



**STRÖMSTAD AKADEMIS REPRINT**

**Anders Gustavsson**



**Cultural science research literature in the  
Nordic countries during the 2010s**

Nr 9, februari 2025

ISBN 978-91-89979-30-7

# Cultural science research literature in the Nordic countries during the 2010s

*Presented and commented on by Anders Gustavsson,  
Professor at Strömstad academy*

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## Introduction

One way of mirroring cultural science research in the Nordic countries during the past 2010s is to review a selection of the scientific literature published in the form of monographs, anthologies and doctoral dissertations. The subject designations for cultural science research at the universities differ in the Nordic countries. For Norway, cultural science is the name in Bergen and cultural history in Oslo. In Sweden, Denmark and Finland, the subject is called ethnology. In Finland there are both ethnology and folklore.

To show the breadth of cultural science research, I have selected a number of areas that have made themselves noticeable. Each publication is provided with a number so that it can be easily identified by the reader. My texts have previously been published separately in different volumes during the 2010s by the international scientific journals ARV. Nordic Yearbook of Folklore and Ethnologia Scandinavica, abbr. ES, having the highest ranking scale. I have signed my texts with Anders Gustavsson, University of Oslo, Norway/ Henån, Sweden. The goal now is to provide a unified presentation to get a picture of parts of the research that have been prominent in the 2010s.

## Cultural Heritage

A prominent research field constitutes cultural heritage, not least in Norway. This is linked to a working group Cultural Heritage and Property within Society International of Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF). Here I have chosen monographs written by Anne Eriksen on how the view on old monuments in Norway has changed over time (1), Leidulf Mydland on older Norwegian school houses (doctoral dissertation 2), Knut Fageraas on world heritage sites in Norway (doctoral dissertation 3) Torild Gjesvik on older transport routes (4), Arne Bugge Amundsen about church buildings (5) and an anthology published by Grete Swensen on cultural monuments (6).

## Folk Belief

In folkloric studies, studies of popular beliefs both in older and recent times occupy a central position. This research links to the international network Belief Narrative Network (BNN) within the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR). In the area of popular belief, I have chosen monographs by Göran Malmstedt on witch processes (7), Ritwa Herjulfsdotter on plant names (8) and Ebbe Schön on magic regarding food and drink (9) and an anthology on contemporary conceptions in Norway about supernatural phenomena edited by Jan-Olav Henriksen and Kathrin Pabst (10).

## Folk Religion

Studies of folk religion are linked to the studies of popular beliefs. Within the SIEF, there is a working group called Ethnology of Religion. Popular religion is represented here by three monographs written by Terese Zachrisson on Mary altars (doctoral

dissertation) (11), Torunn Selberg on the study of popular religion (12) and Maria Zachariasson on contemporary young people's attitudes to religion (13). Bente Lavold and John Ødemark have studied the religious book culture of the Reformation era (14).

## **Ritual Year and Life Cycle**

The festivities of the year and life cycle have a close relationship with popular religion. Within the SIEF there is the Ritual Year working group. Here I have selected studies on Easter (Hodne 15) and Christmas (Ahlfors doctoral dissertation 16) as well as faith and customs in connection with death and funeral (Lönngqvist 17).

## **Local History**

Local history has for a long time played an important role in the cultural sciences. This is represented here by surveys by Kim Furdal in principle on local historical research (doctoral dissertation 18), Gunnar Solvang on a local place in Denmark (19) and Øywind Weraas on Hammerfest at the top of northern Norway (20).

## **Coastal Culture**

The Nordic countries have very long coastal distances. This has led to several coastal culture studies. They are represented here by Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen's (21) survey of the lives of seamen's women on an island in southern Denmark.

## **Tourism**

Summer tourism in the Nordic countries is largely linked to many different coastal areas. Kerstin Gunnemark (22) has published an anthology that reflects parts of current tourism research. This research is conducted in conjunction with the Nordic Tourism History Network. Marianne E. Lien and Simone Abram have published a contemporary study of cabin life and ideas about cabins in Norway (23).

## **Migration**

Migration has become an increasingly prominent field of research. This applies from the Nordic countries, within and to the Nordic countries. Within the SIEF there is the Migration and Mobility working group. Here I present two doctoral dissertations. Siv Ringdal has investigated emigrated Norwegian women to the US (24) and Ida Tolgensbakk (25) has studied Swedish young people's work immigration to Norway during the 2000s.

## **Minorities**

Within the Nordic countries there are some minorities of older origin. This applies to the Sami in Norway, Sweden and Finland, the forest Finns in Norway and Sweden

and the Swedish Finns who have lived in Finland since the Middle Ages. Sven-Erik Klinkman, Blanka Henriksson and Andreas Häger (26) have published an anthology on identity issues in this minority, which is about five percent of Finland's population.

## Popular Movements

During the late 19th century and the first part of the 20th century, many popular movements were active in the Nordic countries. Espen Schaaning has specially studied the development of the scouting movement (27).

## Second World War

Although Sweden did not participate militarily in the Second World War, it still affected residents' everyday lives in a very concrete way. Birgitta Skarin Frykman, Anika Nordström and Ninni Trossholmen have presented and analyzed a large number of life stories that have subsequently been collected into a western Swedish folklore archives (28).

## Research on Archives

Source material for cultural science research is to a large extent in the folklore archives that started collection in the early 1900s. Within the archives, methodological research has been developed regarding source value, ethical questions and digitalization of the material. Lauri Harvilahti, Audun Kjus, Clíona O'Carroll, Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, Fredrik Skott and Rita Treija have published a comprehensive anthology on these issues with authors from several countries in Northern Europe (29). In his doctoral dissertation, Åmund Norum Resløyken made a special study of the questionnaires published in Norway in the series *Ord og sed 1934-1947* (30). Within SIEF there is a working group Archives which is discussing archival issues in cultural research.

Already in the 19th century, there were memory collectors who traveled around in the countryside and made records. One such prominent collector in Denmark was the teacher Evald Tang Kristensen, who has left behind large collections. Palle Ove Christianen has published several studies on his life and collections (31, 32, 33). Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen has analyzed the Danish artist Sven Havsteen-Mikkelsen's travel diaries, photographs and works of art from discovery trips to Norway, the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland in the 20th century (34).

## History of Science

Interest in the history of science has been evident during the 2010s. A prominent figure in Nordic folkloristics during the late 1900s was the Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko (1932-2002). His students and followers have published a book on his theoretical research perspectives (35). Another book publishes selected texts from Honko's extensive scientific production (36). Flemming Hemmersam, Astrid



Jespersen and Lene Otto have published papers presented at a Nordic ethnological and folklorist congress entitled "Cultural Processes in Europe" (37). Petra Garberding has examined Swedish-German research contacts during the Nazi period 1933-1945 and then during the Cold War period until 1989 (38).

## Auto-ethnography

In the field of international cultural research there is a connection to the term auto-ethnography in which researchers in the 2000s have explicitly used themselves in the research process. Auto-ethnography is a method that means that researchers use their personal experiences and self-reflections in their analyzes. The goal of the researchers is to be able to better understand and interpret other people and cultures that they are studying. A nestor in Nordic ethnology Nils-Arvid Bringéus has published a book based on his own life experiences during a long research life (39). The presentation is reminiscent of an autobiography and it constitutes, to a greater extent, folklorist Ebbe Schön's life journey, which has moved from work in the military to literature research and later to folkloristics (40).

