interview with two musicians from Kosovo in 1970 and list of singers.
- Script for the video "Albanian singers in Kosovo" and seven printed pages of tune transcriptions.

Written material: The digitized sound registers are collected under the title*:* "Danish Folklore Archive's sound archive. Registers of sound recordings from the Balkan Peninsula. Birthe Trærup".

The image material is divided into 11 picture items, DFS bnr. 19874–884, with the series title "Birthe Trærup's ethnomusicological picture collection especially from Kosovo in the former Yugoslavia". This includes photo albums, loose pictures, contact sheets, and slides with pictures of people and places from her study periods, excursions, visits, and fieldwork in Yugoslavia and adjacent countries; also including material by Birthe Trærup and other fieldworkers and colleagues – and of the fieldworkers' breaks/"everyday life".

Audio recordings. About 200 tape recordings from 1954–78 which have been digitized.

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Image Archive:

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Nils-Arvid Bringéus as a Folklorist

Anders Gustavsson

Abstract

Nils-Arvid Bringéus was born on 29 March 1926 in Örkelljunga, in the northern part of the province of Skåne in Sweden. After a long and active life in ethnology and folkloristics, he died on 21 April 2023 at the age of 97. This article focuses on the significance of his work as a researcher in folkloristics, more specifically referring to his investigations into customs, beliefs, legends and tales.

Keywords: Nils-Arvid Bringéus, folkloristics, Örkelljunga

Nils-Arvid Bringéus was born on 29 March 1926 in Örkelljunga, in the northern part of the province of Skåne in Sweden. After a long and active life in ethnology and folkloristics, he died on 21 April 2023 at the age of 97. In the present article I focus on the significance of his work as a researcher in folkloristics. More specifically I refer to his investigations into customs, beliefs, legends and tales. In my work with this, his bibliography *Tryckta skrifter,* published in 2007, has been invaluable in yielding important information about his extensive scholarly production (Bringéus 2007).

Funeral Customs

Bringéus began his studies in Nordic and Comparative Folklife Research in 1947 in Lund and presented his first printed paper in 1948. The paper was about a funeral custom where two men walked singing in front of the coffin in the funeral procession (Bringéus 1948). In 1950, a paper on the Luokkaliina tradition in the province of Värmland was published. This custom was about the hearse being decorated with a white piece of fabric on the harnesses. Bringéus connected this to the Finnish immigration to Värmland in the sixteenth century (Bringéus 1950). In 1953 he achieved a Swedish licenciate degree with a thesis entitled *Studier i svensk begravningssed* ("Studies on Swedish Funeral Customs"). For several decades, investigations into funeral customs became a hallmark of his research. At a Nordic conference in Oslo in 2008, he was able to look back and reflect on sixty years as a student of

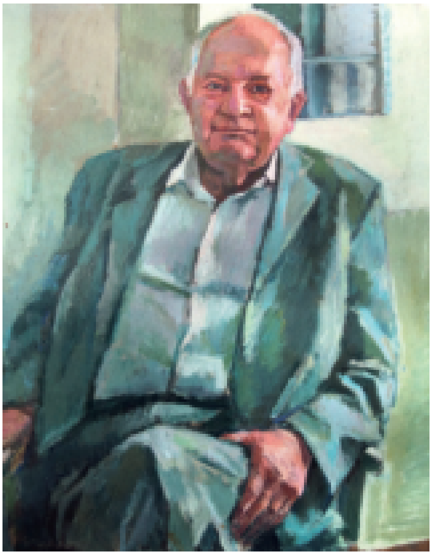

Figure 1. Nils-Arvid Bringéus. Portrait painted by Gerhard Nordström. The portrait hangs on the premises of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture at Klostergatan 2 in Uppsala. After Bringéus 2014.

funeral customs (Bringéus 2009). In the 1940s and 1950s his focus was on the study of particular elements such as the use of the *prestav* (a special marshal heading the funeral procession). Two men walked in front of the coffin, each holding a mourning rod in his hand. This rod was called a *prestav*, a word originally from Russia. Bringéus followed the history, distribution and expansion of the custom using a mapping technique (Bringéus 1959).

In 1958, Bringéus gained his doctorate in Lund with the dissertation *Klockringningsseden i Sverige* ("The Custom of Bell Ringing in Sweden"). Death knells had a significant role. The mapping technique was an important method highlighting regional and local variations in Sweden. A long historical perspective extended from the Middle Ages up to the present. Both stability and changes in the customs could be demonstrated. Regulations at national, diocesan levels and at parish meetings had an impact on local practice (Bringéus 1958). At his disputation, Bringéus received a newly cast church bell. Later he donated it to the church in Örkelljunga, where it now hangs in the chancel. At his funeral on 19 May 2023 the minister, according to age-old tradition, rang this bell nine times.

Later, in the 1980s and 1990s, Bringéus focused on human attitudes towards death, and how this could be studied by means of the funeral customs (Bringéus 1981, 1994). Minimalism, individualism and professionalization grew increasingly stronger in the late 1900s (Bringéus 2009b). Doing research on death and funerals was important according to Bringéus because "death is a part of life both collectively and individually. Our deceased relatives are with us in our thoughts and dreams as long as we live. Our own body carries the presage, visual and non-visual, of death, becoming more obvious the older we get" (Bringéus 2009b).

Material Peasant Culture

Having earned his doctorate, Bringéus spent some years as *docent*. He broadened his research area of expertise to cover also material culture with special focus on peasant society in Skåne. Here books about the iron plough as an innovation (Bringéus 1962a) and swidden cultivation (Bringéus 1963) may be mentioned.

The History of the Discipline

Another research area during Bringéus's time as a *docent* was the history of the subject. In 1962 a paper was published about the temperance advocate and clergyman Peter Wieselgren's collection of folk memories in the 1800s. He introduced the term folk memory meaning "litteratura non scripta" (non-written literature) and published the book *Ny Smålands beskrifning* ("New Description of Småland") 1844–1847 (Bringéus 1962b). In 1966, Bringéus published the extensive monograph *Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius som etnolog: En studie kring Wärend och wirdarne* ("Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius as an Ethnologist"). In 1844 Hyltén-Cavallius (1818–1889) published the first edition of *Svenska folksagor och äfventyr* ("Swedish Fairy Tales and Legends"), and a second edition in 1849. In 1853 he also published *Sveriges historiska och politiska visor* ("Historical and Political Songs in Sweden"). He was an avid collector of written folklore and recorded many legends. His main work *Wärend och wirdarne* ("Värend and Its People"), with the subtitle *Ett försök i svensk etnologi* ("An Essay in Swedish Ethnology"), was published in two parts in 1863–1868. Hyltén-Cavallius studied both the region of Värend in Småland and the individuals living there. Bringéus gave the following description: "the extensive ethnological work of Hyltén-Cavallius covered, as shown here, both field and archive research and the publishing of articles, and he combined the tasks of the ethnographer, the ethnologist and the folklorist" (Bringéus 2010:13).

In conjunction with the investigation on Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius, in 1967 Bringéus published an amended edition with several comments on the notes written down by the farmer and churchwarden Lasse of Lassaberg, on folk life in Södra Unnaryd in Västbo parish, Småland, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These notes were first published in 1874 by the collector of folklore Gabriel Djurklou (Bringéus 1967a). In 1967 Bringéus also published a special study on black magic books supposedly owned by a minister in Västbo parish, Småland. Bringéus tried to discover the originals of these black magic books and found that they "mostly contained learned magic from continental sources" (Bringéus 1967b). As we will find below, studies on originals became an important hallmark for Bringéus in his investigations of folk pictures.

Even after the 1960s, Bringéus continued to publish older folkloristic sources. In 1985 two publications appeared, containing source material that the folklore collector Eva Wigström (1832–1901), alias AVE, had collected in Skåne, and with extensive comments by Bringéus. One publication has the title *Allmogeseder i Rönnebergs härad* ("Folk Customs in Rönneberga Hundred") and deals with life in the 1840s (Bringéus 1985a). There are several examples showing how a new era developed in the rural areas from where she came. Innovations came both from the towns and through high-class individuals. The other publication bears the title *Fågeln med guldskrinet: Folksagor samlade och upptecknade i Skåne* ("The Bird with the Golden Box: Folk tales Collected and Recorded in Skåne"). Eva Wigström stated that the 42 published stories, which are primarily wonder-tales, were written down from oral performances by individuals mainly in rural areas. The eponymous fairy tale is a version of the Cinderella story (Bringéus 1985b).

In the early twenty-first century Bringéus published two extensive biographies: one about the folklorist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (1878–1952) in 2006, and one about the ethnologist and folklorist Åke Campbell (1891–1957) in 2008. Important source material here was a large number of preserved letters. In a letter to me in April 2006, Bringéus noted that ”biographies are now popular again after long being regarded with disdain". C. W. von Sydow created the Folklore Archive in Lund. In 1910 he became lecturer in the new discipline of folklore studies. Folk tale research became an important part of his investigations. His doctoral dissertation in 1909 was about The Three Female Spinners. von Sydow created several new folkloristic concepts such as *ekotyp* ("ecotype") and *fikt* (special fictitious creatures like the bogeyman). The theory he embraced was functionalism, as he tried to find rational explanations for the folklore concepts. In 1940 he became Professor of Nordic and comparative folk culture research in Lund, and stayed there until his retirement in 1946. Bringéus writes about the importance of von Sydow still in Sweden: "Through his interest for the carriers of tradition, von Sydow has also created the foundation for the study of modern ethnology investigations of the human being as a cultural being" (Bringéus 2006:84).

Åke Campbell gained his doctorate in 1929 with the first dissertation in ethnology in Sweden, entitled *Skånska bygder under förra hälften av 1700-talet* ("Settlement Districts in Skåne during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century"). The theory applied here was diffusionism with its particular mapping method (Bringéus 2008).

In the early twenty-first century Bringéus started an initiative for an edited volume about prominent Swedish folklorists and ethnologists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture, which Bringéus chaired 2002–2004, published the volume in 2010, with Mats Hellspong and Fredrik Skott as editors (Hellspong & Skott 2010). Following the publication, Bringéus called on Norwegian cultural historians to produce a similar book on early prominent individuals in the field in Norway. In a letter to me dated 11 April 2011 he wrote: "I am particularly glad that my proposal for a book on Norwegian ethnologists and folklorists seems to have received a positive response. I am looking forward to seeing the final outcome." In 2013 the volume *Etnologi og folkloristikk: En fagkritisk biografi om norsk kulturhistorie* ("Ethnology and Folkloristics: A Disciplinary Biography of Norwegian Cultural History") was published, edited by Bjarne Rogan and Anne Eriksen (Rogan & Eriksen 2013).

Professor in Lund and Supervisor of PhD Students

On 1 July 1967 Bringéus assumed the position of Professor of Nordic and Comparative Folklife Research in Lund. On that same day, I also became his licentiate student and in 1969 I went on to be his first PhD student. With my thesis *Kyrktagningsseden i Sverige* ("The Custom of Churching of Women in Sweden"), presented in 1972 (Gustavsson 1972), I was the first PhD student supervised by Bringéus all the way to the defence of the dissertation. Later in the 1970s and 1980s he supervised several other students who gained their doctoral degrees. The seminars led by him were constructive, calling for independent thinking. Following one seminar, about a chapter in my thesis where several different opinions had been expressed, he urged me: "Now you are the one in command, standing up for your opinion. Neither I nor anyone else should tell you what to think." Bringéus also made sure that his PhD students established international research contacts, for example at meetings and conferences both in the Nordic countries and in the rest of Europe.

Food Research

As a professor, Bringéus also worked on building international networks. The first one focused on food research. In 1970 he published *Mat och miljö: En bok om svenska matvanor* ("Food and Environment: A Book about Swedish Eating Habits") (Bringéus 1970). The chosen perspective was how human beings relate to food. Folkloristic aspects of cooking were prominent in the paper "Är Hålle hemma?" This was about prophylactic measures when cooking *blodkorv* (a kind of black pudding, boiled sausage containing blood from cow and pig). Magic measures and taboos were necessary so that the skin of the sausage would not crack in the cooking process. One taboo was not to speak during the cooking. The prayers said took on an almost magical meaning. ”When the sausage was put in the pot you could also say a prayer called a *pölsebön* or *korvabön* [sausage prayer]” (Bringéus 1972:96). Likewise, when brewing beer there were magical precautions. The fermenting process was threatened. You needed to make sure that *skogsmannen* (“the forest man”), *skogssnuvan* (“the forest nymph”) or the underground people did not come to the place and steal the beer vessels or the Christmas beer (Bringéus 1993b). Among Bringéus’s later publications about food, *Mat och måltid: Studier i svensk matkultur* (“Food and Meals: Studies in Swedish Food Culture”), 1988a, and *Den skånska smaken: En bok om gångna tiders matvanor i Skåne* (“Scanian Taste: A Book about Bygone Food Habits in Skåne”) may be mentioned, 2009a.

In 1970 Bringéus sent out invitations to the first international symposium on food in Lund. This was a successful move, and international symposia on food were thereafter arranged every second or third year and continue to be arranged in the 2020s as well. Following every symposium a volume is published containing a significant number of papers from many different countries. In 1994, the symposia on food became one of the working groups in the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore, abbreviated SIEF, with the name Food Research.

Folk Pictures

Another international network was started by Bringéus in the beginning of the 1980s and focused on the study of folk pictures, in particular the message of the pictures. The perspective of communication became important. In 1981, the book *Bildlore* appeared, where the title is a word coined by Bringéus himself. This was, according to him, supposed to be a new field of research. “Bildlore should aim at revealing the values and attitudes expressed in the pictures” (Bringéus 1981a:13). The *Bildlore* book appeared in German in 1982 (Bringéus 1982c). That same year, a large and richly illustrated edition of South Swedish painted wall hangings was published. The motifs were largely biblical (Bringéus 1982b).

Regarding the study of the pictures, Bringéus expended a great deal of energy tracing the prototypes of the motifs in the wall hangings. He found those mostly in *kistebrev* (“chest prints”). Those were single-sheet prints of coloured woodcuts that were often glued to the inside of the lid of chests in farmers’ homes. Copperplates, more common among well-off people in society, could also sometimes be prototypes. In 1995 Bringéus published *Skånska kistebrev* (“Chest Prints in Skåne”) (Bringéus 1995) and in 2003 *Västsvenska kistebrev* (“Chest Prints in Western Sweden”) (Bringéus 2003b). In 2013 a special study on the tapestry painter Anders Eriksson of Ås in Västbo parish in Småland appeared (Bringéus 2013). In addition to

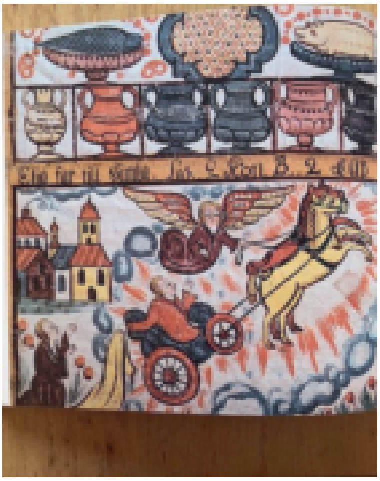

Figure 2. The ascension of Elijah painted by Anders Eriksson in Ås. After Bringéus 1982b.

biblical motifs, there are also secular motifs in his paintings. One of them is the age staircase, symbolically showing the cycle of life which Bringéus has also analysed in other papers. The oldest Swedish examples of the age staircase are from around 1300 (Bringéus 1982a, 1988b). Another secular motif by Anders Eriksson of Ås is the wheel of fortune, belonging to a tradition of pictures originating in the thirteenth century. Bringéus devoted a monograph in 2004 solely to the study of fortune and its relation to misfortune in older folk tradition. A special notion refers to the fortune of farmers (Bringéus 2004).