## Cultural Heritage

### 1 How Antiquities Became Heritage ARV 2015

Anne Eriksen: *From Antiquities to Heritage. Transformations of Cultural Memory. Time and the World: Interdisciplinary Studies in Cultural Transformations. Volume 1.* Berghahn. New York/Oxford 2014. 179 pp.

The Norwegian cultural historian and folklorist Anne Eriksen, Oslo, has investigated how the outlook on ancient monuments has changed from the mid eighteenth century to our own times. The book is number 1 in the series, *Time and the World: Interdisciplinary Studies in Cultural Transformations*. The title of the book reflects the author's focus on changes in the use of concepts, from the eighteenth-century search for material artefacts, via the nineteenth-century emphasis on monuments, up to the interest in cultural heritage in our own days. The study has a discursive approach. The concepts tell us something about different interests at different times in history. To shed more light on changes in the concepts, Eriksen presents a series of Norwegian case studies in chronological order.

In the eighteenth century scholars tried to reconstruct ancient life with the aid of physical artefacts, designated as antiquities. These could be found by travelling around in the landscape, without having any chronological historiography as a goal. This way of working is represented, for instance, by the topographer and historian Gerhard Schøning (1722–1780).

An interest in historical buildings in the form of ruins arose some way into the nineteenth century in connection with romanticism. It entailed a greater appreciation of

the Middle Ages. The term “the nation’s historic monuments” came into use and the word “antiquities” disappeared. The ruins were regarded as expressions of time and change as well as aesthetic objects, instead of being neglected, as previously, under the designation *rudera* or “rubble”. The heroism of the past and national values were highlighted. This is noticeable in what is written about the ruins of the medieval cathedral in the city of Hamar. The Norwegian stave churches also began to attract attention as examples of medieval architecture.

Several museums arose in the nineteenth century, the first coming in the city of Bergen in 1825, which was supposed to preserve the past. This was done by collecting objects which were systematized with no consideration for chronological division. The museums’ national values began to attract attention at the end of the nineteenth century. Through the opening of the Norwegian Folk Museum in 1894, peasant culture began to receive serious consideration for the first time. This culture was regarded as having been static ever since the Middle Ages, despite the regional differences within Norway. This outlook helped to strengthen the national sentiment that was growing towards the time when the union of Norway and Sweden was dissolved in 1905.

In the nineteenth century there was also a change in the outlook on old buildings and artefacts: from having been antiquities, they came to be viewed as monuments. This continued into the twentieth century after the end of the union in 1905. New monuments came in the form of standing stones to honour heroic contributions on behalf of Norway. The biggest boom came with the memorials to heroic deeds during the Second World War. Fallen soldiers were regarded as the nation’s martyrs. These monuments began to be erected immediately after the end of the war, when Norway was liberated from the German occupation. Memorials are still being raised. A Norwegian “Resistance Museum” was opened in 1970 in memory of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the end of the Second World War.

In the last part of the book Eriksen deals with the concepts of cultural property and cultural heritage. In Scandinavia they first came into use at the end of the 1990s. Cultural property refers to an exclusive “us” and cultural heritage an inclusive “us”. An important milestone in the debate about these concepts was the establishment of UNESCO’s World Heritage List in 1972. Norway has seven sites inscribed on this list. One of them is the stave church of Urnes, which has become a national symbol.

Eriksen writes at the end of the book to clarify the differences between the different concepts that have been at the centre of this study; antiquities, monuments, and cultural heritage: “What defines objects as valuable is not their age, as was the case with antiquities, nor their historical consequence, as for monuments, but rather the interest of some living subject who takes on the role as heir. In this way, heritage is basically anchored in the present of the inheritors, not in the past of the inherited objects” (p. 149).

To shed light on how the past is affected by presentism, Eriksen performs a present-day study of the activities of Norwegian Heritage Year 2009. It was supposed to

reflect everyday life in 2009 in all social strata in Norway, with the emphasis on collecting via digital media. The material and intangible heritage and associated activities were to receive attention.

Finally, I must say that Eriksen has conducted a well-wrought study of concepts over a period of 250 years which has seen several changes. The author primarily dwells on the discursive level and finds her empirical material in case studies. She discusses and relates constructively to a large amount of relevant scholarly literature. It is striking how close cultural history is to the history of ideas in this study. What I miss as an ethnologist in the book is pictures of antiquities, monuments, and cultural heritage from different times. Pictures would have added an analytical and visual value in view of the fact that the study deals so much with material cultural artefacts that can be found out in the landscape and in museums. A detailed index (pp. 174–179) makes it easier to find all the information contained in the book.

Eriksen's study is clearly relevant for humanistic research, the museum world, and a general audience with an interest in the past and how traces of it will be able to survive in the future.

## 2 Norwegian Schoolhouses as Cultural Monuments ES 2016

Leidulf Mydland: *Skolehuset som kulturminne. Lokale verdier og nasjonal kulturminneforvaltning*. Gothenburg Studies in Conservation 35. University of Gothenburg. Göteborg 2015. 255 pp. Ill. Diss. ISBN 978-91-7346-821-3.

The Norwegian cultural scholar Leidulf Mydland has worked at the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (Norsk institutt for kulturminneforskning/NIKU). He has presented a Swedish doctoral dissertation at the Department of Conservation at Gothenburg University about Norwegian schoolhouses as cultural monuments. The core of the dissertation consists of six articles which the author published separately in different journals during the years 2006–2014. Each of these constitutes a major chapter. The dissertation is thus a compilation. Four of the articles are in Norwegian and two in English. Since they are reprinted with no changes, the author is aware that some of the content has overlaps and repetitions. In my opinion this happens so often that it would have been better to edit these texts. The introduction and the concluding chapter, however, are newly written (pp. 21–59 and 221–240). The book is richly illustrated with photographs, many of them taken by the author.

After the Norwegian Parliament decided in 1860 to construct permanent schoolhouses all over the country, 4,600 schools were built in Norway, most of them (82%) with just one classroom. Inspiration came from reforms implemented in the USA. Type plans for the construction of new schools in Norway were published in 1863, modelled on American plans from 1849. In 1886 the Norwegian government issued new guidelines for the construction of new schools. These were to serve as the norm for what school buildings looked like. These schools were used for children from grades one to seven. A law on compulsory schooling had been passed in Norway in

1827. Before 1860 there had been only travelling schools, with the teachers moving from home to home during the year. With the passing of a new School Act in 1959 with nine-year compulsory school, new central schools were built. The older schoolhouses therefore ceased to be used in the 1960s. The author has studied schools built in 1860–1920.

The aim of the dissertation is to study how old schoolhouses – which are so distinctly linked to nation-building, democratization, and public education – have been perceived, preserved, and protected as cultural monuments. This concerns both voluntary efforts at the local level and nationally through the state authority, Riksantikvaren (the Directorate for Cultural Heritage). Why did it take so long for the national authority to pay attention, and why so little attention, to these schoolhouses?

As regards theory, the author has been inspired by discourse analysis. He argues that there has been a hegemonic heritage discourse in Norway. The term Authorized Heritage Discourse is used to denote what the Directorate for Cultural Heritage represents. On a theoretical level the questions in this dissertation can be compared with those in the book about the making of cultural monuments published by NIKU in 2013 with Grete Swensen as editor (5).