In 1984 Bringéus arranged an international symposium in Lund on the theme of *Man and Picture*. Some thirty scholars from Scandinavia and Central Europe attended. In 1985, he was able to publish a volume with the same name (Bringéus 1985c). Picture research became another working group within SIEF, where Bringéus was president during a set-up period during the years 1982–1987.

Folk Religion

Yet another international network initiated by Bringéus focused on folk religion, later labelled ethnology of religion, which for a long time was one of his most important areas of research. In 1955 he had published a paper on the introduction of the early-morning service on Christmas Day in the diocese of Lund in the late nineteenth century (Bringéus 1955). Studying innovations, inspired by cultural geography as it developed in Lund, continued to be an important component in Bringéus's investigations of church customs. In 1965 this research involved the introduction of the Christmas crib in Sweden, with Germany as the prototype (Bringéus 1965). In 1969, a publication on harvest service was published, referring to an innovation in the twentieth century (Bringéus 1969). In 1979, Bringéus presented a paper on the custom of saying grace and how it later disappeared. This is a study about regression but also about revival or revitalization in free-church circles in the twentieth century (Bringéus 1979). To strengthen research in the ethnology of religion at Lund University, Bringéus, together with historians and church historians, was able to create a research centre in Lund named *Centrum för religionsetnologisk forskning,* where I became the supervisor.

In 1993, Bringéus arranged an international symposium in Stockholm on *Religion in Everyday Life.* The year after, he was able to publish a volume with the same title. The focal point for the study was presented as "a question of religion in the home and at the workplace, religion at the beginning and end of the day, religion practised by people in life crises and risk situations" (Bringéus 1994a:6). A working group under the name of *Folk Religion* was established within SIEF, and I served as its first chairman up until 1999. The name of the working group was later changed to *Ethnology of Religion*.

Also after the symposium in Stockholm, Bringéus's studies on church customs continued. In a paper in 1997 he focused on pilgrimage to the church and the spring in the village in Skåne named after Sankt Olof, both in older and more recent times. A revitalization occurred in the late twentieth century (Bringéus 1997b). In a paper in 2003, Bringéus brought up the question of the hymn book as a book for the people. He wrote: "To me as an ethnologist the relation between man and the hymn book is what is interesting" (Bringéus 2003). Some of Bringéus's many textbooks for ethnology students focus on questions of folk religion. In 1997 the book *Folklig fromhet: Studier i religionsetnologi* ("Popular Piety: Studies on the Ethnology of Religion") appeared (Bringéus 1997a). This was also published in German in 2000 (Bringéus 2000). An example of magic in folk religion was that when a pregnant woman suffered a miscarriage, she tried to touch the priest's robe without him noticing, as he officiated at a church service, most often a funeral. This practice, called false churching, was supposed to help heal the woman after her miscarriage (Bringéus 1964). In 2005 Bringéus published a book on church customs where he talks about what happens inside the church from the perspective of the people in the congregation. There has been a shift from words to action and experience. The minister has acquired several co-actors among the parishioners present (Bringéus 2005a).

Textbooks

Bringéus found teaching ethnology important, as evidenced by his many textbooks which appeared in several editions. Three of these were published in 1976 when the number of ethnology students was on the rise. These three textbooks from 1976 had the titles *Arbete och redskap: Materiell kultur på svensk landsbygd före industrialismen* ("Work and Tools: Material Culture in Rural Sweden before Industrialization") (Bringéus 1976a)*, Människan som kulturvarelse: En introduktion till etnologin* ("Man as a Cultural Being: An Introduction to Ethnology") (Bringéus 1976b) and Årets festseder ("Festival Customs of the Year") (Bringéus 1976c). In 1986, *Livets högtidsdagar* ("Celebrations of Life") was published, where the author's stated aim was to "describe how the different festivals of the life cycle were perceived by the average citizen in actions and in economic terms" (Bringéus 1986:7). In 1987, *Livets högtider* ("Festivals of the Life Cycle") was published, partly "intended as an introduction for ethnology students" (Bringéus 1987). In addition to the many studies on funeral customs (see above), Bringéus performed a special study on "round-number birthdays" during life. Celebrating round-number birthdays was first introduced at the end of the nineteenth century in high-status circles. During the twentieth century the tradition spread to the countryside. The family pages in the newspapers were increasingly filled with birthday reports. Lately, the trend has turned because of the informalization of birthday celebrations. An individual with a forthcoming birthday can now advertise in the paper asking people not to observe his/her birthday (Bringéus 2005c). In a letter to me in April 2006, right after his own eightieth birthday, Bringéus wrote: "Personally I would rather write about the round-number birthdays than celebrate them".

Bringéus has also conducted some special studies on annual holidays. In 2005 a book was published highlighting how young people amused themselves in Skåne in olden times (Bringéus 2005b). The author observes the youngsters' propensity to push the limits and to make fun of each other. During Shrovetide, before the actual start of Lent, massacres of geese and cats occurred in bygone times as a form of young male entertainment. It was called "goose-riding" and "knocking the cat out of the barrel" (Bringéus 1989). As the sheriffs and ministers kept an eye on the antics of young people on annual holidays in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there is source material that Bringéus was able to use. Another special study deals with the feast of Lucia on 13 December, a celebration that dates back to medieval times and changed quite a lot during the twentieth century (Bringéus 1998b).

The Name of the Subject

Bringéus strongly supported naming the subject ethnology instead of folklife research. This was also implemented in Sweden in 1970. In an edited volume on ethnological visions from 1993, he stated that he had previously been criticized for sinking folklore in Sweden when it was merged with folklife studies and was then called solely ethnology, especially European. He defended himself against this criticism: “It has nevertheless been shown over time that it was only when integrated as a part of ethnology that justice was done to the folklore sector, not least because of the folklorists’ own contextuality requirements and inspirations from anthropology” (Bringéus 1993a:211). In order to bring Nordic ethnology research to an international audience, Bringéus in 1971 created the yearbook *Ethnologia Scandinavica: A Journal for Nordic Ethnology.* This book has so far appeared in over fifty volumes.

Honorary Awards

As testimony to his international scholarly reputation, Bringéus was made an Honorary Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Bergen, Norway, in 1990, at Åbo Academy in Finland in 1993, at Münster in Germany in 1994 and Honorary Doctor of Theology in Lund in 1994. Since Bringéus’s passing I have received many letters from international scholars pointing out his importance for the development of ethnology both in the Nordic countries and in the rest of Europe. The folklorist Ulrika Wolf-Knuts at Åbo Academy wrote: “One of the real great ethnologists is gone. I am happy to have known him.” Sophie Elpers at the SIEF secretariat in Amsterdam, Holland, stated that “Nils-Arvid Bringéus was such a legend.” Patricia Lysaght in Dublin, Ireland, heading the SIEF working group *Food Research*, expressed that “he was a great scholar and person”.

Örkelljunga Local History Society

Bringéus found much of his empirical material in the southern parts of Sweden, in particular the province of Skåne and not least his birthplace Örkelljunga, a small town with a history of craftsmanship. Of his many books, 47 were published by Örkelljunga Local History Society, which Bringéus chaired for 45 years, 1953–1998. One of his especially well-known investigations on Örkelljunga is the legend about the lost church bell. During the construction of the church in the Middle Ages, it was supposed to have fallen from the belfry and ended up in the nearby lake, Prästsjön, where it could not be salvaged despite several attempts. On one occasion it was reportedly almost dragged up, but fell back again into the depths of the water because someone broke the magic order not to speak. This legend was written down in Örkelljunga in 1598 (Bringéus 1949). The lost bell is supposed to explain why the church in Örkelljunga had only one bell all the time up until 1954. A new edition of this legend was published by Bringéus in 1998, as the fallen bell, on the initiative of Bringéus, had been made into the municipal coat of arms of Örkelljunga. This was accomplished through

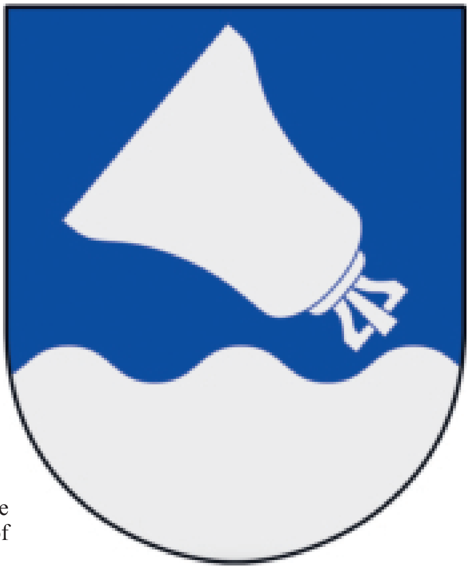

Figure 3. The lost church bell in the lake Prästsjön has become the municipal coat of arms of Örkelljunga.

a decision from His Majesty the King. The backdrop on the coat of arms is blue, referring to the sky. The bell has a silver-like colour since, according to the legend, it contained a fair amount of silver mixed into the ore. The water with its waves is also silver-coloured (Bringéus 1998).

Because of Bringéus, Örkelljunga is probably one of the localities in Sweden whose cultural history has been investigated most. He was one of the initiators of the open-air museum of Ingeborrarp in Örkelljunga municipality. Bringéus stayed true to Lund and Örkelljunga throughout his life. In his autobiographical book from 2014, which was his last book, he stated: "My home region, Örkelljunga, has shaped me, perhaps too much since even at a distance I have lived in this area. Most of my books have been about this region" (Bringéus 2014:211). He was buried in the church in Örkelljunga on 19 May 2023. Afterwards the funeral guests gathered at Ingeborrarpsgården, where several ethnologists and other individuals made speeches in his memory.

Final Words

Bringéus's folkloristic work was more extensive than I initially anticipated when I started writing this presentation. It has been inspiring to read the whole of this production and present a compilation of it to an international audience, especially considering the fact that Bringéus found international connections so important and also encouraged his students in this direction.

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Book Reviews

Ravens and Humans in Iceland

Sigurður Ægisson: Hrafninn: þjóðin, sagan, þjóðtrúin. Bókaútgáfan Hólar, Reykjavík 2022. 424 pp. Ill.

Perhaps the most iconic of all bird species in the Northern Hemisphere is the raven. It is an impressive black bird that you cannot fail to notice if it is in your neighbourhood (nowadays we even have it in central Uppsala). You can hear it (the call is very distinctive) and you can see it. The raven has coexisted with humans for thousands of years, so we are closely linked in many ways. In Sweden this is evident not least from all the place names beginning with Ram- (Ramberget, Ramnäs, Ramsele, Ramstavik, etc.), deriving from the Old Swedish name of the bird. Among many indigenous peoples in the circumpolar region, the raven plays an important part in mythology and belief. Because it prefers to live on carrion, it follows hunters, but it also eats food waste where it is on offer. Sheep and reindeer herders regard the raven as a pest, as it is believed to kill newborn lambs and calves. In the Faroe Islands, a beak bounty used to be paid to anyone who killed a raven. Nor did the bird disdain to eat corpses from places of execution when they existed.

The raven is thus a bird that is loaded with symbolism and cultural history, of which there is much to tell. This is also shown by the ornithologically knowledgeable Icelandic clergyman and folklore researcher Sigurður Ægisson, who devotes his latest monograph to the raven. The result is a lengthy volume in large format. The cultural history of the raven in Iceland dates back to the arrival of humans in the 860s, when Flóki Vilgerðarson approached the country's shores. He was also known as Raven-Flóki (Hrafna-Flóki). Flóki was accompanied on the ship by three ravens, the last of which led Flóki to the shores of the island. With this mythical story as a starting point, Sigurður depicts in detail the significance of the raven in Icelandic culture. Apart from an introductory chapter on the biology of the raven in Iceland, most of the book is devoted to human relations (in a broad sense) to the raven, as manifested in various cultural expressions. The chapter with place names starting with *Hrafn-* comprises six pages set in three columns. That alone says something about the importance of the raven.

The raven occurs in proverbs, ballads, folk tales, and literary accounts of all kinds, as is richly exemplified in the book. It is also found in plant names (white cottongrass, *Eriophorum scheuchzeri*, for example, is called *hrafnafífa* in Icelandic) and animal names (the northern minke whale is called *hrafnreyður*). Olaus Magnus's *Carta Marina* from 1539 depicts a white raven on the north coast of Iceland, and a whole chapter is devoted to this rare variant of the raven. The Faroe Islands used to have a population of pied ravens, but they were shot into extinction due to demand from museums around the world.

This is a densely packed book in which the author generously shares his knowledge and his wide reading about the raven. Most of it is devoted to Icelandic conditions, and that goes a long way. The book is richly illustrated with maps and historical images of all kinds, as well as photographs taken by the author, who is obviously a skilled bird photographer. We may hope that the book will also be published in English, which would of course increase the audience outside Iceland. The author's books are usually translated for an international readership.

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Belief in an Animated World

Folktro. En besjälad värld. Kurt Almqvist & Lotta Gröning (eds.). Bokförlaget Stolpe. Axel och Margaret Ax:son Johnsons stiftelse för allmännyttiga ändamål, Stockholm 2021. 230 pp. Ill.

In format and design this is a coffee-table book, bound in dark blue cloth, aesthetically designed and richly illustrated with well-known works of art from different eras and in different styles, as well as professional photographs of antique objects and statues. Images often extend over an entire page or spread. The cover picture is a study for the painting "Dancing Fairies" from 1866 by the Swedish artist August Malmström, with dark trees against a sunset and barely visible fairies dancing in a cloud of mist that creeps along the ground. The image sets the theme of the book, as expressed in the title, which means "Folk Belief: An Animated World".

The thirteen articles represent different geographical areas, ranging from ancient India and Egypt, classical Greece and Rome, to the Nordic countries. Chronologically, the articles span from prehistory to the present, and some of them even into the future. The authors are established scholars in their fields – history of religion, Greek, archaeology, ethnology, church history, comparative literature, folkloristics, and Egyptology – and in some cases museum workers. The book is popular science in the normal sense of the term, but it has a scholarly approach with stringent language and meticulous documentation of the sources in endnotes. Most articles are traditionally structured and take the form of presentations, but they are nevertheless informative about their specific topics.

"Belief in a meaningful animated world, in higher beings that, for better or for worse, affect human life in a meaningful way, seems to occur in all times and cultures," states the editor Kurt Almqvist in the Introduction. This declaration thus rejects the German sociologist Max Weber's claim that the world has been "disenchanted" as a result of scientific progress and the decline of religion – *die Entzauberung der Welt*. This problematization, however, is not considered by all the authors, but it highlights the book's underlying idea of showing how the world has been peopled by supernatural beings in different forms at different times, all of which are united in the concept of "folk belief". This term, *folktro* in Swedish, is used in the book in a very broad sense, including everything from religion, belief in pagan gods, cult, ritual, myth, magic, folk beliefs about the water sprite (*näcken*) and the wood nymph (*skogsrået*), the Christmas mass of the dead, witches' journeys to the Brocken (*Blåkulla*), people spirited away into the mountain, and nature worship in the modern sense.

The church historian Joel Halldorf, in his contribution "On the Price of the Enlightenment and the Importance of Re-enchanting the World", takes up the critique of Weber's thesis. The world is not just data that can be collected and sorted into tables; there are more dimensions, he says. Existential questions such as harmony and a sense of spiritual communion with another human being or with nature, connections, patterns, and depth, cannot be captured by natural science with its methods, yet they are obvious factors in human experience. Halldorf has no answer as to how the "re-enchantment" should take place, but he believes that the first step is to realize "that the modern notion of a contradiction between religion and science is just a notion, and not a given fact". Instead, we must see the material and spiritual as two dimensions of existence that do not compete, but are connected to each other – and we are then freer to explore the "fullness of existence".