The author has worked for many years in Norwegian cultural heritage management and declares that he is therefore not “an objective, external observer of the field I am studying” (p. 22). On the other hand, he does have good “inside knowledge”.

In the first of the six main chapters the author conducts an in-depth study of 71 schoolhouses in three selected rural municipalities in southern Norway. Responsibility for building the new schools lay with the local councils. Information about old schoolhouses in Norway has been available since 2007 at [www.skolehuset.net](http://www.skolehuset.net), a site established and maintained by the author.

In the second chapter the author examines what happened to the schoolhouses when they were no longer in use. Of the 71 specially studied buildings, 25 are still in use as parochial halls. Twenty-one schoolhouses have become homes or holiday cottages, while the rest are still standing in dilapidated condition or have been demolished. On only one occasion, in 1963, did one of the municipalities deliberate about whether a particular school had any value as a cultural monument.

The first act on the protection of historic buildings was passed in Norway in 1920. Today 3,800 buildings are protected, but very few of them are schoolhouses and none of these are in rural municipalities. At the local level too, it seems that schoolhouses are not valued as cultural monuments. In other words, schooling in bygone times has no symbolic significance.

The third chapter is a comparative study of how schoolhouses in Norway and the US Midwest have been preserved and perceived as cultural monuments. The differences are considerable. There is a much greater awareness in the USA of the national cultural value of closed-down schools. People even speak of schoolhouses as “a National Icon” (p. 229). In Iowa, where the author did fieldwork, 60 schoolhouses were

designated as cultural monuments, as against none in Norway in 2011. The social role of schools in the local community and their importance as symbols of the construction of the nation has been emphasized over the architectural aspects. Many of the schoolhouses in Iowa have become school museums. The Norwegian schools, by contrast, have not been associated with the construction of the Norwegian nation during the late nineteenth century, which led to the dissolution of the union with Sweden in 1905.

The fourth chapter is based on an analysis of 18 local applications from 2002 to 2009 submitted to the Norwegian Heritage Fund, established by the state in 2002. The applications were for subsidies to renovate old schoolhouses. The author wants to arrive at a picture of how these schoolhouses have been perceived at the local level and how they have been assessed by the Norwegian Heritage Fund. Seven of the eighteen applications were turned down. The reasons given concerned “antiquarian approach”, “authenticity”, and “heritage values”. It is thus only the physical aspects of the buildings that are evaluated. Nothing is said about social aspects, such as the significance of the school as an educational institution, as a local meeting place in the present day, or as a school museum. This happens even though such aspects were emphasized in eleven applications. The author finds that local aspects mean very little to the national heritage institutions. For him this is a clear example of a “hegemonic heritage discourse”. The absence of an “articulated antiquarian approach” and “authenticity” are the main reasons cited for rejecting applications.

The fifth chapter continues the discussion from the fourth chapter, raising the question of how the old schoolhouses are perceived and preserved by the local environment and in state heritage management. The author’s critique is aimed at the excessively narrow criteria applied by the Directorate for Cultural Heritage when assessing what should be a cultural monument. Physical aspects are at the centre, while social aspects are neglected.

The sixth chapter is based on an essay published in 2014. It looks at the first old rural schoolhouse that was declared a cultural monument by the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in 2012. The school was built in 1865/1866 and was used until 1955. The author analyses the written documents in the archives of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage. He is openly critical of the time it has taken to implement the preservation process. A crucial ground for preservation concerns material aspects, namely, issues of authenticity and aesthetics. On the other hand, nothing is said about the role of the school as an educational institution from the nineteenth century onwards.

In the last chapter the author concludes that it is the lack of architectural and aesthetic qualities that lies behind the low interest of the state heritage management authority in protecting old school-houses. This authority has sought more to safeguard matters to do with tradition and continuity than objects representing change in the form of democratization and public enlightenment since the late nineteenth century. Schoolhouses belong to the latter category.

A final question concerns how one should assess the decidedly subjective and critical researcher role adopted by the author. He has a burning interest in ensuring that old schoolhouses are upgraded as historical monuments because of the role they have played in the development of Norwegian society. In his case the boundary between research and active culture politics may seem very fine. However, I think he has stayed within the boundary that is necessary if the work is to be regarded as research. The empirical foundation is extensive and well analysed. The author's practical experience of cultural heritage management has been of assistance in his analyses. In the future he will have opportunities to bring about a change in the prevailing heritage discourse, now that he has begun working for the Directorate for Cultural Heritage whose policy he has criticized so sharply.

### 3 World Heritage Sites in Northern Norway ES 2020

Knut Fageraas: *Verdensarv på Vega – mellom internasjonale konvensjoner, nasjonal politikk og lokale praksiser i et nordnorsk øysamfunn*. Det humanistiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo, Oslo 2019. 226 pp. Ill. Diss.

The Norwegian cultural scholar Knut Fageraas has presented a doctoral dissertation in Oslo about the Vega Archipelago in northern Norway, which became a World Heritage site in 2004. One reason for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List was that the women in the fishing community have traditionally collected the down of eider ducks – a unique livelihood in a global context. The bulk of the dissertation consists of four articles which have previously been published between 2013 and 2018 as chapters in four different edited volumes, one in Norway and three internationally in London and New York. One of the articles is thus in Norwegian and the other three in English. In this compilation thesis the articles are printed without any changes. This means that there are some repetitions of facts and discussions. The opening introduction and the closing chapter are newly written (pp. 7–59 and 175–191 respectively).

The author works at the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, NIKU. Key research topics there concern how cultural heritage is perceived, managed, and used. One of the main objectives of the thesis has been to study what the new status as a World Heritage site has meant for the local environment on these islands. Before 2004, the archipelago was characterized by stagnation, emigration, and a decline in the eider down harvesting.

Everyday life is at the heart of the thesis. Human-animal relations are another important aspect, as is the increasing cultural tourism. The author's own fieldwork, in the form of interviews conducted during the years 2008–2009, is the primary source material. A total of 16 women and 23 men were interviewed. The interviews yielded information about the informants' experiences and values. Written sources consist of administrative documents from Norwegian authorities and UNESCO, as well as the World Heritage Committee.

As regards the theoretical foundation, the author links to international cultural heritage studies and discourse analysis, with the emphasis on a dominant research trend of critical heritage studies. Laurajane Smith's book *Uses of Heritage* from 2006 and Iain Robertson's *Heritage from Below* from 2012 have been important sources of inspiration for the author's focus on "everyday heritage". Given that the study concerns human relations with birds, in this case eider ducks, international animal studies or human-animal studies have been important reference points. These studies explore how humans understand and interact with animals. The eider down harvesting can be seen as an interplay between culture and nature, although the World Heritage status of the Vega Archipelago attaches the main importance to culture.

The first paper (pp. 61–113), "Verdensarvens forandringer på Vega" (Changes in the World Heritage on Vega), was published in 2013 by Novus forlag, Oslo. It concentrates on the impact of World Heritage status at the local level. What changes have arisen on these islands in terms of lifeways and ideas? One noticeable effect has been that the down harvesting has been revitalized, having previously been in decline. It has attained a higher status in the local community alongside fishing and agriculture, which used to dominate. In 2016 there were eighteen people collecting eider down, as against only six in 2000. Homes, boathouses, and jetties have also been renovated. Optimism has replaced the previous sense of marginalization. Tourism has been given a noticeable boost and is viewed as a positive resource among the locals. Together with the trade in eider down, it has helped to strengthen the position of women.

The second paper (pp. 115–137), entitled "Everyday Heritage", was published in 2016 by Ashgate, London. It demonstrates the importance and value that down harvesting has acquired for the women who do it. It is a labour-intensive occupation that is pursued at the outer edge of the archipelago. Small nesting houses are built, usually of wood. The eider ducks can take refuge in these and lay eggs and down during the breeding period. This is a time when the women do not want too many tourists around, so that the birds will not be frightened. About 3,000 nesting houses are put in order every year.

The third paper (pp. 139–158), "Housing Eiders – Making Heritage" from 2016, was published by Routledge, London & New York. It examines how World Heritage status has affected the relationship between humans and animals through the growing eider down trade. Close human–animal relationships arise, hinting at anthropomorphic perceptions.

The fourth paper (pp. 161–173), entitled "World Heritage and Cultural Sustainability", was published by Routledge, London & New York, in 2018. Co-written with Karoline Daugstad, it elucidates the question of how World Heritage status has affected the practitioners of the main livelihoods – fishing and agriculture – in the Vega Archipelago. How can this newly acquired status contribute to the sustainable economic development of the islands? The author discusses the concept of cultural sustainability based on the book *The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability* by John Hawkes in



2001. On the main island of Vega there are fishing villages in the north and farms in the south. Agriculture has been successful, and the interviewed farmers expressed their satisfaction that World Heritage status has improved Vega's reputation. It means that more of the inhabitants want to stay and develop agriculture, combined with the increasing tourism. Fishing, on the other hand, has been on the decline, and the interviewed fishermen said they were dissatisfied that eider down harvesting had gained a higher status than fishing as a result of World Heritage status. They saw no new possibilities for fishing through this new status acquired by the Vega Islands.

In the closing chapter (pp. 175–191) the author sums up the overall findings of the four previously published papers. He has laid the foundation by exploring the significance of newly acquired World Heritage status for a local community. In the analyses the author combines theoretical discussions of cultural heritage and animal studies in a fruitful way with the empirical interview material he collected in the period 2008–2009. A follow-up field study could be valuable to see how the situation developed until the late 2010s, at a greater distance in time from when the archipelago was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2004. That would make for an interesting processual study of any changes that may have occurred between 2008 and 2018.

#### **4 A Nineteenth-century Norwegian Photographer ES 2019**

Torild Gjesvik: *Fotograf Knud Knudsen. Veien, reisen, landskapet*. Pax Forlag, Oslo 2018. 268 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-530-4018-9.

The art historian and cultural historian Torild Gjesvik has presented and analysed photographs taken by Knud Knudsen (1832–1915) in Bergen. He had grown up on two farms, Kremargården and Tokheim, outside Bergen and knew both the peasant culture and the urban culture in Bergen. For much of his life he alternated between his parents' last farm, Tokheim, and his residence and photo business in Bergen, which he owned and managed 1864–1899. Before establishing the photo firm he travelled extensively in 1862–1863 to Holland, Germany, and Denmark, where he learned the techniques of photography.

Gjesvik's study was conducted as part of the research project *Routes, Roads and Landscapes: Aesthetic Practices En Route, 1750–2015*. The author therefore focuses on photographs of roads, travels, and landscapes. With the aid of Knudsen's sales catalogue she is able to trace his various journeys. Many new roads were built in the latter part of the nineteenth century, representing the modern engineering of the time. Knudsen photographed both winding new roads and the almost impassable older roads that had existed in the same places. The natural landscape was one of steep cliff faces and huge boulders. Knudsen also took pictures of viewpoints adjacent to the roads. A reason for this is that tourists were among his most important customers and they were interested in impressive natural formations. Orders for photographs also came to Knudsen from several countries outside Norway.



Knudsen travelled around much of Norway with his bulky camera equipment. In the early days in the 1860s and 1870s he took his photographs using a stereoscope camera to obtain three-dimensional motifs. When developing pictures in those first years he used the wet-plate technique where the material consisted of glass plates to which light-sensitive chemicals were applied. The photographs had to be developed immediately in a mobile darkroom tent with the aid of further chemicals. An unlimited number of positive images could then be processed. In the 1880s Knudsen switched to the use of dry plates which did not need to be developed immediately. This meant that he no longer needed a mobile darkroom tent in the field.

Knudsen received medals and honourable mentions at several exhibitions both inside and outside Norway, including the world's fairs in Philadelphia in 1876 and in Paris in 1878 and 1889.

Since 2013 Knudsen's photographs and negatives have belonged to Norway's Documentary Heritage, the Norwegian part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Register. Besides pictures of roads and natural landscapes there are several illustrations of folklife in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The pictures are available digitally at [www.marcus.uib.no/home](http://www.marcus.uib.no/home).

Gjesvik's book is richly illustrated with nicely reproduced pictures from Knudsen's collection of glass plates in Bergen. It can be warmly recommended to anyone interested in photographic history, natural landscapes, and transport and its changes in bygone days.

## 5 A Norwegian Church Biography ARV 2019

Arne Bugge Amundsen: *Enighet og uenighet i 400 år. Kirkene på Langestrand*. Novus Forlag, Oslo 2018. 155 pp.

The Norwegian cultural historian and folklorist Arne Bugge Amundsen is a leading expert on post-Reformation church life in Norway. In this book he has conducted a local study of church buildings over four hundred years. He calls the study a "church biography". The scene is Langestrand in Vestfold County on the west side of Oslo Fjord. This place bore the imprint of the noble manor of Fresje, in a county established in 1671 with Governor Ulrik Fredrik Gyldenløve as the first count. A sawmill and an ironworks grew up in Langestrand, making the place into an early industrial community. It differed from the nearby town of Larvik, which was the main town and had the main church.

As early as 1600 the owners of the manor of Fresje had begun hiring a chaplain to perform ecclesiastical duties there instead of in the main church. The question arose of whether a church should be built in Langestrand even though it was so close to Larvik. In 1642 the manor owner Niels Lange obtained permission from the Danish king to build a private estate church at Fresje. Larvik then acquired a town church in 1677, which became the count's church. Tensions could arise between the main

church of Larvik and its clergy and the private chapel at Fresje. It became a place of worship for the industrial community, with the ironworks manager playing a prominent role. In 1698 Count Gyldenløve ordered the construction of a new church in Langestrand, which was completed at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The costs were partly covered by the count but to a large extent by the people of Langestrand themselves.

This place also saw the rise of religious counter cultures of a pietistic kind. This can be seen in pictorial decorations in the church, for example, a detailed depiction of different phases in the passion of Jesus, donated in 1752 by the ironworks manager.