The literary historian Lars Lönnroth's contribution, "The Wild Nature of the North: Animated but Deadly", proceeds from the widespread belief that the Norse peoples in the past loved wild nature and its mysterious inhabitants, such as the gods and other supernatural beings. He wonders how true this is. The conclusion that can be drawn from recorded folklore about how people in the past viewed nature is that wild nature was not appreciated, quite the opposite. Nature was something that had to be combated for the sake of humanity's material improvement and spiritual culture. The wilderness, especially the forest, was regarded as a dangerous place with malicious trolls and witches, seductive and lascivious wood nymphs, fairies, water sprites, and other evil beings that sought to harm people's lives, health, and virtue. This is an attitude that Lönnroth believes can already be seen in the creation story of the *Edda*. An animated nature as something romantic, beautiful, and worth loving, an idea that arose among aristocrats, artists, and intellectuals in the eighteenth century, is a delusion. Here I regret that no art historian was invited to participate in the book to shed light on these issues. The many works of art reproduced in the book to represent "folk belief" and the "animation" of nature could have been viewed from a new perspective, not just as illustrations.

The folklorist Camilla Asplund Ingemark, in her article "The Magic Mountain: Belief in the Forces of Nature", considers humans' complex relationship with nature from a slightly different angle than the previous authors. Ingemark presents what she calls a "counter-narrative" to the "narrative" of the scientific revolution and modernity. "We humans and nature – whether we like it or not" have coexisted in such a way that human life and the life of nature cannot really be separated. She then asks the question: What do nature and belief in the forces of nature do to people? What forces have we ascribed to nature and how have they affected us? The author cites examples based on the idea of people being spirited away into the mountain. The magic mountain is understood as a metaphor for the forces of nature, and it is through the actions of the animated nature that it happens. The supernatural beings who lure people into the magic mountain perform an act and thereby express agency. It is therefore important to approach nature and the creatures under its protection, including animals, with respect, and to have a relationship with them and negotiate with them through rites and offerings.

With the coming of modernity, this kind of thinking was abandoned and the forest was transformed into a place for sublime experiences of nature. Visitors to the forest began to look for views, panoramas, and aesthetic experiences. The effect of nature began to be more about how it influenced our individual mood and reflected our national temperament. Ingemark continues the line further into our own time – and into the future. Today we talk about the forces of nature in more sinister ways, such as climate change and natural disasters as revenge on humans for what they have done to nature. Nature is given all the power, and in the age of the Anthropocene mankind will no longer be able to control it. Fear of the inevitable climate catastrophe can be described as a modern form of belief in destiny, Ingemark concludes.

The last part of the book is written by David Thurfjell, historian of religion, "The Feeling of Animated Trees:

Animistic Experiences among Secular Swedes". The author asks why there are so many secularized Swedes today who see nature as animated. Why do they not experience nature in a way that is compatible with modern scientific knowledge? Thurfjell bases his observations on a Nordic research project in which he interviewed people experiencing nature. They describe their walks through the landscape as "opening up space in one's life" and "putting you in touch with the profound dimensions of life". They see their anxieties in perspective and they are struck by a sense of connection with Nature and the Universe. The informants repeatedly talk about a special feeling for trees, which are perceived as benevolent and caring, evoking a sense of security linked to childhood. To interpret this phenomenon analytically, Thurfjell "recycles" the anthropological concept of animism, once launched by Edward Tylor. The concept is given a partly new content. From having denoted primitive peoples' inability to understand the difference between humans and animals, it can now denote a positive reappraisal, as a kind of moral attitude to indigenous peoples' perception of reality. The term animism is used to describe the ability of these groups to see and respect the inherent value of non-human life forms. The animistic experiences of secular Swedes should thus be analysed not primarily as expressions of a specific worldview or outlook on life, but as subjective emotional experiences. Thurfjell's article on animated trees points forward towards a new way of animating the world and nature, which we can also increasingly see comprising animals and their rights and relationship to humans.

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Heritage and Religion in Christiansfeld

Crossroads of Heritage and Religion. Legacy and Sustainability of World Heritage Site Moravian Christiansfeld. Tine Damsholt, Marie Riegels Melchior, Christina Petterson & Tine Reeh (eds.). Berghahn, New York & Oxford 2022. 237 pp. Ill.

In recent years there has been a growing academic interest in the relationship between religion and heritage. This publication adds to this field in a very interesting way. In a cross-disciplinary study to which ethnologists, sociologists, church historians and theologians have contributed, new light is shed on a process whereby a living religious community succeeds in having their material and immaterial culture formally defined as world heritage.

In 1773 a group of Moravians (Danish: *Brødrevenner*) were allowed to establish a settlement in southern Jutland, and in just a few years they were able to build a church, a cemetery, residential buildings and workshops. This establishment was an amazing project, given the fact the many of the Moravians' activities since the 1740s had been formally banned in the kingdom of Denmark-Norway. The centre of the Moravian church was, however, in Saxony, where the founder, Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), had his estate. The relationship between Christiansfeld and Germany would become problematic in the 19th century, when political and military conflicts between Denmark and Prussia ended with the southern parts of Jutland becoming part of Prussia (1864) and later the German Empire (1870). Not until 1920, after a plebiscite, were parts of southern Jutland, including Christiansfeld, reunited with Denmark. This dramatic history must be kept in mind when studying Christiansfeld and the Moravian church in Denmark and its way to world heritage status.

The church historians Tine Reeh and Sigrid Nielsby Christiansen investigate the historiography of the Danish Moravians and the "world view" of an eighteenth-century Moravian as expressed in a diary. Reeh convincingly shows how Danish historians have included the piety and culture of the Moravians in a larger narrative of "Danishness", thus omitting more subversive sources and reports. The ethnologist Tine Damsholt follows up on Christiansen's study of Moravian everyday life and ideals of human life, focusing on the memoirs and the Norwegian author Camilla Collett (1813–1895), who spent some years of her youth in Christiansfeld. The Moravian pastor Jill Voigt demonstrates how the *Lebenslauf* is still a vivid literary genre among the Moravians. The musicologist Peter Hauge investigates some elements of musical practice and interpretation among the Moravians, showing how simplicity and emotion were leading ideals. The sociologist Margit Warburg applies a more general theoretical perspective on how a new religion is founded and spread, comparing the Moravians with the Baha'i religion.

The anthropologist Rasmus Rask Poulsen and the ethnologist Marie Riegels Melchior come closer to the question of heritagization in their chapters on the vital processes of shaping and controlling the narratives about Christiansfeld and the cultural values that were used as arguments for the status of world heritage. The same complex of questions is addressed by the Moravian pastor Jørgen Bøytler, but from the perspective of an "insider".

The theologian Christina Petterson and the Germanist Katherine Faull focus on archival material related to the Danish Moravians, how it is organized and how it could be made digitally accessible.

In an introductory chapter, Reeh and Damsholt give a useful overview of the Moravians, their theology, lifestyle, and also of the implications of the Christiansfeld settlement as situated between the "Danish" and the "German". Emerging Danish nationalism in the nineteenth century and the many military and political conflicts between Prussia/Germany made leading members of the Christiansfeld community ambiguous and undecided with regard to their position. Perhaps the most exciting chapter is the one written by all four editors. They show how making a world heritage site of a living religious community and settlement has created several dilemmas and potential conflicts. To what degree should one focus on the tangible and material aspects of Christiansfeld, e.g. the buildings and the environment, and how deeply should the presentation and communication also include the immaterial, i.e. the religious, moral, and even political dimensions? In many ways, Christiansfeld has chosen to do both, but it might end up as a double-edged sword.

To sum up, this volume is an intriguing introduction to the many attempts to combine religion and heritage production in our part of the world. To concentrate on one such attempt – Christiansfeld – is very rewarding. Despite its ambitions of being a cross-disciplinary study, however, the individual chapters only communicate to a little degree with each other. Without the introductory and concluding chapters, this imbalance would have been more disturbing.

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Stories about Crises and Catastrophes, Past, Present and Future

Katastrophen, Fluten, Weltenbrände. Erzählungen von Krisen und Chancen vom Mittelalter bis heute. Susanne Dinkl, Michaela Fenske, Joachim Hamm & Felix Linzner (eds.). Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg 2023. 284 pp. Ill.

Various eras in the history of humankind have been haunted by recurrent crises and, even worse, by catastrophes throwing the normal order of life off balance. In ethnological as well as historical scholarship, the so-called ”dark history” has recently come into focus. Thus, Société Internationale d’Ethnologie et de Folklore (SIEF) arranged a digital seminar in the autumn of 2023 devoted to “Dark Histories”. I would like to refer to the book *Naturkatastrofer: En kulturhistorie*, written by the Norwegian cultural scientist Kyrre Kverndokk and published in 2015.

In the volume reviewed here, several German and one Austrian scholar focus on stories about the dark history in terms of floods, avalanches, the death of forests etc, from the Old Testament flood up to our present time with climate change, but also to future dystopias as described in literature. The concept of “crisis” is considered by the authors to be an order in common everyday social life under threat. Crises can go on over a longer period, while catastrophes generally are sudden events over a short time.

The scientists got together at an interdisciplinary conference on crises and catastrophes in the German city of Würzburg in 2021. The conference organizers called upon the presenters not to focus solely on negative stories about what happened, but also on issues as to how catastrophes have been able to produce stories about possibilities for a new future after what happened. The authors of the papers have heeded that request. The stories are perceived as a resource leading up to future changes.

In the first chapter, following the introduction, the philologist Dominic Bärsch examines the question of whether the biblical flood could possibly have had the potential to create something new when all that was old had disappeared. The author has looked into what Jewish, Hellenistic and early Christian authors have written. These authors related the tales about the biblical flood to the Christian baptism that points to the baptized individual’s life ahead. Comparisons also exist between the biblical flood and the Christian cross, denoting the spiritual salvation of the human race.

In the second chapter, the Germanist Christian Buhr considers the severe flooding on 16 January 1219 in the Friesland lowlands, now the Netherlands and parts of north-west Germany. The monk Emo, who lived in the afflicted area, has written in detail about this event in a chronicle. Due to a south-western gale, the water masses broke through the previously constructed barriers against the North Sea. According to Emo, the nature and the fury of God were punishing the Friesland people. The catastrophe is explained in terms of both natural philosophy and theology.

In the third chapter, the historian Steffen Petzold addresses the issue of written tales about the uprising against the Emperor Louis the Pious in the years 830 and 833. In written source material there are three different versions of the reign of Louis the Pious, 814–840. Historically, he is portrayed as a weak leader. In the 820s there were major agrarian problems because of the extreme weather that occurred. Livestock and humans were dying, and that in turn caused a political crisis in the 830s. The great French power created during the time of his father, Charlemagne, came to an end during the last years of Louis the Pious. According to German historians in the nineteenth century, this created new possibilities as both the French and the German nations now were able to develop, each on its own terms and no longer within a common great power. Other historians do not accept that Louis the Pious was a weak emperor. Being a devout Christian he proclaimed spiritual penance both at the time of the bad harvest in the 820s and during the riots in 830 and 833. To fight off the catastrophes, it was important that people worked on being good Christians thereby gaining peace with God.

In yet another chapter, the Germanist Joachim Hamm reviews a Latin publication *Querela Pacis* ("The Complaint of Peace") published by the well-known Christian humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam in 1517. The book bears the stamp of a struggle for peace in a war-torn Europe. The author lets the peace goddess Lady Peace be heard. He also uses the Greek concept *kairós,* that is, looking forward to a new order in a crisis that has led to a vacuum. Lady Peace is against current thinking about righteous wars. Human beings were created for peace. According to Erasmus, every war leads away from God. War is not compatible with the message of the New Testament. These aspirations for peace in the texts of Erasmus were also criticized by contemporary individuals at that time. The author perceives the texts as being tales. These texts have been influential in times of crises long after the passing of Erasmus, and have been translated into several languages.

In one chapter the historian Andreas Bähr highlights tales about the Thirty Years War in 1618–1648. Here we find stories about and interpretations of how celestial phenomena were believed to be able to affect life on earth. Such phenomena caused more harm than good. One example is a comet that was sighted in 1618. It was interpreted as a warning and was considered in a chronicle to be connected to the start of the war in 1618. A spiritual leader urged people to immediate penance and conversion. That the comet in 1618 could be observed for thirty days was commented on by writers following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

In one chapter the historian Anuschka Tischer analyses 34 published sermons for the dead that were delivered during the Thirty Years War. The funeral orations sermons were for deceased individuals from higher strata in society, primarily with a Protestant background. The ongoing war was consistently talked about even though not all deaths were war-related. This occupied the minds of those writing these sermons. In this chapter they are treated as personal statements, since the authors generally knew the deceased individuals well.

In another chapter the ethnologist Silke Göttsch-Elten uses books of maxims to highlight tales from serfs on manors in Schleswig-Holstein in the eighteenth century. The concept of crisis is used here to refer to when the serfs were accused in court of opposition by the lord of the manor who controlled them. They dared to criticize things despite risking sanctions. Statements recorded as first-person narratives give an idea of the self-image and self-confidence among the serfs. The tales about opposition are also an expression of collective action. They may have contributed to changes, as serfdom was abolished in 1805.

In one chapter the cultural scientist Sandro Ratt analyses various stories about an avalanche catastrophe in a mountain area in Austria in January 1954. Some 125 individuals were killed, which was one sixth of the entire population in that troubled area. Many buildings and whole forest areas were destroyed. In this situation it was essential to understand what had happened and plan ahead for new opportunities. One storytelling tradition, mentioned in newspapers, pointed to anomalies in the past. Another storytelling tradition wanted to return to the living conditions prevailing before the catastrophe. There was a clear focus on continuity. Previous safety precautions were sufficient and should be kept. The avalanche was considered an unpredictable one-time event. Nature does not follow the laws of natural science.

The physician and psychotherapist Malte Meesmann writes about how stories can create hope when treating an illness and thereby cause medical improvement in a crisis. The idea is that body and soul are one and that this has to be taken into consideration when treating patients.

The ethnologist and psychotherapist Bernd Rieken continues the discussion in the previous chapter and points out the importance of giving consolation to patients suffering from mental anguish and depression. Ethnological interviews can serve as psychotherapy. I myself have experienced that on several occasions when doing interviews on emotional themes, for example about death or about conflicts related to the life of the person interviewed.

The ethnologist Laura Hoss devotes one chapter to the death of forests because of the current climate crisis. The order of nature is thrown off balance. The author of this article did some interviews in 2020 and 2021 with different actors involved in forest development. The stories consider what humans can do about the ongoing forest destruction in Germany. Many of the stories were pessimistic. The future was seen as unsure, but there were also some positive voices pointing to climate-tolerant trees as an example. Due to the climate crisis, bats, insects and some bird species experience improved survival possibilities in hollow and dead trees.

In a following chapter, the forest scientist Jörg Müller points to the fact that dead trees can offer something good. Insects and beetles do better in this kind of environment and do not run the risk of being eradicated.

In the next to last chapter Dieter Wrobel, whose subject is the teaching of literature, focuses on current youth literature in both Germany and England and its focus on stories about future dystopias. This also means criticism of the current society, which in this type of literature is seen in the rear-view mirror. Actions in the present day have dystopic consequences for the future. The literature concerns the current climate catastrophe and the destruction of nature that needs to be dealt with.

In the last chapter, the ethnologist Michaela Fenske has an interview with the director of the Arts Society in Frankfurt/Main, Franziska Nori, who is in charge of exhibitions. The issue is about how art exhibitions, in collaboration with natural scientists, can be viewed as stories about the current ecology crisis and offer new perspectives for the future – that is, pointing to the need for changes in lifestyle and a change of attitude towards nature in order for humanity to survive.

This volume gives a broad picture of various attitudes towards crises, in particular catastrophes with a long historical perspective. The interdisciplinary approach is important for highlighting both cultural and natural scientific perspectives when the authors in the book primarily discuss natural catastrophes. The book is an important contribution to the international research field of "dark history".