The ideas of the Enlightenment came along later, and in 1811 a royal decision to demolish the church in Langestrand. This took place in 1812 and a new church was dedicated in 1818. It would be given the name "The Church of Unity" because of the involvement of the local inhabitants in the construction of the church. There was still a great mental distance to the people of the town of Larvik and the ecclesiastical authorities there. Local people were anxious to maintain the independence and individuality of the community. In 1838 the count ceased to enjoy the ownership of the churches in the Larvik district and the local congregations became self-governing. One negative event for Langestrand was the closure of the ironworks in the mid-nineteenth century. The church survived, however, and was rebuilt in 1903. In 2018 it celebrated its bicentennial. In the course of four hundred years many external changes to the church buildings have occurred. What has been stable has been the local people's close relations and commitment to the church, in a small place in the shadow of the larger and more influential town of Larvik.

The author has performed extensive archival studies and has thus been able to reflect local historical processes over an impressively long period of four hundred years. From the perspective of the industrial community, it is the internal solidarity that has given strength when there has been antagonism with the outside world in the form of the town of Larvik. The book, which is richly illustrated, is a fundamental contribution to microhistorical research. It can be recommended to readers with an interest in cultural history and local history.

## **6 Cultural Monuments as a Research Field ARV 2014**

*Å lage kulturminner – hvordan kulturarv forstås, formes og forvaltes.* Grete Swensen (ed.). Novus forlag, Oslo 2013. 370 pp. Ill.

The Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (Norsk institutt for kulturminneforskning or NIKU) has published a volume about cultural heritage edited by the ethnologist Grete Swensen. The essays illuminate, from different angles, how the past is used in the present through both material and intangible remains. The contributors are chiefly Norwegian scholars but there are also representatives of other Nordic countries in this interdisciplinary collection.

An example of how the intangible cultural heritage is made relevant in the present is the revival of old pilgrim routes from the Middle Ages, which are studied here by the folklorist Torunn Selberg from Bergen. The cultural heritage in this case consists of narratives, and the author conducts a special study of the old pilgrim route from Oslo to Trondheim which was officially opened in 1997. In 2010 it acquired the status of a European Cultural Route. The journey itself, often on foot, has become the important thing in our days, not the destination as was the case during the Middle Ages.

The creation of cultural heritage can also be prompted by motives of regional policy and not solely on nationalistic grounds. This is elucidated by the archaeologist Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen when he discusses the background and effects of the raising of a monument in 1872 in memory of the heroic Viking Age king, Harald Finehair, and the battle he won in 872 at Hafrsfjord near Haugesund. The Foundation for Norwegian Cultural Heritage, which was established in 1993, seeks to safeguard local and regional heritage, unlike the public administration of ancient monuments which deals with the country as a whole. The latter focuses on things of national interest, and it previously had sole right to decide what was to be protected as cultural heritage.

The ethnologist Anne Sætren sheds light on how environmental efforts in Norway have been linked to the protection of cultural monuments during the present century. She concentrates on agricultural buildings which have received renovation grants from the government. This has raised questions of authenticity and identity in connection with restorations.

The archaeologist Elin Rose Myrvoll discusses how the cultural landscape becomes an issue in relation to ancient monuments. One difficulty with fieldwork is finding ancient remains in the landscape. Camilla Brattland and Einar Eythórsson likewise discuss ancient monuments in relation to the cultural landscape in areas of North Norway where the Coastal Sami live. Political aspects are brought in as we learn that Sami names of fishing places on nautical charts have been made invisible by being Norwegianized as part of the process of assimilating the Sami from roughly 1860 to 1960. It was not until the passing of a Placename Act in 1990 that Sami names were given the same status as Norwegian names on maps.

The editor of the book, Grete Swensen, examines what happens when objects from an older problematic history, in the form of disused prisons, are given a new function and simultaneously become cultural monuments. Swensen conducts an in-depth study of this process at three selected prisons, which have been transformed into hotels and an exhibition gallery with studios for artists. New contexts of meaning have thus arisen, far removed from the origin of the buildings as places of punishment. The negative history tends to be toned down or hushed up.

The Swedish archaeologist Anita Synnøstvedt has selected the ancient site of Pilane in the Bohuslän archipelago in western Sweden as an example of how prehistoric sites are interpreted by archaeologists while they are simultaneously brought to life

in the present through new art forms and commercial interests on the initiative of a new landowner, a former television producer.

The Swedish cultural scholar Bodil Axelsson has elected to concentrate on the ruins of the medieval abbey at Alvastra and a vanished industrial landscape in the city of Norrköping, formerly a city known for its textile industry and paper mills. The question is how these sites of memory are transformed into cultural heritage in our time. On the one hand, this has been done through an annual amateur theatrical performance in Alvastra that has been running since 1987, and on the other hand through an artistic video installation in Norrköping which started in 2008.

Lothar Diem, whose field is architecture and design, discusses the character of the intangible cultural heritage in the sense of actions in the present which are repeated over time. This concept was highlighted by a UNESCO convention in 2003. Here, in my opinion, we can relate to the folkloristic concepts of tradition and custom. The actions can consist of dance or the performance of a craft that is documented through video and audio recording. As examples Diem uses the activities in a square in Morocco: storytelling, water selling, and acrobatic performances. Moreover, Diem links the intangible cultural heritage to the concept of re-enactment, which means that an earlier event is revived through role play.

The conservation researcher Joel Taylor deals with the question of the relationship between material and intangible cultural heritage. As examples he chooses two international prehistoric sites, a temple in Japan and Stonehenge in England. These illustrate two different conservation strategies, one in the eastern world and the other in the west.

The ethnologist Knut Fageraas is writing a doctoral dissertation about the Vega Archipelago in Northern Norway, which was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2004. The fisherwomen's work of collecting eider down is held up as an old way of life which was unique in the world. In his article in this book Fageraas concentrates on the effects of the new status as a World Heritage site. What changes have occurred in these islands as regards life ways and perceptions? The study is based on the author's own fieldwork in 2008 and 2009, with interviews and observations. A noticeable effect has been that the eider down business, which was declining, has been revitalized since 2004. It has simultaneously attained a higher status in the local community. Dwellings, boathouses, and jetties have also been renovated. Optimism has taken the place of the earlier sense of marginalization. Tourism has enjoyed an upswing. It has been perceived as a positive resource by the majority of the local people. Both the eider down business and tourism have strengthened the position of women.

The archaeologist Carsten Paludan-Müller reflects on how the selection of World Heritage sites and historic monuments in Europe takes place. In the nomination of conceivable World Heritage sites there is sometimes a noticeable desire to strengthen the national identity, which Paludan-Müller deplures. One example is the Israeli fortress of Masada, which became a World Heritage site in 2001. In contrast, host

nations do not suggest places that represent a negative history. Germany, for example, has not nominated any concentration camps, but Auschwitz in Poland was nominated by that country and later adopted as a World Heritage site. Nor do nations often nominate sites which represent foreign influences. One exception is the Bryggen area in the Norwegian city of Bergen, which reflects the heavy influence of German trading culture in the age of the Hansa.

The Danish ethnologist Lene Otto argues the thesis that the administration of history and heritage in Europe must be put into a political context where the aim is to strengthen integration and counteract conflicts within the EU. Then the totalitarian history with the crimes committed under Nazism and Soviet communism can be held up as negative opposites of what the EU is striving for. Memorial days such as Holocaust Day on 27 January are supposed to remind us of this. The history of cruelty should not be forgotten if we want to build a better life with respect for human dignity, freedom, and democracy.

The essays in this book are free standing, and there is no discussion summarizing the prominent features that have emerged. As a whole I find that the concepts of cultural monument and cultural heritage are elucidated from many angles for all those who work with these matters, whether theoretically in research or practically by looking after monuments which in some cases have attained the status of World Heritage. The book ought to have been given an English summary since the discussions concern principles which are of international relevance, not just Scandinavian. The English-language book that is cited most frequently in the discussions here is *Uses of Heritage*, 2006, by the theorist of cultural heritage Laurajane Smith. The book also reminds me of a commission entitled Cultural Heritage and Property within the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore, SIEF. A conference in Bergen in 2014 discussed the topic of "The Transformations of Culture into Heritage" and my paper there was about "Grave Memories as Cultural Heritage".

## Folk Belief

### 7 Beliefs Associated with Witchcraft Trials ARV 2018

Göran Malmstedt: *En förtrollad värld. Förmoderna föreställningar och bohuslänska trolldomsprocesser 1669–1672*. Nordic Academic Press, Lund 2018. 237 pp.

Many historians and folklorists have taken a keen interest in the seventeenth-century witchcraft trials. The latest to do so is the Gothenburg historian Göran Malmstedt with this book "A Bewitched World". The author concentrates on the witchcraft trials held in the western Swedish province of Bohuslän in the years 1669–1672. This province had been acquired by Sweden not long before, in 1658, having formerly belonged to Denmark/Norway. Some Danish laws were still valid in Bohuslän, for instance that torture was permitted in witchcraft cases. Other Swedish witchcraft

trials took place in Dalarna, Norrland, and Stockholm at roughly the same time, 1668–1676, and they have been studied by other scholars.

The Bohuslän witchcraft trials were examined a hundred years ago, in 1918, by the church historian Emanuel Linderholm in Uppsala. Here Malmstedt has been able to find important background data on the course of the trials. He has also benefited from an edition published in 1970 by the local historian Lars Manfred Svennungsson of the records Bohuslän trials. In addition to this, the author himself has consulted detailed investigation records and appeal court records containing both questions and answers. The names of the accused are stated throughout, but the interrogators remain anonymous. Besides the jurists in the court, clergymen also played a part in the inquiries.

The interrogation methods included torture and ordeals by water. In the latter case the suspect's hands and feet were tied with a rope that ran crosswise over the chest and then the person was thrown in the water. If he or she floated it was believed to be due to help from the devil. According to the general perception in the church, women who practised witchcraft were in a pact with the devil, which entailed a conspiracy against Christianity. And it was a confession of a pact with the devil that the court sought to extract through the severe interrogation methods. The torture could involve preventing the accused from sleeping for one or more nights, and in certain cases being denied food.

In several cases the court passed a death sentence, although this required a confession on the part of the accused. All judgements were referred to the court of appeal, where the judgement of the lower court was usually approved. Those accused and sentenced were mostly women, but there were also some men. Of the total 63 people accused (57 women and 6 men) in Bohuslän, 28 were executed. In addition, at least ten died in prison or committed suicide before judgement was passed. The accused were mostly middle-aged or older people.

Malmstedt's study differs from Linderholm's in that he focuses on the conceptions and beliefs that can be detected in those who led the interrogations and in the accused. Questions about the outlook on magic, dreams, the power of words, and ideas about the devil are important in the author's analysis. Harmful magic was called *förgörning* 'destruction' and was common according to folk belief. This meant that illness, accidents, or in certain cases death affected humans and animals in the immediate surroundings. On the other hand, pacts with the devil were not mentioned in accusations put forward by the local community. In the few witness statements about the devil in the interrogation records, it is obvious that his power was considered limited compared to what was believed by the church. This agrees with what has later been found in folkloristic studies based on folklore collected since the late nineteenth century.

One chapter in the book deals with the questions asked about dreams and how they could be linked to supernatural experiences. Several of the accused told of their own

dreams. The court regarded such dreams as reality and as evidence that contacts with the devil had occurred. This in turn served as a basis for the judgement.

A characteristic feature of those versed in witchcraft was that they were believed to be able to change shape, turning into cats, dogs, and certain birds. The raven, the crow, and the magpie were associated in folk tradition with witchcraft and the devil. Judgements mentioned that accused persons had turned themselves into animals, which suggests that both local courts and the appeals court believed that this did happen.

Ideas about powerful emotions were also attached to those accused of witchcraft. This could include anger and envy, which folk belief could ascribe to harmful magical power. This led to palpable anxiety among other people, as is clear from the testimony presented to the court.

That magical power was also ascribed to words is noticeable from witness statements to the effect that the accused had uttered curses. Verbal threats were commonly believed to be linked to harmful magic, presaging misfortunes. The attitude of the church was that verbal threats were associated with the devil, but according to Malmstedt there is no evidence that this outlook had any impact on popular conceptions.

Healing or protective formulae were called *signelser*. These too were regarded as witchcraft by the church. Some of the accused said that they had performed *signelser* using special formulae which ended with them naming the holy trinity. This, however, was not a mitigating circumstance in the eyes of the court.

Physical matter and concrete objects were believed to have the ability to contain supernatural power. They could thus be used to perform witchcraft through black magic. These things were often bundles and bags known as *trollklutar*, with varied contents such as cemetery soil, hair, and nails. The court believed in such narratives and could cite evidence of *trollklutar* as a basis for the verdict.

The narratives of the accused sometimes name God, who was perceived both as the strict and just judge and as the omniscient being who could give forgiveness after death. Some of the accused warned the people sitting in the court that they would have to answer to God after their death for their actions in the investigations and for their judicial decisions.

Finally: Malmstedt's study is a good example of how new knowledge can be gained when a scholar applies new perspectives, in this case the conceptual world, to a previously studied research field and its source material. It is not easy to get at information about folk conceptions before the time when folklore collection began; it is easier to find evidence for the elite's beliefs, the conceptual world of the representatives of justice and the church taking part in the inquiries. Malmstedt's most important thesis concerns the striking difference between folk perceptions and the outlook of the elite as regards the devil's influence and power.

The book is written as popular scholarship and simultaneously analytically interesting. There are numerous references to international literature on witchcraft. It may



be painful for the reader to learn of the repulsive interrogation methods. It appears to have been important for the court to extract a confession at any price. It can also be beneficial for people in our time to read about horrifying aspects of history and not just positive and glorifying accounts. The book can be recommended to all those who want to know more about a problematic phase of Swedish history. It is also a major contribution to women's history.

## 8 The Virgin Mary in Folk Names of Plants ARV 2014

Ritwa Herjulfsson: *Mariaväxter i folktron*. Skara stiftshistoriska sällskaps skriftserie, no. 73. Skara 2013. 119 pp. Ill.

The ethnologist Ritwa Herjulfsson took her doctorate in 2008 with the dissertation *Jungfru Maria möter ormen – om formlers tolkningar* (Virgin Mary Meets the Snake: On Interpretations of Charms). She has demonstrated a keen interest in folk medicine, including charms associated with the Virgin Mary. For these research efforts she was awarded a scientific prize by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy on 6 November 2013. In this book she concentrates on plants which are called after Mary in folk belief; the emphasis is on Sweden but with sidelights elsewhere in Europe. The copious illustrations in the book mostly come from a German flora published in 1611; old images of Mary come from woodcuts. In Sweden there are about sixty plants which have at some time borne the name of Mary.