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The History of Death as an Idea

Dödens idéhistoria. Karin Dirke, Andreas Hellerstedt & Martin Wiklund (eds.). Appell Förlag, Stockholm 2022. 334 pp. Ill.

Impressive! Inspiring! Interesting! Whatever words I choose, this review will seem flat. This is a book that you must experience for yourself. As I see it, we have here a new classic in research on death; in my bookshelf it has its given place next to Louise Hagberg's *När döden gästar* (1937/2015) and Olav O. Aukrust's *Dødsrikets verdenshistorie: Menneskehetens forestillinger og kunskap om livet etter døden* (1985).

With the history of Western and Swedish ideas as a theoretical starting point and an established conceptual framework, nine articles written from different angles illustrate how people's conceptions of death have changed in time and space, from antiquity to the present day. The editors deserve high praise for their well-planned and well-structured preparatory work, including a number of overarching questions concerning beliefs about life after death and how these have affected people's lives, fears, and hopes regarding their own death, the dead, and killing. The questions are intended to serve as a basis and inspiration for the authors, and also to connect the texts chronologically, but they also give the reader a broader interpretive perspective. During the course of the work the texts have also been discussed in various forums, at seminars and workshops. All this means that the result is a uniform and coherent collection of texts on the essence of death, the realm of the dead, and life after death, as reflected in literature, funeral sermons, theological writings, the poetry of Romanticism, spiritism, hunting and animal husbandry, anatomical science, Ingmar Bergman films, and the threat of nuclear accidents and nuclear war.

Basically, the volume deals with different perspectives on mankind's eternal struggle against death, attempts to alleviate anxiety about death, and to find answers to the question of the anatomy of death, in other words: what is death and why do we die? The book shows how little evolution has actually influenced our way of talking about and relating to death; we share the same fear of death as people in the Middle Ages, not because we are intimidated by authorities to live a life that guarantees a good death, but because, despite the fact that death is visible everywhere, we still prefer to conceal and forget it. The authors of the articles lucidly demonstrate where people in different times have found models by which to best ease their anxiety of death – and even to buy themselves more time on earth.

The book definitely adds interesting new dimensions to the question of death, how people talk about death and how one should relate to it. It is with a pleasing creativity that the authors shed light on the ancient theme of death. However, the art of dying certainly requires continued active discussion, given how radically and how quickly society has changed. Questions arise about how the escalating violence in everyday life, in our vicinity, in the world, in films, in books, in games, and in music affects our perception of death. Has the constant threat of violence and death numbed us and made indifferent about the future? Hopelessness and weariness of life are already visible as signs of increasing mental ill-health among young people. And how does symbolic death – in the form of unemployment, loneliness, vulnerability, and life-threatening illnesses – affect the way we relate to death?

I greatly appreciate the long historical perspective in the book, because the history of death is genuinely interesting. And the fact is that we need to understand our history in order to relate to our own time, and possibly also to understand it better. The introduction to the volume is by far the most interesting thing I have read in a long time. It creates a holistic view and gives us the perspective to understand the patterns and how they change in the world around us. The works cited, both recent and established classics on the subject, contribute to a deeper understanding of the individual articles and also provide hints for new reading experiences on the matter. Many of the interesting aspects that are highlighted, such as Judith Butler's article from 2004 on the grievable and the ungrievable, are highly topical in this time of war and disaster.

The conclusion ties it all together in an exemplary fashion. One could say that death is our invisible companion every day and in everything we do. Sometimes it follows us at a safe distance, sometimes it is menacingly present. Death is one phenomenon among many, and the more we learn about it, the less threatening it appears. It is also worth reading the conclusion before tackling the articles, as a way to broaden one's interpretative basis, as one is inspired to think and interpret *ars moriendi* in new ways from a contemporary point of view. In the conclusion, the reader is encouraged to look for similarities and differences in the way of thinking about death, instead of framing death as "past" and "present"; the same concept has different meanings in different times in different societies. Some tendencies, however, are obvious: (1) death as homecoming and reunification versus death as total nothingness; (2) the death of an individual, where living in a certain way can influence one's time on earth, versus anonymous, collective, and indiscriminate death; and (3) the dead body versus the living soul. Death as a phenomenon is in many ways universal, while in the individual contact with death there are huge differences.

What further enhances the reading experience is the professionalism that permeates the whole book, from the layout, the choice of paper, and the illustrations, to the exemplary language. All this testifies to carefully considered and highly ambitious planning and follow-up. The book is a delight to the eye and the mind. One tiny annoying detail in the table of contents is that the symmetry is disturbed because of a missing dash in the subheading of chapter 3.

Andreas Hellerstedt's article, "Descended to the Dead: A Journey through the Premodern Afterlife", is not only an extremely interesting and instructive description of the anatomy of the realm of the dead in different times and cultures, but also gives an insight into the history of power and moral doctrine. The realm of the dead is a physical and highly hierarchical place, where power and evil rule, discrimination is exercised, and rewards and punishments are meted out on the basis of the rank and deeds of the dead person. But there is also a kind of justice in the varying degrees of punishment. *Gilgamesh*, the *Odyssey*, the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid*, the *Edda*, *Phaedo*, *La Divina Commedia*, *Paradise Lost*, religions and philosophies have their various conceptions of the realm of the dead, and with the aid of these, people have navigated their way through the norms prevailing at different times. The guided tours of the underworld in different periods demonstrate with a lamentable clarity that we have learned nothing from our history; on the contrary, evil seems to be more attractive than good. Hell is still for many a physical place that exists every day in different forms in different micro and macro environments. There is a profound truth in John Milton's thesis that good and evil are states of mind and identities that exist within the individual, and that at any moment we choose which one brings the greatest benefit.

Erland Sellberg's article, "Breaking the Sting of Death: The View of Death in the Lutheran World", takes the reader to seventeenth-century Sweden and the Lutheran deathbed. The Reformation led to significant changes in both the rituals and the thinking around death and burial. The essential thing was no longer to secure the dead person's journey to and sojourn in the realm of the dead, but that the mourners could be comforted by the knowledge that death meant eternal life in God's grace for those who had complete faith in God's wisdom and love. Death itself was the same for all – with certain exceptions: only true believers earned their place in the kingdom of God, while the unbelievers were denied eternal life and even a place in the cemetery. Funeral ceremonies and sermons also varied depending on the rank and position of the dead in society. The funeral and the sermon made death visible and reminded people that death must not be suppressed – *memento mori* was the watchword of the time. Yet the question arises: If the believer does not actually die but ends up in heaven, for whom does the Last Judgement apply and what is the need for it?

Elisabeth Mansén's article "Drain your Glass, See Death Awaits You: On Death and the Afterlife in the Eighteenth Century" is a fascinating survey of how the Swedish culture of death changed in keeping with new currents of ideas and events in both Sweden and Europe. Through examples mainly taken from art, music, and poetry, but also politics, philosophy, and religion, she shows how the view of death and the afterlife began to be perceived as the ultimate freedom, an escape from torment and misery. Death is viewed as democratic, although social status and economic resources still affected where and how a person was buried. A more individual cult of memory arose as a result of death becoming a private matter, while private grief also became more visible. Death was embellished in art, music, and literature. Regardless of whether this should be seen as a consequence or a cause of the altered view of life after death, the focus shifted from Old Testament judgement and punishment to New Testament grace and forgiveness. The new tenet was that the judgement on a person falls at the moment of death when one meets one's God, has one's sins forgiven, and comes home to a heavenly family.

In his article "Death in Swedish Romanticism: Liberation and the Path to a Truer Life", Roland Lysell shows through extracts from poems by Atterbom, Stagnelius, and Wallin how death changes character and becomes a friend. The poets' views are coloured by ideas about the good death releasing a person from the travails of mortality and serving as a path to a truer life and eternal bliss. Notions about death and grief, longing and hope for reunion, resurrection, and true joy show that death is perceived as something bright. Yet we also see clearly how the Christian Lutheran tradition permeates the poems, which is only natural: they are products of their time.

Inga Sanner's article, "Where Death Is, There We Are Too: Theory and Practice of Spiritists at the Turn of the Last Century", was an eye-opener for me. The history of spiritism is captivating, demonstrating a new way of trying to understand and obtain an answer to the question of what happens after life ends. The external attributes such as séances, mediums in trance, ectoplasm, and the presence of the dead reinforce the taint of superstition, but the article shows that spiritism is actually a doctrine that was a living part of its time and reflected the influence of many things, including Christianity, psychology, physics, astronomy, the evolution of society, moralism, but also wishful thinking. Spiritism offered hope for a prolongation of life, a new existence for the wiser, spiritual true self.

Karin Dirke's article, "Unmentionable Death: Animals Dying and Humans Killing", is about how the attitude to dead animals and the killing of animals, whether pets, useful animals, predatory beasts, or game animals, has changed and how the killing has been justified over a 200-year period in Sweden. At the same time, it is a history of the work of animal welfare associations to ensure a more humane and dignified death for animals. For pets, this meant a painless death at the vet's, with burials and gravestones, either in the garden or in animal cemeteries. The methods of slaughter must not cause unnecessary distress or pain to useful animals. Hunting had to be fair, giving the animal a chance to escape. In order to legitimize killing, rules were established for how and when hunting could be conducted and more accurate hunting weapons were developed.

In the article "The Valuable Corpse. On Knowledge, Desire, and Grievability in the Intellectual History of Anatomy", Annika Berg shows how the function of the dead body as an object of knowledge in different times and societies has changed, from being exhibited as curiosity and as a reminder of the transience of life, and as a way to make death comprehensible by touching the skeleton of one's dead child, to today's anatomical dissections for the purposes of medical education and forensic inquiry. Using "the dregs of society", body snatching, and even murder were ways to cope with the shortage of corpses in some countries. It is fascinating to read about how Sweden passed laws regulating whose dead body could be used as an object of instruction. Ethical principles gave way to practical needs. Today the reasons cited as justification would lead to the downfall of individual decision-makers and whole governments.

Martin Wiklund discusses in the article "Fear of Death and Reconciliation in Life in the Twentieth Century: Ingmar Bergman and the Art of Dying" how the perception of death and life after death changed as a result of the senseless killing in the Second World War. Based on philosophy and with examples from Victor Sjöström's *The Phantom Carriage* (1921) and Ingmar Bergman's films *Eva* (1948), *The Seventh Seal* and *Wild Strawberries* (1957), and *Cries and Whispers* (1973), he shows that the precept was no longer forgiveness of sins and a life in heaven, but a philosophy of life in which a person's actions create both a hell and a paradise on earth for themselves and other people. What is valuable in life is obtained through self-examination and reconciliation with oneself, one's life, and one's fellow human beings, and through an understanding of what is essential and meaningful. This is a thought-provoking article. What I have always wondered about is why "Death" is portrayed as a grim (and rather frightening) man in black. I would much prefer to see death as Helen Mirren's "Death" in David Frankel's film *Collateral Beauty* (2016).

We have come full circle. The first article describes man-made realms of the dead as places of punishment and penance, with permanent containment in heaven or hell. The last article also describes a man-made realm of the dead, the difference being that death itself is the permanent containment. Johan Fredrikzon's article, "Death by Radiation: How We Learned to Live with Radioactivity in the Body, in the Ground, and over Time", is a detailed and instructive, fascinating and at times frightening survey of the history of death by radiation, the possibilities and current and future threats of radioactive death, all created by man. Whereas a cosmic collision led to the death of the dinosaurs, it is now man who has started the process that will probably lead to, if not the end of the planet, then at least the destruction of humanity. The future for coming generations does not look so bright.

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Magic Users in Ostrobothnia

Karolina Kouvola: Cunning Folk As Other. Vernacular Beliefs about Magic Users in Premodern Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnian Rural Community. University of Helsinki, Helsinki 2023. 102 pp. Ill. Diss.

Karolina Kouvola's dissertation in history of religion and folklore studies deals with the premodern Finland-Swedish tradition of "cunning folk" and beliefs about people who were considered to be skilled in magic. The examples cited come from Ostrobothnia, a region that has generated a rich corpus of Swedish-language material on the subject.

Kouvola's main research question is: How were these "cunning" or "wise" (Swedish *kloka*) people othered in the Swedish-speaking villages of Ostrobothnia? This question is answered through four separate studies, three published as articles and the fourth still awaiting publication at the time of writing. These studies broaden our knowledge of the popular beliefs and worldview of premodern Ostrobothnian communities, meaning the time around the turn of the last century. Ostrobothnia then was profoundly influenced by revival movements that influenced the local communities where the magic users lived and worked. The othering of these individuals is investigated by studying beliefs and local sociocultural factors, important among which are socioeconomics and gender.

The concept of *othering* is used in the dissertation to designate a social act to distinguish a group or specific individuals from the rest of society (p. 62). It is thus a way of using power-driven stereotypes to make a distinction between groups of people. These boundaries are drawn by people in an "in-group", a group that exists within the community and follows its tacitly agreed rules. It is the voices of these people that are heard, in this case in the source material, while those who were othered are those whom the first group considered to be outside the norm. Othering constitutes the central theoretical framework of the dissertation.

Kouvola's main aim is "to bring forward new and localised information about cultural models on magic and witchcraft by analysing various othering aspects and considering the use of magic in a local sociocultural environment. Individually, each of these aspects serve as an example of othering by categorising magic users based on the theory of limited good and its regulation, promoting the knowledge of one health authority over that of another, and othering a person considered deviant as a transgressor of social boundaries" (p. 16).

In addition, there are two secondary aims. One is to combine theoretical discussions in folkloristics with those in the history of religion, a discipline that answers questions about beliefs and places them in their proper historical contexts. As a scholar of religion Kouvola thus uses folklore source material and previous folkloristic research to broaden her understanding of popular beliefs.

The third aim is to link Finland-Swedish folklore to a scholarly discussion about magic users, both nationally and internationally. Kouvola seeks to highlight the Swedish-speaking tradition as the unique and important source of narratives about magic skills that it is.

The source material consists of records from the archives of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, collected in the decades around the turn of the last century. The material is extensive: Kouvola mentions 299 records of varying length and discusses the demarcations and problems that arise when the word *troll* occurs, referring both to people skilled in magic and to the supernatural beings that the word also denotes. The word *häxa* (witch) also causes definition problems because it is sometimes unclear whether it refers to a human being with magical knowledge or the kind of witch who was persecuted and burned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for making pacts with the devil and travelling to the Brocken. Both senses can be found in the source material.

Close reading, content analysis, and discourse analysis are used as methods in the separate studies. Close reading refers to a detailed reading of the material, placing the beliefs in a wider cultural context. Content analysis involves finding patterns and meanings rather than narrowly focusing on individual words. These methods require an intimate knowledge of the material, and it is obvious that Kouvola knows her material. Discourse analysis, which is used in the third article, is a fitting complement that gives results very similar to those obtained through close reading and content analysis. Kouvola believes that the talk about witchcraft and witches creates categories of people who were considered to be magic users, whose actions in turn generate talk about them.

In article I, "Travellers, Easter Witches and Cunning Folk: Regulators of Fortune and Misfortune in Ostrobothnian Folklore in Finland", Kouvola analyses 299 records of beliefs using Mary Douglas's formulation of the powers that control fortune and misfortune in a community based on the idea of the *limited good*. The concept means that if your neighbour is successful in, for example, animal husbandry, it is at the expense of you and your good luck. According to Douglas's power structure, danger and misfortune come from outside the boundaries of the community, but also from within the community. The source material reflects an awareness of individuals who could harm others, and how one could protect oneself from them. Three categories of power emerge in the material: that used by people outside the community, that which is generally used within the community, and that which is used by the othered individuals inside the community.

The first group, often made up of foreign itinerants of various kinds, could cross the boundaries between "inside the community" and "outside the community" and were thus threatening because they could upset social structures. These people were feared but were often treated well when visiting homes because it was believed that they could cause harm if they were offended.

The second group consisted of so-called ordinary people who knew about the magical structures regulating fortune. They could perform daily rituals to protect themselves and their possessions, but they did so within the limits of the normal.

The third group consisted of the othered cunning folk. They represented magical knowledge in the community and possessed the ability to cross magical boundaries. Their knowledge was deeper than that of ordinary people and they intervened when normal household skills were not sufficient. This meant that these people could also be seen as a threat.

In article II, "Ambiguous Characters: Cunning Folk in the Swedish Ostrobothnian Belief Narratives", Kouvola focuses on the ambivalence and the motifs in 272 records about cunning folk. The material is divided into two categories: records about local magic users and named individuals, and records about cunning folk in general. The material displays collective models of thought regarding the stories told about magic users. The majority of the named cunning folk are men. When women are mentioned, they are often referred to as witches, and it is difficult to determine whether the word has negative connotations because it is often used as a synonym for "wise". As a rule, Kouvola says, witches are not described as being helpful or healing. Healing, in particular, stands out as the most important task performed by cunning folk. Another reason for visiting cunning folk was to get help in finding lost or stolen items.

Article III, "No 'Wise' Men or Women but Real Doctors! Stigmatizing Discourses on Magical Healing in Ostrobothnian Newspapers", examines public discourses on folk medicine in contemporary newspapers. With the introduction of public health care around the turn of the last century, the cunning folk and their magical healing were criticized. The material in the study consists of 54 newspaper texts that stigmatize folk medicine. By combining discourse analysis with Bruce G. Link's and Jo C. Phelan's model of how a person or group is stigmatized, Kouvola has investigated the process of stigmatization. She shows how it was inspired by enlightenment and religion, and she also points to power differences between urban and rural areas, between the medical and teaching professions, along with the clergy, and the often uneducated population in rural areas. The voices that are heard in newspapers argued that only "simple" people in the countryside went to "witches" because they believed that diseases were inflicted on them by evil powers. The newspaper texts represent a public discourse that puts its faith in the clergy and the medical profession rather than in concepts of magical healing.

Article IV, "'The Devil Was with Her' – Othered Social Identity of a Finland-Swedish Ostrobothnian Cunning Woman", like Article III, uses texts from newspapers but also archival records as source material. These focus on Lovisa Törndal (1835–1918) from Kimo in Oravais, and Kouvola conducts a case study of her social identity as an othered character, based on her reputation as being knowledgeable in magic. In the narrative about Törndal we see many of the recurrent motifs about cunning folk: she did not behave as expected of women in general, and she was also said to transcend magical boundaries, for example by visiting graveyards to practise her magical vocation. Her transgressions led people to believe that she had entered into a pact with the devil, and her sociocultural peculiarities made her a publicly othered character. At the same time, her distinctiveness was a positive quality, for example when collectors of folk traditions visited her village and she attracted their interest; this can be interpreted as a confirmation of her knowledge. The study shows how stories of boundary transgressions and the violation of societal norms, while also carrying on a tradition, combine to label a person as a witch.

Kouvola elegantly problematizes the source material and its shortcomings, such as the fact that collectors of folk traditions around the turn of the last century rarely or never noted the contexts required to fully understand the role of traditions in society. She even argues that the context is not as lost as many scholars have hitherto believed, since her research method emphasizes the contextual knowledge available in the records. She treats her material with care and respect, for example by focusing in the study of Törndal on the narrated models and motifs that were attributed to witches, instead of on her personal characteristics, since Törndal's own voice is not preserved in the archives. Kouvola also demonstrates how the historical and spatial context is required to fully understand archival material.

Cunning Folk As Other is a well-written and thorough dissertation that sheds light on a hitherto overlooked part of the premodern Swedish-speaking folk culture in Finland. The four studies constitute an exhaustive whole on the subject of the othering of magic users, and they fill a large research gap in both folklore studies and history of religion.

Finally, I would also like to give Kouvola extra praise for her meticulousness and her ambition in tackling a material that is not only in Swedish, a language that Kouvola, as I understand it, knows but does not use in everyday life, but also in an archaic dialect of Swedish. I am familiar with the material in question, and even though I understand Ostrobothnian dialects, the language can be difficult to understand even for me. Kouvola has moreover translated the source material, with all its special terminology, into English. It is with great respect for her efforts that I read this dissertation.

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Landscapes of Pilgrimage in Norway

Hannah Kristine Bjørke Lunde: Pilgrimage Matters. Administrative and Semiotic Landscapes of Contemporary Pilgrimage Realisations in Norway. University of Oslo 2022. 380 pp. Ill. Diss.

Hannah Lunde defended her doctoral dissertation *Pilgrimage Matters: Administrative and Semiotic Landscapes of Contemporary Pilgrimage Realisations in Norway* at the University of Oslo in October 2022. The main aim of the dissertation is to investigate the administrative and semiotic processes involved in realizing pilgrimage landscapes in Norway. The study is centred on the two case studies of the Sunniva Route to the island of Selja and the St Olav Ways to Trondheim.

In the last few decades there has been a remarkable upsurge of interest in pilgrimage worldwide. In the Western world, much attention has focused on the Camino de Santiago, which experienced immense popularity after being declared a Cultural Route of the Council of Europe as well as being inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage list. Notably, a large number of Camino pilgrims come from the Protestant parts of Europe, not least the Nordic countries. Moreover, pilgrimage routes have been actively re-established in Scandinavia, the St Olav Ways and the Saint Birgitta Ways being among the most prominent. As was the case with the Camino de Santiago, cultural heritage has been a significant factor in the revival of pilgrimage routes in Scandinavia.

Parallel with the growing trend of practising pilgrimage, there has also been an increase in scholarly interest. Works such as Reader & Walter (1993) and Coleman & Eade (2004) opened up new perspectives on understanding and studying the complex phenomenon of pilgrimage in modern times. Importantly, these new theoretical and methodological directions placed a strong emphasis on movement and embodiment. Many recent studies have explicitly focused on the personal experiences of pilgrims. However, the present study highlights an aspect of pilgrimage that has been much less explored, namely, the perspective of administrating and realising the pilgrimage routes.

The empirical material of the study consists of two thorough case studies, the Sunniva Route to the island of Selja and the St Olav Ways to Trondheim, which are analysed in a comparative perspective. The ethnographic material consists of interviews, participant observations and, to some extent, autoethnography. In addition, Lunde has cooperated with the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History in creating a questionnaire, which is also utilized for the study. As the focus is on the administration and conceptualization of pilgrim routes, the ambitions and visions of stakeholders (such as "pilgrim bureaucrats" and "long-term pilgrims") take centre stage rather than the experiences of individual pilgrims. In theoretical terms, the perspectives of frame analysis and visual methodology are employed to examine the processes of anchoring pilgrimage as motif, practice and place. The author also makes use of the concepts "absent presences" and "adjacency" in analysing the flexibility and complexity of contemporary pilgrimage.

The outline of the book is clear and logical. The first chapter describes the purpose of the study and goes on to give a historical background to the phenomenon of pilgrimage as well as an overview of international pilgrimage studies. The second and third chapters, respectively, present the conceptual framework and the methodological approach. The more analytical part of the work commences with the fourth chapter "Pilgrimage timescapes", in which the author discusses how historical sources come to influence the pilgrim experience. The semiotic reading is one of the cornerstones of the dissertation and is developed further in the following chapters. Chapter five delves into the management and development of the St Olav Ways to Nidaros Cathedral, while chapter six deals with the project of the Coastal Pilgrimage Route and the Sunniva route to Selja. In chapter seven, the main findings of the previous chapters are exemplified and elaborated through fieldwork perspectives. A reflective conclusion completes the book.

In the introduction, the author states that an additional aim of investigating the administrative and semiotic landscapes is to demonstrate the value of visual methodology in exploring how landscapes are frames and mediated. This undertaking constitutes one of the many strengths of the dissertation as the author consistently and convincingly foregrounds how symbols and objects work as tools to frame pilgrimage routes and, consequently, also interpretations and experiences. Lunde's pairing of the "visibility" and the "visitability" of pilgrimage elegantly illuminates the processes of administrating and creating pilgrimage landscapes. In line with the emphasis on visual methodology, the text is amply illustrated. Importantly, the images work not merely as aesthetic features but as integral parts of the discussion.

A consequence of strongly foregrounding one perspective is that other aspects tend to recede into the background. Here, the focus on the visual somewhat clashes with the author's statement that pilgrimage is an embodied practice. Although the author pays attention to sounds, as well as tactile and olfactory aspects in her fieldwork, the senses beyond the visual are not discussed analytically. Another perhaps surprising omission, considering the comparative approach of the dissertation, is that not more is made of the gender aspect in comparing St Sunniva and St Olav. It also seems that more could have been made of de Certeau's concepts of strategies and tactics, which are applied to differing views on the landscape but not employed to open up the discussion on the interesting relationship between grassroots and administrative models in Norwegian pilgrimage. Still, these are all minor points in what is otherwise an ambitious and comprehensive work. Lunde's systematic situating of the empirical material in a larger framework is commendable: the author moves skilfully between micro and macro perspectives and pays attention to local, national and international aspirations and trends. The thoroughness of the present work also deserves mentioning. Lunde leaves no loose ends, and extensive explanations and side discussions are provided in ample footnotes. These are especially helpful for non-Norwegian readers who might not be familiar with certain points regarding e.g. Norwegian history, local administration and laws.

The overall impression is of a rich and insightful study that clearly demonstrates competence in employing various ethnographic methods, as well as the author's ability to analyse the empirical material through discerningly chosen theoretical and methodological approaches. Despite a large body of previous studies on pilgrimage, this impressive work constitutes a valuable contribution to the field.

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Female Legend Tellers

Júlíana Þóra Magnúsdottir: In Their Own Voices. A Reconstruction of the Legend Traditions of Icelandic Women in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. School of Sociology, Anthropology and Folkloristics, University of Iceland, Reykjavik 2023. 301 pp. Ill. Diss.

With her dissertation Júlíana Þóra Magnúsdottir joins a contemporary tendency among folklorists to return to the archives, which they supposedly had abandoned during the late twentieth-century wave of performance studies. Today, in Iceland, the Ísmús database offers easy access to a large collection of digitalized tape-recorded interviews, open to be approached with new methods and new sets of research questions. Júlíana has applied gender-based methods of analysis to study women's legend traditions.

The purpose of the dissertation is stated as being "to explore how the legend traditions of women born in the late nineteenth century were both shaped by, and interacted with their gender and life experience, and the places and spaces they inhabited". However, the headline above the paragraph uses "aims" in the plural form, and in the summary in the "Conclusions" chapter the plural is repeated: "As stated at the start of this thesis, the purpose of this project was to gain insight into *a broad range of issues* (my italics) concerning the legend traditions of Icelandic women in the past." This "broad range" is further developed in four "key questions" at the beginning of the dissertation, also repeated in the concluding chapter. Not surprisingly, what is won by breadth is arguably lost in depth.

In a certain sense, the format of the dissertation can also be said to support a broader approach to the disadvantage of a deeper analysis. A quality difficult to avoid in summary theses is that, since the included articles were originally published separately, they, when presented together, may stand out as partly overlapping and partly insufficient. From this point of view, Júlíana's texts show richness in their historical and ethnographic descriptions of the traditional Icelandic society with its turf farms where the *kvöldvökur* in the *baðstofa* offered wonderful storytelling opportunities. Sadly, in a folklorist's opinion, however, a closer analysis of the legends *qua* narratives is one of the fields that are sparsely explored in the dissertation.

After Júlíana's initial statements that early male contributors to the folklore archives sometimes had a tendency to ignore or even distort female traditions, the reader might be surprised by her choice of a male collector to provide the source material for her dissertation. The decision to use the interviews of Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson is nevertheless convincingly justified by a description of his qualities as an interviewer. When working with his informants he was calm, attentive, curious, and friendly. He started every interview with an informal conversation about the narrator's biography, thus producing valuable background information. He had the ambition to record the entire repertoires of his informants and returned several times to his narrators, some of them contributing close to 70 separate legends. Indirectly, Júlíana's study constitutes a well-deserved homage to one excellent folklorist of the twentieth century.

In the title of the dissertation, the scope of the investigation is limited to legends. Júlíana's discussion of the legend genre rests on the works of Nordic scholars such as Lauri Honko, Brynjulf Alver, and Juha Päntikäinen, but also includes Elliot Oring's *Legendry and the Rhetoric of Truth* from 2008. Appropriately, Júlíana gives an overview of the published Icelandic legend collections, which can be regarded as antecedents to the tape-recorded material she uses. For the analyses of individual narrators' repertoires Júlíana leans on the classical folklore studies, ranging from Mark Asadowski and Gyula Ortutay to Linda Dégh, Juha Pentikäinen, and Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj. The author's knowledge of relevant theories appears to be solid up till 10 or 15 years ago, which is a competence level she shares with this reviewer.

To these mainly Nordic and European, mainly twentieth-century works are added newer computer-based methods developed by the North American folklorist Timothy R. Tangherlini, aimed at unveiling otherwise hidden patterns in large corpora of narratives.

Júlíana emphasizes (in somewhat oversimplified statements, to be honest) how performance enthusiasts from the 1960s onwards distanced themselves from archive material because of its supposed lack of contextual information. Her ambition to understand the role of the telling situations where the studied women heard and learnt legends, retold them to "authentic" audiences and to the collector naturally leads her to apply performance-inspired perspectives.

As far as I have been able to find out, the sound clips available at the Ísmús home page are at least partially transcribed. To be able to fully evaluate Júlíana's work it would have been useful to know whether she has used the Ísmús transcriptions as her primary source material or if she has made her own interpretations of the recordings, since we all know that transcription is an analytical act.

The application of Tangherlini's computerized methods required the creation of a database, where 350 content-based labels (partly congruent with Sagnagrunnur's keywords) were applied to the 2,235 legends which were collected from 200 women and 25 men. The computers easily produced graphs showing the gender, professions, and favourite motifs of the tellers down to the exact percentage numbers. The results achieved are indisputable since computers do not miscalculate. We are told that women were more geographically mobile and more socially diverse than expected. Consequently, women who had moved had larger repertoires than those who had not. Women's legends had more female characters and they touched upon partly different themes than men's. Women told more ghost stories and more supernatural memories, especially concerning dead males and *huldufólk*.

Júlíana suggests as one plausible interpretation of these facts that legends about the supernatural can offer opportunities to talk indirectly about hidden personal concerns, values, and problems. Exact figures are never wrong as a basis for knowledge, but an outsider would have needed more generous guidance to fully understand why and how these pieces of information are useful.

It could have been informative to have been invited into the researcher's workshop to follow in detail the work with one single narrative. Which criteria were used to determine whether the label *huldufólk* should be attached to a certain legend or not? Was it enough that the word was mentioned, or should one or several of the *huldufólk* appear in "person" as active agents or as passive objects? How would a memory of a supposed supernatural encounter be valued as compared to an actual meeting? How did the story treat the appearance of the *huldufólk*, their actions, their roles in the narrative composition?

In the chapter "Three Women of Iceland and the Stories They Told", Júlíana fully reveals her skill as a researcher. Here, she has narrowed the otherwise somewhat broad perspective to follow three storytellers closely. One of them, Þorbjörg Guðmundsdóttir, was interviewed by Hallfreður nine times between age 75 and 86. She knew 69 legends, she was a midwife, and in that role she had travelled several miles in roadless wilderness in unpredictable weather. We are told that midwives were common as characters in Icelandic legends (Midwife to the Fairies, ML 5070, being one favourite) as well as in real social situations in their capacity of storytellers. Being unusually mobile and thus meeting more people than most other women, they had good possibilities to pick up new narratives and adapt them to their repertoires.