In popular piety, the Virgin Mary had a strong position in the late Middle Ages, and this continued for a long time after the Reformation. Traces of this can be followed in nature and in folk medicine. This tradition was chiefly passed on by women. In the Middle Ages Mary was called "the flower of flowers". Saint Birgitta described the Virgin Mary as a lily that produced the most beautiful of flowers. She was also compared to a rose, and her seven joys were called seven roses. In the Middle Ages the lily of the valley was regarded as a symbol of the innocent Mary, an idea which survived in Scandinavia long after the Reformation. A Norwegian name for it means literally "Virgin Mary's wreath". The oldest Swedish plant name referring to Mary is recorded in the fifteenth century; it means "Our Lady's bedstraw" (*vårfru sänghalm*) and was applied to wild thyme and other fragrant herbs. Yellow Star-of-Bethlehem was known in the eighteenth as "Lady Day leek" (*vårfrudagslök*). In folk medicine the juniper bush was associated with the Virgin Mary. Several berries are linked to the Virgin. Stone bramble has been known in Swedish as "virgin berry", "Mary berry", or "Virgin Mary's currant". Great mullein, with its shining yellow flowers in bunches like ears of grain, is called "Virgin Mary's church candle" (*Jungfru Marie kyrkoljus*). The cuckoo is associated with the Virgin Mary in Nordic folk belief. Both Mary and the cuckoo symbolize spring, the start of growth, and several plants associated with Mary in Sweden are prefixed with *gök-* (cuckoo). The creeping bindweed has been given names after the Holy Virgin's clothes, such as "virgin chemise" or "Virgin Mary's skirts". The most common orchid in Scandinavia, the heath spotted



orchid, is the plant with the most names alluding to Mary. A widespread name means “Virgin Mary’s keys”, which should be seen against the background of an old belief that keys are symbols of fertility and protection from evil. Prayers said for women in childbirth often include keys as an attribute of the Virgin Mary. The cowslip too has been called “Virgin Mary’s keys” and the plant was used for women in labour. Many folk names of plants refer to the Virgin Mary’s skill with textiles. Harebell has been called “Virgin Mary’s thimble” (Jungfru Marie fingerborg) and tufted vetch has been called “Virgin Mary’s carding combs” (Jungfru Marie kardor). “Virgin Mary’s flax” or “virgin flax” is a low-growing plant with blue or white flowers.

Herjulfsdotter has expended a great deal of labour to find folk names of plants alluding to the Virgin Mary and put them into their context in cultural history from the Middle Ages onwards. The folk names differ from the names in the floras and are therefore harder to trace. The folk names show differences in both time and place. Moreover, the same plant can have several different names associated with the Virgin Mary. Herjulfsdotter has registered regional differences within Sweden and demonstrated similarities and differences with respect to the other Nordic countries and much of Europe. The book can be recommended to botanists, folklorists, and ecclesiastical historians, and indeed to any general reader with an interest in cultural history.

## 9 Magical Beliefs about Food and Drink in Sweden ARV 2016

Ebbe Schön: *Mat, dryck och magi*. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2016. 227 pp. Ill. Håkan Ljung.

The Swedish folklorist Ebbe Schön, ever since his childhood in Bohuslän on the west coast of Sweden, has taken an interest in and listened to stories about folk belief in pre-industrial peasant society. He has produced a large number of popular works, mostly about folk narrative, folk belief, and legends. He writes in an easily comprehensible and engaging manner. The latest of his publications is the book reviewed here, which deals with questions of magic associated with food and drink in the old days. Magic (Swedish *trolldom* and *magi*) is defined as “symbolic acts and words intended to compel or at least to influence supernatural forces or beings to the advantage of the user” (p. 14).

The book is chiefly based on archival material in the folklore collection of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm, which the author managed for seventeen years. He has also done field studies on bygone folk belief in the provinces of Bohuslän and Dalarna, to which he devotes special attention in this book. Proceedings from seventeenth-century witch trials are also used to some extent. The book is richly illustrated with fine drawings by Håkan Ljung.

The first part of the book deals with the kind of magic used to ensure a copious supply of food and drink. It was important to have a good harvest, cows that gave plenty of milk, and successful hunting and fishing. Magic was also used to ward off the evil

that could spoil the supply of food. For example, this evil could take the form of cows being magically milked by thieves, or the wood nymph interfering with the hunt; there was a corresponding lake nymph with power over good luck in fishing. Prophylactic measures to ward off evil were iron objects, fire, and Christian symbols, primarily the cross.

The second part of the book concerns ceremonies in connection with meals. The author particularly illuminates what was supposed to be done on special days in the year and at childbirth, weddings, and funerals, to ensure good and to counteract evil.

Schön's presentation of old folk beliefs is strongly reminiscent of the folklife artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson (1915–1998) and his oil paintings accompanied by texts from the coast of Bohuslän. Through his works of art Bernhardson has visualized the folklore that both he and Schön heard stories about in the same area, for example, beliefs about "warners", "brownies", "spirits", "sea people", and so on. Where Bernhardson and Schön differ is that the former actually believed in the supernatural beings that he portrayed in his art. He had what folklorists call "the third eye" (second sight). Even though Schön lacks this insight and a personal belief, he shows great respect for people in the past who told stories about and believed in supernatural beings and the concrete effects of magical acts and words. It is essential that researchers of folklore avoid condescension and irony when it comes to people's narratives and beliefs.

The similarities between Schön's and Bernhardson's accounts also apply to the way the sea people were believed to live with their livestock on the bottom of the sea.

## 10 Paranormal Experiences in Today's Norway ARV 2013

Jan-Olav Henriksen & Kathrin Pabst: *Uventet og ubedt: Paranormale erfaringer i møte med tradisjonell tro*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo 2013. 206 pp.

Jan-Olav Henriksen, whose subject is religion, and Kathrin Pabst, an ethnologist and folklorist, have together published a book about people's supernatural, or in the authors' word "paranormal", experiences in present-day Norway. The authors base their study on detailed interviews conducted with seventeen informants, eleven of whom are women. The first selection criterion was that they have or previously had a positive attachment to Christian faith and practice. The second criterion was that they have had more than one type of paranormal experience. They were not selected according to any statistical principles but through tips obtained by the snowball method. For the authors it has been important to consider the individual informants in depth. They come from the southern parts of Norway and are mainly aged from 40 to 70. Two of them are between 20 and 40 years old. The informants represent different occupations; four of them are priests. They all come from a Protestant background which they have not rejected, although their religious activity later in life has varied, and two of them have converted to Catholicism. The informants have not been involved in charismatic movements, nor have they had much contact with New

Age ideas. The authors are careful to point out that these are people who are not in any way deviant in their environment, but ordinary Norwegians. The informants are given fictitious first names to preserve their anonymity. Their paranormal experiences vary in character. They can concern Christian healing. Visions of angels are reported in several cases. Encounters with dead people who were not known to the informants are also described. In many cases life is perceived as a struggle between good and evil forces.

The authors are not just interested in the content of the paranormal experiences, but also in what they meant to the informants and how they were interpreted by them. What was the response from other people around them, both in the official Lutheran Church in Norway and among people they met in everyday life? How open were the informants in telling other people about their experience?