Þorbjörg's biography was known from printed sources, Júlíana illustrates significant parts of it with appropriately chosen quotations from Hallfreður's interviews, her photograph is included, and a map shows her residential history and the settings of her stories. Júlíana shows how pessimistic notes in Þorbjörg's narratives can be linked to tragic personal happenings in her life, and that the strong emphasis on journeys can be regarded as a reflection of her own travel experiences.

In this chapter, Júlíana convincingly demonstrates her ability to collect relevant material from different sources, to compose a balanced presentation, and to fulfil a logically consistent discussion.

The dissertation *In Their Own Voices* by Júlíana Þóra Magnúsdottir follows naturally in the footsteps of earlier Icelandic legend studies. In terms of theory, it rests solidly on a basis of standard classics in Nordic and European folkloristics. By applying new analytical methods, an eclectic choice of sources and gender-oriented perspectives new knowledge is won out of traditional material. Worth mentioning is Júlíana's sensitive use of the tape-recorded interviews of one respected Nordic folklorist, Hallfreður Örn Eiríksson. The dissertation offers a substantial overview of several aspects of the narrative traditions among women representing the last generation of the Icelandic turf farm society.

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Saint Brigit as a Celtic Goddess

Séamas Ó Catháin: The Festival of Brigit. Celtic Goddess and Holy Woman. Phaeton Publishing, Dublin 2023. 274 pp. Ill.

The people of Ireland were given a new public holiday in 2023 to celebrate Imbolc/Saint Brigit's Day, the cross-quarter day that comes half-way between the winter solstice and the spring equinox. The old Gaelic festival of Imbolc on 1 February was given added significance when it was adopted, as long ago as the seventh century, as the feast day of one of the most important early Christian saints in Ireland, Brigit. To mark the new holiday, Phaeton has reissued a book on the subject by the distinguished Tyrone folklorist Séamas Ó Catháin. First published by DBA in 1995, *The Festival of Brigit: Celtic Goddess and Holy Woman* is now available again in a more attractive format.

Changes to the present edition include minor revisions of the language, a more readable typography, and corrections of some errors (although it would have been good to see the Icelandic letter *ð* replacing the mathematical symbol ∂ in names like Bøðvar). Additions include the author's five-page introduction to this second edition, with a useful account of how the vast material held by the Irish Folklore Commission was collected and how its classification system was inspired by visits to Lund and Uppsala in the 1930s.

Otherwise this is essentially the same book as the first edition, with the same strengths and weaknesses as detailed in the review by Clive Tolley in *Arv* 1998 (pp. 190–193), which may be warmly recommended.

There is much here that makes the book worth reading for anyone with an interest in Scandinavian and Sámi folklore. The author shows his familiarity with this material, drawing extensively on it for comparative purposes. Since the bear survived in these areas long after it became extinct in Ireland, this is where he searches for evidence of the bear-cult. Yet this is one example of the speculative character of Ó Catháin's comparisons, some of which are based on a rather slender foundation. The link between Brigit's festival and the bear-cult seems to be that the bear's emergence from hibernation in the spring marked a turning point in the year, and that Brigit's great-grandfather was named Art, which means "bear".

Other aspects of the cult of Brigit lead Ó Catháin, in his quest for ancient origins, or at least Eurasian parallels, to consider topics such as the bee-cult and the use of the hallucinogenic fly agaric mushroom. Transhumance is another important theme for the author, which he treats in an interesting analysis of the migratory legend (ML 8025) of the robbers who capture a girl from a summer pasture.

On the other hand, the reader is given surprisingly little detail about the actual celebration of the festival of Brigit in modern Ireland. Perhaps the author presumes that those who will read the book are well acquainted with this. For those who do not have this familiarity, a good start would be to read Kevin Danaher's survey of customs associated with Saint Brigit's Day in *The Year in Ireland* (1972, pp. 13–37).

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A New Edition of the Poetic Edda

Edward Pettit: The Poetic Edda. A Dual-Language Edition. Open Book Publishers, Cambridge 2023. xvi + 878 pp.

Edward Pettit has accomplished a major project: publishing the *Poetic Edda* with a parallel translation into English and an extensive commentary on each poem. His edition is a welcome contribution "intended mainly for beginning students of Old Norse, students of other medieval Germanic literatures, and interested academics in other fields" (p. 11). In addition to brief presentations of the individual poems, the edition considers textual criticism and provides extensive notes explaining and discussing particular translation problems, and much besides. There are often a couple of hundred notes for a single poem. Moreover, each poem is accompanied by a short bibliography with suggestions for further reading. As Pettit points out, it goes without saying that even more comments could have been included and more exhaustive bibliographies could have been compiled, but the book already runs to almost 900 pages!

In such a large work one can always find things to disagree with, and yet another reading could doubtless have yielded more points to comment on. One example appears in the very first sentence of the introduction where Pettit describes his book as an "edition of medieval Nordic poems" (p. 1). This is somewhat contradictory. In an envisaged oral culture during the Viking Age, one can imagine with a degree of certainty that there was a Nordic tradition of both content and form similar to what is found in the surviving Eddic poems, but in the later medieval material it is difficult to find any equivalents to the Icelandic poetry. There has of course been a long debate, partly fuelled by national sentiment, about whether Eddic poetry should be regarded as Norwegian or Icelandic, but most scholars would probably view this as a bygone stage in the study of the extant poems, which are found only in Icelandic manuscripts. I do not believe that it was Pettit's intention, with his definition of the poems as medieval and Nordic, to throw himself into this debate; it is probably more a question of slightly unclear wording, and a difference in what is meant by "medieval". In a footnote, he clarifies that he will henceforth refer to the language as *Old Norse* (p. 17). On the question of the date of the individual poems, he states at the outset:

"Also uncertain are the poems' original dates of composition, although these obviously must be at least as old as the earliest manuscripts in which the poems were written down. Many of the poems may well have existed, in one form or other, centuries earlier than the surviving thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, having been composed during the Viking Age using oral techniques" (p. 2).

Pettit wisely chooses to adopt a cautious approach to the question of dating, to which there seems to be no definite answer. He mentions briefly that early poems composed in oral form must have changed over time before the final version was written down in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, he mentions that the poetry must surely also have been performed orally as well as being read aloud from the extant manuscripts.

A small error has managed to avoid detection even though the introduction must have been checked many times. In the Codex Regius manuscript (GKS 2365 4°) there is a missing gathering of eight leaves or sixteen pages, not – as Pettit writes – "sixteen leaves" (p. 1). This is, of course, a mistake that, once it has found its way into the text, can easily be overlooked during proofreading, but it is an unnecessary error that should have been corrected.

The introduction concludes with a selected list of works for further reading. Pettit has already pointed out that the bibliography could have been longer. And one can certainly agree with this, especially considering that it is almost entirely limited to studies in English and also has a heavy bias towards research on mythology and pre-Christian religion. To compensate for this, however, Pettit refers interested students (and scholars) to the large *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda* (1997–2019), which offers more detailed comments (in German), a recommendation that I gladly endorse.

In the edition of the poems that follows, each poem is presented in a brief introduction with a synopsis and a short list of further reading. As in the introduction, the bibliographies mostly consist of works in English, aimed at English-speaking readers. Since most researchers in the field nowadays write primarily in English, this should not be a major problem limiting the breadth of the research presented. However, there is a tendency to favour studies where the poems are used as sources for oral and pre-Christian tradition, while research that focuses more on the later transmission of manuscripts in a Christian context is not so well represented. Students approaching Eddic poetry may thus gain a rather one-sided impression of the questions that are relevant in today's research. This may also confirm the preconceived notions that are still common among new students, that the Eddic poems represent an ancient "pagan" culture rather than texts written down in, for example, a Benedictine monastery in northern Iceland. This can be particularly problematic when it comes to the mythological poems. One example may be cited from the introduction to *Vafþrúðnismál*, where Pettit comments on the use of the poem in the *Prose Edda* attributed to Snorri Sturluson: "As Snorri's considerable use of *Vm*. in his *Prose Edda* suggests, the poem has great value as a source of, and guide to, Norse mythology, from the Creation to Ragnarok and its aftermath, especially as it appears largely free of editorialization and Christianization" (p. 136). Here, Norse mythology is treated as a fixed and eternal entity that Snorri, his contemporaries, and we today can use as a guide. Pettit could have seriously questioned any preconceived idea of a pure, pre-Christian ("pagan") mythology. When, moreover, he says that the poem has escaped any interference from later editors and remained uninfluenced by Christianization, he makes it seem even better. But how can Pettit determine from a single text-witness whether any editorial interventions have been made in a hypothetical oral poem? And what is meant by the influence of Christianization? The manuscript containing *Vafþrúðnismál* was written in a Christian milieu, and the actual writing may even have been done in a Benedictine monastery and by a scribe with a solid Christian background. Although we all would be prepared to wager that there was an oral (and even pre-Christian) tradition on which these poems are based, it is clear that in the form in which they appear in the manuscripts they are the products of Christian scribes. This could definitely have been stated more clearly throughout the comments, bearing in mind that the book is intended for students who are just starting to study the field. A mitigating circumstance is that Pettit ends the introduction to the poem by mentioning "the diversity of Norse mythology" (p. 137).

This edition includes not only the poems contained in the Codex Regius but also poems found in other manuscripts, mainly from the fourteenth century. In addition, Pettit wisely includes two different versions of *Völuspá*: the one that opens the collection in the Codex Regius and a second version found in the manuscript Hauksbók (AM 544 4to) from the mid-fourteenth century. In his presentation of the latter, Pettit mentions the major differences between the two versions. He notes that these discrepancies "probably result from a combination of oral diffusion (which may have involved some recomposition), interpolation, scribal error and other transmissional damage" (p. 747). Yet nowhere does he substantiate this claim. For example, how could we determine whether there is "oral diffusion" between the two versions? And in what direction might this diffusion have gone? With only two surviving text-witnesses, we cannot establish with certainty which of the two versions is the older. And this means that any discussion of interpolations, scribal errors, etc., must rest on more or less uncertain assumptions. The last category that Pettit cites is therefore particularly interesting. Who can determine what can be considered "transmissional damage"? Any such category must be based entirely on our expectations rather than on what can actually be observed in the two versions. Which version has suffered damage? How do we determine this? Pettit's assertion here seems to be largely grounded in the view that the version in the Codex Regius is oldest (the manuscript is the oldest, but that does not necessarily mean that the text-witness represents the oldest version) and that Hauksbók has a corrupt and inferior text. A little later in his discussion of this version, Pettit also states, without any real arguments, that it "is less comprehensible and on the whole less satisfying than R's" (p. 747). But this statement is based solely on Pettit's own expectations.

The poems are reproduced in a normalized form where the many abbreviations in the manuscripts are expanded without this being marked. Variant forms, when there is more than one text-witness, are cited in the apparatus, which also notes the relatively few corrections made by the editor. Sometimes it appears that Pettit nevertheless has a tendency to correct "errors" that do not actually occur in the manuscript. In the note to the third stanza of *Völuspá*, for example, he says that the word *ginnunga* has been corrected from *griNvnga*, but in the manuscript I can see nothing but *ginunga*. Here, however, Pettit is in good company with Finnur Jónsson, who makes the same reading in his facsimile edition from 1891 of what appears to be a stain on the parchment.

Pettit articulates his translation strategy explicitly: "My translations endeavour to reflect both the meaning and at least something of the poetic spirit of the Old Norse originals in simple, unarchaistic English verse. To try to convey meaning without spirit – even if these attributes *could* be dissociated – in verse form would be to do a disservice to the Old Norse poets and to modern readers unable to read the texts in the original language" (p. 13). It is clear that Pettit has carefully considered his strategy, of focusing on translating the meaning while trying to convey some of the feeling of the poems in modern English. This is a wise choice that seeks to provide readers of the translation with a good reading experience.

With his edition, Pettit has definitely made an important contribution to the education of new generations of international students who are interested in Eddic poetry and in Norse culture in general. I have drawn attention to a number of shortcomings in the presentation and have pointed out that the emphasis on English-language research literature imposes certain limitations. In addition, I sometimes get the impression that Pettit has primarily been interested in research on pre-Christian tradition and has made less effort to paint a picture of the manuscript context – the only context that we can actually study in the extant material. Despite these objections, it is still important to highlight the merits of this edition: that it provides a readable text for beginners in Old Norse literature, with a parallel English translation and a detailed commentary. This edition will surely soon find its place in university education.

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Recordings of Folk Music in Sweden

Märta Ramsten: Framför mikrofonen och bakom. En personlig återblick på Svenskt visarkivs verksamhet med inspelningar av folkliga musiktraditioner. Skrifter utgivna av Svenskt visarkiv 52. Gidlunds förlag, Möklinta 2022. Ill. 238 pp.

The folk song and music scholar Märta Ramsten has compiled a personal retrospect of her long-term field recording activities. Using a Nagra Kudelski tape recorder and a microphone, she has documented folk songs and music. She started in 1960 recording folk music already as an employee at the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. During the late 1960s she got an assignment to make archive recordings for the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research in Stockholm. Singers and folk musicians from virtually all of Sweden sat in front of the microphone.

The book is published by Gidlunds as no. 52 in the series "Skrifter utgivna av Svenskt visarkiv". It consists of three main sections: collecting, researching, publishing; fieldwork; and reflections – review and future prospects.

Archive recordings started in 1968 as an assignment from the Cooperation Committee for Swedish folk music with a position at the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research that came into being under government supervision in 1970. Collections were made up until 1996 when Ramsten became head of the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research. Her personal memories are based on her comprehensive field and recording notes. She took pictures of the field locations that often were the homes of the informants and in some cases the environment around mountain farms. Initially the recordings had the function to save older traditions. Both singers and musicians were typically born in the 1880s and some in the 1890s. The musicians were mostly men. Kristina Vestin from the province of Ångermanland was one of few female accordion players.

In the early days, the violin was the most important musical instrument, but at the beginning of the twentieth century the accordion increasingly took over. Some of the older musicians only used the violin when recording, while others only played the accordion. Some informants used both the violin and one-row or two-row accordion. Some also played the harmonica. In many cases traditions from musicians and singers were passed down from one generation to the next.

In particular, Ramsten was interested in documenting "simple songs", such as herding songs, lullabies, polska tunes and satirical songs. They were previously rarely written down and collected. In mountain farm areas it was important to record various herding calls. An active mountain farm culture still remained in the 1970s in parts of the provinces of Jämtland, Härjedalen and the north-western parts of Dalarna. Navvy songs were performed by ex-navvies. Some informants had handwritten song books.

In the first part of the book (pp. 19–52) the author describes the way the recordings were carried out in practice. Travel was by train or rented car. The author was informed in advance with directions to places that were often secluded. It was often hard to find one's way on byways far from the main road. Local contact persons were important to help to find the way to singers and musicians. Networks and various forms of collaboration were developed. It was not always easy to get the particular informants to participate in performing a song or playing some music.

Ramsten wanted the recordings to be in the form of a conversation rather than an interview with a list of pre-arranged questions. She brought a checklist with important issues that ought to be raised during the conversations. An atmosphere of trust was important to establish before bringing out the tape recorder and microphone. In some cases informants were visited by the author on several occasions. In particular the blacksmith Martin Martinsson from Bohuslän and Thyra Karlsson from Jämtland are mentioned. CDs with a selection from their treasury of songs and music are published by the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research. They also performed in broadcast programmes. Ramsten states that "in the 1970s and 1980s Martinsson became like an icon for individuals in Sweden interested in folk music; an important source and role model for young ballad singers and music players interested in older local traditions. He became known as "the 'ballad singer' and 'tune singer from Orust'" (p. 122).

The second part of the book, "In the Field", is the most extensive (pp. 55–183), listing province by province where the recordings took place and who the informants were. The three provinces most famous for having a rich folk music tradition are Jämtland, Hälsingland and Dalarna. In Jämtland and Dalarna recordings were made on both sides of the Norwegian-Swedish border. A significant repertoire of local Norwegian-Swedish songs was discovered.

Interviews with selected informants were also conducted between 1968 and 1989 (pp. 167–183). The author wanted to tie the recorded music and songs to a personal context. She states: "I see the interviews as historic snapshots of the role and expression of the music in various local places" (p. 167). Martin Martinsson was recorded and interviewed on three occasions in 1968, 1978 and 1989. According to the author he was "a great storyteller and keenly aware of the context of the songs. He commented on most of the songs he recorded – sometimes spontaneously, sometimes following a question from me" (p. 169). Ramsten presents some transcribed quotations from interviews. The early recordings took place before the introduction of the *du*-reform, when people stopped using titles and surnames in the 1970s. It was not until the 1980s that the author started addressing the informants with their first names and the familiar pronoun *du*.

Based on the field notes, the author adds her experiences with the informants and their often old-fashioned living conditions. A description of a particular individual could go somewhat like this: "It was obvious that Emil Andersson was used to performing at parties in the Skepplanda area – he played with great joy and a dancing rhythm and also in an upbeat manner. A great old man!" (p. 134). "At recordings in Dalsland in 1968, I felt as if time had stopped. I entered environments where nothing seemed to have changed in the last 70–80 years. This was also reflected in the repertoires of the singers and the musicians" (p. 120). On a visit to the province of Värmland in 1968, the author writes about her experiences of the nature surrounding the informants: "I can still picture the beautiful open landscapes in Köla and Koppom and the places with large red homes. An experience bonus at work" (p. 110).

The third part of the book (pp. 187–206) consists of the author's own reflections on the many years of fieldwork. In connection with the recordings there were also excursions arranged together with students from the departments of music in Stockholm, Uppsala and Gothenburg. The students were supposed to encounter the folk music in the field and do their own recordings and interviews. This was done, for example, in conjunction with folk musician meetings in various parts of Sweden but also in mountain farm places. This field method has been very successful. I remember myself how inspirational it was for the ethnology students from Lund to meet one of Ramsten's key informants, Martin Martinsson. This happened on an excursion to Bohuslän in 1974.

This book is well written and represents a piece of fieldwork history. It is highly relevant to research on archives that is now of growing international interest because of the Working Group on Archives, established in 2013 as part of the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF). The material collected by Ramsten is filed under access numbers at the *Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research* and can be accessed for research on music ethnology. The book ends with a comprehensive list of individuals where all the informants can be found.

The issue of fieldwork methods in cultural studies has lately attracted more interest. This makes Ramsten's book welcome from that point of view as well.

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A New Edition of Tirén's Sámi Music

Karl Tirén: Den samiska folkmusiken. Utgiven av Gunnar Ternhag. Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien, Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet, Svenskt Visarkiv/ Musikverket 2023. 336 pp. Ill.

In the early 1910s, the station master and culture personality Karl Tirén travelled in Sápmi to document Sámi music culture, first by writing down tunes with the aid of his violin, and from 1913 using a phonograph. He made fair copies and arranged his collection of about 550 items, which he revised in 1939–42 for an edition to which he penned a lengthy introduction, which was published by Nordiska Museet under the title *Die lappische Volksmusik* as no. 3 in the series Acta Lapponica. Between the time of collection and publication, i.e. during the 1920s and 1930s, Tirén gave public lectures around the country where he presented Sámi music, with his recordings and his violin, and then elaborated his thoughts and analysis in a popularizing format.

With the 1942 edition, Sámi music was now documented in Sweden, a kind of counterpart to the works on Swedish music, *Svenska låtar* and *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden.* In practice Tirén's book was the authoritative edition of yoik until the LP *Jojk* released by Swedish Radio in 1969, based on a recording trip in 1953. The choice of German as the language for the introduction and the translation of the lyrics was justified by the fact that the intended audience was the research community, or possibly the academic music world. The fact that it was thereby effectively distanced from the Sámi environment has been pointed out over the years. With this new edition, where Tirén's original Swedish text is reproduced, and with the text corrected instead of listing a full page of errata as in the first edition, this important source work has now become more accessible. Gunnar Ternhag has previously mapped Tirén's collecting journeys in *Jojksamlaren Karl Tirén* (2000/2018, English edition *Song of the Sámi: Karl Tirén – The Yoik Collector*, 2019), and is behind this new edition.

Krister Stoor, Sámi, yoiker, and researcher, has written an introduction that places Tirén and his work in a Sámi context. The title of the piece, "He got three luođit" refers to the fact that Tirén was greatly appreciated by the Sámi. It should be recalled here that many "Lappologists" who were contemporaries of Tirén and some who came later have been judged much more critically by the Sámi.

In his introduction, Gunnar Ternhag presents Tirén and his sources of inspiration, gives a chronological account of the collection journeys and the processing phase, and discusses various aspects of the edition, which are referenced in what follows.

Tirén's extensive introduction is thus reproduced here in its original version, with editorial comments by Ernst Manker and Björn Collinder incorporated. First come the separate prefaces by the latter two scholars and by Tirén; however, the article by Wilhelm Peterson-Berger, which was included in the original edition, is omitted. Of Tirén's text, it is primarily the passages about his own experiences and the short notices about his interlocutors that are readable today. Tirén's text was a product of its time. We see racial thinking as an explanation for cultural differences, evolutionist ideas about musical form, and the Sámi being placed in the group of "nature" (i.e., primitive) as opposed to "culture" (i.e., civilized) peoples. At the same time, Tirén respectfully emphasizes the musical complexity and the distinctive cultural aesthetic, and makes recurring comparisons with the leitmotif techniques of Berlioz and Wagner. Nor was he afraid to include melodies and references to modern society, thus giving legitimacy to a dynamic music culture instead of treating yoik as "survivals", which would have been the accepted convention in his time. Although he calls himself a "layman", he was well oriented in contemporary musical research and had discussed various distinctive features with leading international researchers such as Erich von Hornbostel.

Tirén himself briefly describes the collecting work, with a special section on transcription problems regarding rhythm and metre. One chapter is devoted to the melodic semiotics of the yoik, where the attribution of reference and its use in everyday life are understood in terms of the leitmotif concept, and many examples of tone painting are presented. The squirrel's jump from one tree to another is portrayed with a clear pause before the yoik resumes; steep mountains give rise to giant leaps between high and low notes; a calm, meek person is characterized by means of semitone steps; and so on. Tirén reveals himself here as a connoisseur of detail, emphasizing many nuances, drawing attention to intertextual links between different yoiks, and citing good examples of the use and adaptation of musical signs in different contexts. He also emphasizes his own active competence by describing situations where he played *vuolle* melodies on his violin as a greeting, or interpreted the music for non-Sámi listeners. Tirén regards yoiking to animals, mountains, and humans, as well as "magical" yoiks – that is, ritual pieces or those otherwise associated with supernatural phenomena – as "original". The "magical" examples have a chapter of their own; likewise, there is a chapter on "secondary" songs: herding songs, walking songs, songs of greeting and farewell, love songs and suitor songs, drinking songs and satirical yoiks, lullabies, hymns, and more. At the end there is a short chapter about the fiddler Lapp-Nils, "a musical genius". The two latter chapters show that Tirén's ambition was not only to uncover "original" genres; he was also keen to paint an overall picture of Sámi music culture.

The yoik melodies are presented together, geographically ordered from south to north, and with each informant's contributions assembled. Tirén's original order for each person reflected flows of associations and interconnections, but this was broken up by Manker, who instead arranged the melodies according to "a certain system", with no statement of the principles or justifications for this (and no logic at all is evident to a reader today).

It was not only Tirén who collected the included material – some texts are reproduced from Johan Turi's *Muittalus samid birra* combined with Tirén's tunes noted down from Lars Sikku, while a further handful of recordings by other people, pieces noted from non-Sámi informants, some hymns, and other songs come separately.

Ternhag characterizes Tirén's rendering of the tunes as primarily prescriptive, not descriptive; they reproduce melody lines in skeletal form, perhaps with the idea that they could constitute basic material for new generations of Sámi to perform with their own stylistic competence, or what was the initial outcome, material for trained composers and arrangers to transform into symphonies, string quartets, etc. The notation lacks the detailed description that would be needed to capture stylistic devices in an overall performance practice or to achieve variation while performing a *vuolle*.

It may be possible, in my opinion, to trace the leitmotif concept as the underlying principle of Tirén's way of thinking; we have here a catalogue of leitmotifs, but instead of Wagner's musical dramas, it is Sápmi as a musical landscape that serves as a reference. The idea of musical notation as a way of representing "the song itself", and the sheet music as primary in relation to the performance, was also present as a strong figure of thought at the turn of the last century, not least in copyright discourses.

Rolf Kjellström has contributed a chapter on the process behind the publication of *Die lappische Volksmusik*. In 1933 Tirén had established contact with Björn Collinder, professor of

Finno-Ugric languages in Uppsala. In 1935 Tirén obtained funding from the Humanities Foundation, which enabled collaboration in which Collinder travelled around Sápmi in Tirén's footsteps, to collate the Sámi texts that Tirén had written down phonetically. In 1939 the Swedish National Heritage Board conveyed Tirén's manuscript to Ernst Manker, who accepted it for publication in his series Acta Lapponica (which came to be linked to Nordiska Museet when Manker was employed there later that year). By reading the correspondence between Tirén and Manker, Kjellström follows the publishing process in various stages, including lectures in connection with a "Lapland Evening" at Nordiska Museet in 1940 and a public scholarly polemic between Manker and Collinder during the final stage (more fully described by Eva Silvén in *Friktion*, 2021).

On one level, then, this is an edition with an emblematic function, a canonized work, which is made available once again and whose importance is confirmed from the perspective of decolonization. In addition to the significance of this in terms of cultural politics, this edition also opens up for further studies. A concordance between the published edition, Tirén's transcripts, and the existing phonograph recordings can hopefully come about, to facilitate analyses of Tirén's transcription principles and possibly also individual variation in performance. Furthermore, this edition highlights the "reception history", i.e., reviews in newspapers and scholarly journals, but also the relationship to recording trips undertaken by the Uppsala Dialect and Folklore Archive (ULMA) and Radiotjänst and the use of the recordings on the music scene. An especially interesting prospect is that Sámi musicians may use Tirén's edition and the different approaches it invites (from the revitalization of local tradition to emblematic Pan-Sámi depictions, with many possibilities in between). Perhaps this documentation from the first half of the 1910s can also be used as a starting point for studies of transmission processes? Furthermore, the detailed picture of Sámi semiotics that Tirén presents in chapter 4 can be discussed in relation to today's Sámi music-making.

It is gratifying that this publication has come about, although we must heed Ternhag's warning that it is a child of its time. As a documentation of musical performance in the 1910s it has a lasting value; Tirén's many speculations, in addition to his personal experiences, reflect the problematic attitudes of his day.

Besides the corrections, the change of language, and framing texts that distinguish this book from the first edition, there are also three newly compiled indexes: of persons, yoik objects, and places. The illustrations have also been replaced (many of the pictures in the older book had no direct connection to the texts), with several mountain motifs in oil and watercolour by Tirén, reproduced in high-quality print.

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Challenged Authorities

Vernacular Knowledge. Contesting Authority, Expressing Beliefs. Ülo Valk & Marion Bowman (eds.). Equinox, Sheffield & Bristol 2022. 423 pp.

A couple of decades ago, there was a turn in the study of folklore. Since then, the folklore as such has certainly still been crucial as an object of scholarly interest, but it must be shared with the very strong concentration on the performing human being. This kind of research also touches on the study of folk belief. Today, instead of analysing text in more or less authoritarian regulations and interpretations, it seems natural to pose a set of questions to believers about their values, their ways of believing, how they explain what they see as religious phenomena and how they use sacred objects. However, there has been a problem concerning how to grasp that kind of religion. Scholars formerly used concepts such as folk religion, folk belief, unofficial religion, private religion, or some such term that represented the opposite of official theology. The world was divided into two, the official, learned, "fine" part, and the private, unsophisticated, lay part. At that time the population likewise was still regarded as being divided into corresponding segments. Urban, educated people were of no interest to average folklorists, who instead concentrated their efforts on peasants, peddlers, and other little people. However, society changes, and nowadays this watertight partition has been removed.

In folklore studies this was a central problem to those scholars who wanted to investigate religion. One of the most influential researchers was Leonard N. Primiano, who created the concept of vernacular religion. "Vernacular" seems to be closely connected to language spoken and written outside the authorities. "Everyday language", "spoken language", "native language", "cant" can be mentioned as explanations for what "vernacular" means. Combined with religion, however, vernacular means something else. It might be preferable to replace it with "lived religion", but this concept has the same weakness as the ones mentioned above, for they express a contradiction: living vs. dead. Primiano would not emphasize any such difference, but advocated embracing both religious experts, or whatever we want to call the authorities, and religious people, regarding them from the viewpoint of religious activity, religious experience, and, perhaps, above all, doing religion. It turned out that even the most pious priest does religion correspondingly to how every other person creates religion when needed. When studying vernacular religion, the divergence between religious "levels" is not important, but the way people create a meaningful whole out of religious components actualized in specific situations is in the centre of interest. This is the starting point for Ülo Valk's and Marion Bowman's recent book about vernacular religion. They call it *Vernacular Knowledge*, and all sixteen articles tackle authority and authenticity in belief.

The book starts with an introduction by Ülo Valk. In a brief and concentrated way, he explains what vernacular knowledge is meant to be in this group of articles. These guidelines are a kind of instruction manual for the participating scholars and, also, for the readers. The first part of the book, "Politics and Vernacular Strategies of Resistance", consists of three articles about religion in the former Soviet Union. Anastasiya Astapova writes about how the complex of legends about a book that has now gone missing helps to create a national identity in times of some other power's predominance. In this case we speak about Belarussian tradition but the motif of the missing piece of heritage is widely spread and has variations concerning the returning dead tsar or emperor who is now sitting somewhere waiting for the right moment to come for redemption. Irina Sadovina looks at the Anastasia movement which is influenced by the New Age. It derives from a series of books by Vladimir Megre written in a utopian style about the correct life from an ecological point of view, i.e., a life back in nature. Different kinds of humour play a role when people try to find out how they should relate their spiritual seeking to Soviet authorities. James A. Kapaló takes the readers to Moldova. According to diverse sources, for example, Romanian popular apocrypha, the protagonists are the martyr Inochentie and his followers. Inochentie is said to return to earth as Elijah, Enoch, the Holy Spirit, or even as Jesus himself to ward off the Antichrist – or the other way round: Christ returns as Inochentie. In these three articles the readers can see how people construct ways out of the

Soviet and Russian demands and instead create a Moldovan kind of belief.

The second part, “Narrating and Creating the Past”, concentrates on Asian issues. Martin Wood handles contemporary Hinduism and the changes in the Jalaram tradition. To Wood religion is a chain of memories published in hagiographical works often used for the purpose of instruction. Wood analyses how the collective memory generates means to create individual belief that afterwards permeates collective thinking. This happens through several phases and ends up in a contestation of the authenticity of Jalaram, for instance in films or at court. Ülo Valk takes us to Assam where Madhavadeva (died 1596) is said to have been born. The article talks about several birthplaces claimed for him and about how people come to terms with this. Oral tradition, historical facts, individual memories, and artefacts are taken as proofs when people tell stories about his birthplaces, especially when it comes to creating truth about the authentic place. Reep Pandi Lepcha’s contribution is from Sikkim. Through the analysis of three narrative cycles, he demonstrates how people handle the relationship between Buddhism and the native religion of the Róngkups. A skit about this immortal hero also functions as a basis for understanding, and it is the way in which Róngkups create and experience the relationship between Buddhism and their own belief, which is not approved by the institutionalized religion. On the contrary, the Róngkups express a feeling of discrimination in their identity.

Robert Glenn Howard starts the third part of the book. It is called “Renegotiating Tradition and Authority”. His article concerns cosmic shifts according to New Age and he demonstrates how important vernacular authority is in this situation. The shift did not occur or, alternatively, it had already occurred. In this article the reader realizes how vernacular authority is produced with the help of networks when people find that they act together with like-minded individuals and how it is the opposite to institutionalized authority. Not being institutionalized guarantees the truth and quality of this kind of belief. Moreover, it seems more important to belong to a community than to ponder over right or wrong. Kristel Kivari concentrates her text on the body and its function as a medium to supernatural reality, with dowsing as an example. This article demonstrates what it is like to write about vernacular beliefs when the researcher herself is a participant in the current organization of dowsing practices. Although most scholars have a private belief, there is seldom any analysis of how it influences their research. In this way the article is a positive surprise. With the help of classical structural folklorists, such as Vladimir Propp and Alan Dundes, Steven J. Sutcliffe compares three vernacular biographies. Lack and lack liquidated was said by Dundes to be the returning structure of certain kinds of narratives and now Sutcliffe adapts this model to the biographical narratives. Two of them solve their problem, one is not able to liquidate his lack but reasons around his problem and creates a way to continue life. Ruth Illman writes about a Jewish mystical means to reach the sacred through wordless singing of *niggunim*. As in many of the other articles in the book, she starts her investigation by interviewing participants and talks to them about their thoughts and experiences of what they do when they sing. Matters of authenticity are central to the scholar, but the participants tell her to be careful about that, for knowledge, needs, and experience are individual influencing factors.

Part four, “Vernacular Knowledge and Christianity”, takes the reader to Catholic believers. Melanie Landman studies the Black Madonnas. She refers to several investigations of this strange phenomenon and she gives an account of what explanations she has found in literature about the Great Goddess and the Virgin Mary. Thereafter she analyses her recent field material and finds that there are almost as many descriptions of what the Black Madonna means to the individual as there are respondents. Moreover, the Black Madonnas make people refer to recent societal phenomena, such as feminism and colonialism. Marion Bowman pays attention to an Argentinian Robin-Hood-like saint called Gauchito Gil. He is beloved but not officially accepted. The article centres around the material expressions of belief, and around the "messiness" that often characterizes vernacular religion, because every believer's voice must be taken into consideration and must not be systematically related to what other believers have formulated. Leonard Norman Primiano, the introducer of vernacular religion studies, published one of his last articles in this book. He passed away in July 2021. In his study he concentrates his thinking on an undergraduate student's dormitory and the way he furnished his holy corner. It turned out that, on the one hand, the corner was furnished with classic holy paraphernalia, on the other, with personal things meaning something for the student. The young man was a keen sportsman and those objects too, along with items of Italian folk religion, had their given spots in the room. The scholar reads the room as a protest against the worldly life of parties, drugs, alcohol, and sex that often characterize the time in college.

The last part is called "Afterlife and Afterdeath". To begin with, Margaret Lyngdoh writes about the Khasi in Northern India and their thoughts about death. In this region the Christian church dominates officially, whereas there is still also a vivid pre-Christian tradition about death. She demonstrates how these two kinds of belief live together, and partly merge in everyday life, underlining that there is no stable and logical system along which this kind of devotion is arranged. Alevtina Solovyeva studies Mongolian vernacular religion in its co-habitation with the official religion when it comes to funeral rituals. The original rites were meant to be a kind of guarantee for further generations to lead a suitable life together with nature, environment, souls of deceased forefathers and other factors that influence life, and the official ways of handling the dead are regarded as a violation of that and hence a great risk. It goes without saying that the contradiction is complete, and it is important to negotiate how one should balance. The last article, by Paul Cowdell, concerns ghosts. Ghosts are important to many believers, and consequently it is crucial for scholars to take them as a serious target of research. However, it turns out that it has remained problematic for scholars (mostly non-folklorists or students of other disciplines than the study of religion) to decide upon whether they should uncritically accept what their colleagues write about supernatural phenomena or simply accept them as one of many research issues. This problem is even more complicated since the wave of reflexive research is common. What a researcher believes and what, if anything, he or she should believe in may collide.

Marion Bowman is the author of the afterword in which she points out that twenty-five years have passed since Leonard Norman Primiano introduced the concept of vernacular religion. To a great extent this concept changed the study of religion, both as official systems and as "folk messes". Concerning the title of the book, *Vernacular Knowledge*, I had expected more about other knowledge than just the religious kind. Today's society generally contests scientific knowledge. Anti-vaccination ideas, ideas about how to lose weight or even if one should lose weight at all, how to attain more or less eternal life, or hateful racist Internet texts are also a kind of vernacular knowledge. I look forward also to reading folklore studies about these serious and dangerous phenomena in our world. Moreover, I hope that somebody will analyse how Reformed and Lutheran adherents formulate their belief, rather unadorned and inconspicuous as these official religions are.

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Ice from Different Angles

Is – på olika vis. Nils Erik Villstrand & Kasper Westerlund (eds.). Meddelanden från Sjöhistoriska institutet vid Åbo Akademi 37. Forum navales skriftserie 84. Åbo 2022. 172 pp. Ill.

Few question the fact that the modern industrialized and capital-driven society has changed the world's climate conditions. In times of the Anthropocene, cold is for instance no longer a steady northern phenomenon. It is thus no surprise that thawing glaciers, unpredictable snow and shrinking sea ice have sparked growing concern in the North as well as research interest in the cold within disciplines that normally leave the study of those matters to natural scientists. "Ice humanities" is one such newly established interdisciplinary field of research that explores low temperatures and follows the ice with the aim of understanding how "people and societies invent, create, and narrate ice (including snow) so it becomes not just physical but embedded in our minds and identities". The quotation is from the introduction to *Ice Humanities – Living, Thinking and Working in a Melting World* (2022:2), in which the editors and initiators of "ice humanities", Klaus Dodds and Sverker Sörlin, indicate that ice can be understood as a "crisis concept" closely related to the long-lasting and accelerating effects of the industrial revolution, to the accumulated scientific knowledge of glaciers and ice ages, to meteorology and the Arctic region, to today's climate situation where the cryosphere is a critical zone of global environmental change. The essays in *Is – på olika vis* (roughly translated as *Ice – Various Aspects*) contribute in many ways to the objective of "ice humanities", although the term is not referred to in the book. In the introduction, the editors Nils Erik Villstrand and Kasper Westerlund propose "cryo-history" (a concept also used by Sörlin) for the study of cultural aspects of the cold in a world of climate change. The "cryo-history" in *Is – på olika vis* is framed by scholars in history and ethnology who follow the ice in Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian settings during the last two centuries, with an emphasis on the nineteenth century. United by three key concepts in relation to ice – "knowledge", "potential", "challenge" – various experiences and uses of ice in the Nordic countries are brought to the fore.

The scope of the book is however narrowed by the context of its origin – the Institute of Maritime History at Åbo Akademi University – which explains that the discussion of ice is mainly conducted in relation to shipping, trade, and icebreakers: Per Hallén's article on trade and shipping in Gothenburg 1833–1919 delivers new findings about the freezing of the city's harbour, during a period of change from preindustrial shipping which often closed down during cold winters (despite efforts to keep an open passage through the ice sheet) to rapid industrialization and technological development that could keep the trade running all year around (such as a steam-powered icebreaker financed by the city council). Hallén sees a more flexible attitude to the ice in premodern times, with a good readiness in terms of warehousing and seldom economic losses. Surprisingly, the modern industrial society's need of uninterrupted import and export led to a less adjustable outlook on the sea ice – and therefore paradoxically became more vulnerable to weather and wind, relying on technology to master the ice. The essay by Jorma Ahvenainen gives a parallel story from Finland, where a modern infrastructure for winter communication of people and post, and the trade in goods (such as butter and reels of thread to England) was realized in 1875–1914 through sturdier ships, icebreakers, and a new port in the south of Finland (Hangö). The account of the cold chain to keep the Finnish butter fresh from northern Finland to Manchester is thrilling. So is Per G. Norseng's fascinating chapter on the Norwegian export of natural ice in the modern breakthrough, late nineteenth to early twentieth century. Ice was, next to wood and fish, the country's most lucrative export item, a natural resource successfully exploited to meet the desires of the modern world for democratization, mass consumption, urbanization, and new social habits – for example, the growing taste and demand for ice cream, cold beer, and fresh fish (instead of dried or salted). Ice had been a luxury for the rich but was now turned into a desire for everyone. Accordingly, until the natural ice was replaced by technology that could produce artificial cold, the traffic in ice was essential for modern urban life and the economy – for bakeries, breweries, hospitals, chemical industries, cooling of theatres etc. Martin Eriksson explores the development of the production and use of icebreakers in Sweden and Finland 1867–1977. He makes a compelling analysis of the perceived need to master the ice for the national industry's international competitive edge, while traditional local economies such as the fishing fleet received less help.

The essays by Johan Porsby, Stefan Norrgård and Fredrik Nilsson look upon ice from a slightly different angle, though the maritime aspect is not lost. The ice phraseology at sea is important in Porsby's rich exposé of the language of ice in Swedish (at least 450 words in relation to ice according to Svenska Akademiens Ordbok). Norrgård looks upon the experiences of spring ice (*islossning*) by reading nineteenth-century newspaper observations on the opening of the river Aura in Åbo, which could be unpredictable and difficult to control. Since 1976 the river Aura has not frozen, but by following old series of spring ice and ice blocking the flow of the river, this promises new perspectives on northern climate history. Finally, Nilsson tells the thrilling story of the very cold winter of 1838, when Swedish and Danish students met on the ice in the middle of Öresund (the border between Sweden and Denmark) to celebrate the unity of Scandinavia. The temporary ice bridge played a symbolical role in Scandinavian political history by presenting modern narratives of potential transnational movements. The ice symbolized a new world in which former enemies unite.

To sum up, the everyday interaction with cold, the editors write, has historically been one of the prerequisites for the Nordic countries to establish themselves as knowledgeable regarding snow and ice. Ice has played a central role in northern culture – isolating as well as connecting people; a steady but at the same time transient element; facilitator or hindrance of political and social life in work and play. The essays in *Is – på olika vis* add to the understanding of this cultural history of ice in the North and will inspire new research on the northern climate history, which certainly is important in our times of waning ice.

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Swedish Belief Tradition in a Nutshell

Tora Wall: Folktrons väsen. Encyklopedi. Bokförlaget Stolpe, Stockholm 2021. 255 pp. Ill.

Tora Wall's *Folktrons väsen* is a reader-friendly overview of Swedish folklore concerning supernatural beings. It is properly research-based and provides an accurate view of the pre-industrial Swedish belief tradition. But it starts from the basics and can be recommended to readers who have no previous knowledge about belief tradition.

The book is titled an encyclopaedia but it represents that genre only in its broadest sense. Instead of listing beings in Swedish belief tradition separately in alphabetical order, it includes broader thematic chapters. The book starts with a compact but comprehensive introduction describing the concepts of belief tradition and folklore, as well as the relevant genres and sources. Furthermore, it explains magical thinking and what kind of significance and meanings the supernatural beings once had in the communities. Wall introduces the reader to the world view of preindustrial belief tradition, with the idea of the limited good and the significance of boundaries and exceptions and the difference between black and white magic.

As any scholar of belief tradition knows, national collections of folk belief teem with local fairies, goblins and ghosts with a myriad of names but only slight differences. Wall handles the mess by presenting the creatures in larger groups by type. The chapters are thus about general categories such as trolls, guardian spirits, underground people or death beings. Each chapter first gives information about the category and then describes the variety. This is a justified decision which saves us from a lot of repetition, helps to focus on the important features and gives a better understanding of the beings' relations to each other than mere cross-referencing. Yet even the main groups overlap slightly: trolls, for example, share motifs with the underground people. This is an essential feature of belief tradition, and a research-based representation like this is correct in not trying to hide or deny the fuzziness.

Chapters on the beings also give contextual information and discuss related beliefs and various themes of belief narratives. For example, in the chapter about trolls, we learn why certain people were more prone to be taken into the mountain or hill by the trolls, what liminality had to do with it, and how to prevent such danger. Furthermore, the chapter includes a subsection about changelings, because in folk legends it is quite often trolls that steal a small baby from the cradle and replace it with their own baby or grandfather. Essentially, Wall's work is not only about the beings. It is actually a general view of the whole belief tradition, just organized according to the beings.

In any survey of belief tradition, a crucial point is how the topics and motifs are selected and how they are organized. The distinction between various groups of beings is relatively unambiguous, and Wall applies almost the same pattern as in Bengt af Klintberg's index *The Types of the Swedish Folk Legend.* The only difference is that Wall distinguishes trolls from fairies while af Klintberg handles them together. Another question of choice is ontological. Belief tradition includes beings which only exist in the popular imagination, but there are also beliefs which concern real entities, for example conceptions about magical skills or properties of certain people or animals. The distinction between these is not always clear. For example, magical snakes range from dragons and giant serpents to popular beliefs concerning unusually big, yet ordinary snakes. But perhaps sometimes it would be more suitable to note the difference; especially when the question is about people. Here, as in many other books too, the supernatural beings include people who allegedly had special supernatural abilities – people like sorcerers, healers, priests, smiths and even folk musicians. These agents have not been labelled supernatural per se, but I wonder whether it is justified to present them as beings of belief tradition. A similar case is the chapter on trees, including information about sacred groves as well as rituals and healing connected to trees. Yet trees as such are natural entities. These examples illustrate the fact that the book begins with beings, but towards the end, the being-ness of the topics breaks up. This critique does not change the fact that ritual specialists are a central theme of belief tradition. Trees may not be equally central, but perhaps trees and forests serve the interests of contemporary readership.

Wall has chosen to include figures from Norse mythology in the gallery of preindustrial belief tradition. This requires an excursion to ancient pre-Christian religion and the medieval sources which shed light on the ancient gods and the Æsir cult. Since mythology is not in the focus of this book, characteristics of the gods as they were known in the *Edda* and other ancient poetry are only described briefly. The emphasis is on the fragmentary representations of Thor, Odin and other figures' in legends and incantations in nineteenth-century folklore. These materials look like scarce survivals, and thus the old Norse gods appear in the world of preindustrial belief tradition like special guests who actually belong to some other sphere. The role of Norse gods in this book may be justified on grounds of popularization and the aim of showing their relationship to later belief tradition. The excursion to the *Edda* and its remains demonstrates the temporal depth and layered characteristics of belief tradition.

The twenty-first-century readership and their expectations are considered in all the chapters. For example, contemporary readers probably only know werewolves from popular culture and thus expect the full moon to be involved. Therefore, it is explicitly noted that this was not the case in Swedish vernacular tradition. Likewise, the chapter on death beings begins by explaining how modern society and esoteric movements have shaped our ideas of the dead. In order to understand the preindustrial folklore about death beings, we need to know an older view of death and the dead. The chapter on guardian spirits, in turn, includes a subsection on the development of Swedish Christmas gnomes and Santa Claus. After all, the Swedish word for the guardian spirit – *tomten* – has later been used predominantly in those senses.

Folktrons väsen combines folkloristic accuracy with a popular style which serves the needs of contemporary readers. It guides the beginner to the world of belief tradition and gives enough background information to help understand the point of preindustrial belief legends. For those who are inspired to know more, the book briefly summarizes the work of relevant researchers and offers tips for further reading. As an object, the book is well designed. The rich illustrations include artwork from six centuries, starting from late medieval church paintings and peaking in the variety of legend-based illustrations and paintings by Nordic artists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The pictures display artistic interpretations of the beings and also the landscapes and environments in which they lurked.

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