The paranormal experiences were totally unexpected for those who had them; they had not sought any such experiences. The authors regard them as subjective experiences and therefore do not need to discuss their objective truth. What is important for the researchers is to respect the phenomena and the people's narratives that they study. Since the informants were uncertain about how other people would react to their experiences, they were often cautious about talking about them, at least in the beginning. Yet the resistance the informants encountered was often much less than they had expected. The negative stance encountered in the official Lutheran Church is what the authors call "repressive orthodoxy".

The first main chapter (pp. 28–79) discusses Christian healing as practiced through touch with the aid of "warm hands". This is an example of supernatural forces being transmitted in a concrete manner through human beings. The five informants who have performed Christian healing did not accept any payment, with one exception. They explain that they received this gift from God and that they performed the healing in obedience to God. A characteristic feature is that the clients had not received any effective help from the health service and therefore sought alternative healing methods. The healing powers can be transferred not just through touch but also by telephone. Modern technology can thus help to communicate supernatural forces. The healing is aimed at both believers and non-believers who make contact.

The next chapter (pp. 80–117) concentrates on experiences of angels. Visions of angels bringing messages occurred in the early Lutheran Church, but from the start of the nineteenth century this found less acceptance in the official church in Norway. In the words of the sociologist Max Weber, the religious world was "de-enchanted"). As a consequence of this, the informants in the study have not presented their personal experiences to church leaders, for fear of being rejected. They have shown this caution even though the angels are perceived by the informants as messengers from God. The two informants who have become Catholics feel a greater openness within the Catholic Church, an acceptance of the possibility of having visions from the paranormal world. These informants have not only met angels but also Mary and Jesus. One could say that the world has been "reenchanted". The boundaries between the

world that can be observed through the human senses and another world inhabited by supernatural beings become blurred, or in the authors' word, "porous". The angels in the recent material no longer come with messages for a social milieu, but instead appear as positive helpers to the people who have these experiences, or to someone close to them. This is fully in line with the tendencies to individualization in modern society.

The third chapter (pp. 118–135) discusses the outlook on the battle between good and evil forces in life. The informants' experiences concern the good and divine side of existence. One must be on one's guard against the evil, diabolical side, but none of the informants has needed to experience that.

The fourth chapter (pp. 136–160) looks at some informant's experiences of encounters with dead persons whom they had known. Because of their Christian faith, they were sceptical about contacting the dead, yet they say that they were visited by dead relatives. They interpret this to mean that God or Jesus is behind these experiences, which happened so that they themselves would obtain help in a difficult situation in life.

This book takes up a topic in folk belief that has become an important international research field in the 2010s. This is evident from the foundation in 2010 of the "Belief Narrative Network" within the folkloristic umbrella organization, the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR). Henriksen and Pabst are working with a limited set of material but they have analysed it in great depth. The reader gets a clear picture of how paranormal experiences of different kinds in our time can arise among perfectly ordinary people in firmly Christian contexts in Norway. On the other hand, the reader is given no idea of what happens in New Age settings. I myself have obtained information about this through studies of memorial pages on the Internet dedicated to dead persons in Norway and Sweden. There one can find beliefs about how to contact dead relatives (especially young ones) and narratives of such contacts, and encounters with angels, none of which is rooted in specifically Christian religiosity. God and Jesus are however mentioned in some cases on the Internet, and this happens more in Norway than in Sweden. It is more common to find completely free-standing notions about angels. It can also be perceived that people who die become angels and are believed to watch over the living on earth. No such neo-religious ideas occur in this book, because the authors focus their study on informants with a clearly Christian foundation.

## Folk Religion

### 11 Catholic Materiality in Post-Reformation Sweden ARV 2018

Terese Zachrisson: *Mellan fromhet och vidskepelse. Materialitet och religiositet i det efterreformatoriska Sverige*. Göteborgs Universitet, Göteborg 2017. 395 pp. Ill. Diss.

In official and ecclesiastical terms, the Reformation was implemented in Sweden during the reign of Gustav Vasa in the sixteenth century. It took time, however, before it was respected and applied among the common people throughout the country. Many features of Catholic piety survived into the seventeenth and even the eighteenth century. The study of this continuity, as well as how changes took place up until the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, is the main theme of Terese Zachrisson's doctoral dissertation in history, defended in Gothenburg in 2017. Her chief concern is to trace how material objects from Catholic times, both inside and outside churches, survived after the Reformation and retained a religious function among the common people, even though the leaders of the Reformation church had rejected them. The dissertation does not focus so much on the objects themselves as on people's relation to them. The author follows the "material turn" in international historical research in recent years. One of the models is Caroline Walker Bynum's book *Christian Materiality* from 2011.

The author has used the churches' inventories of artefacts, mainly from the diocese of Skara and its 375 parishes. There she has found information about side altars, sculptures, saints' images, and occasionally relics in the churches. In the countryside one can also find sacred wells and prayer crosses. For comparison with the parishes in the diocese of Skara the author has also studied inventories from 566 parishes in different parts of Sweden. The total number of parishes studied is 941. The church's official outlook on the use of these material objects is obvious from the bishops' visitation records. We have few of these from the sixteenth century but they increase in number in the seventeenth century and become even more numerous in the eighteenth century. Beliefs and actions associated with the material objects were sometimes condemned as superstition and idolatry. The objects had no inherent spiritual power; they were dead and powerless.

In addition, the author uses data from the seventeenth-century inquiries into local antiquities, often written by priests, and for the provinces of Skåne and Blekinge she has consulted clergymen's reports. From the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there are moreover several descriptions of specific parishes and provinces, as well as travelogues. The difficulty has been to obtain information directly from the peasantry and not merely via extant objects and the statements of priests and bishops. This is before the time the collection of folklore began in the nineteenth century. The author has however been able to use certain items of folklore transmitted orally over a long time.

The first empirical chapter (pp. 53–162) deals with objects in church interiors. In 284 of the total 941 investigated parishes in Sweden there were still side altars from the Catholic period. In the diocese of Skara this was the case in 159 of 375 churches. There these altars were mostly called women's altars. An important custom for which they were used was the "churching" of women after they had given birth. Offerings in kind were made on a woman's first visit to church after childbirth. These offerings were prohibited in 1720, after which many side altars were removed; few of them have been preserved to our day.

Martin Luther did not condemn the use of images in the church. The Swedish Reformers shared Luther's tolerant view of images, as ratified in Laurentius Petri's church ordinance of 1571. However, pictures and sculptures could not be abused through actions that had been performed in Catholic times. This could include lighting candles or incense, scraping off a splinter, kneeling before the images, or carrying them in processions. If any misuse occurred, the images could be removed. During the eighteenth-century Enlightenment there was an increasingly negative attitude to the medieval images. This is particularly noticeable in Bishop Daniel Juslenius' report on his visitations during the years 1744–1752. On several occasions he demanded that saints' images, and especially those of the Virgin Mary, should be removed from the churches for fear that they might be misused by the parishioners. Superstition was equivalent in the bishop's eyes to idolatry because it conflicted with the belief in God's omnipotence.

The second major empirical chapter (pp. 185–262) is entitled "The Holy Landscape". It deals with places where people could come into contact with the sacred in nature. This had been a widespread practice in pre-Reformation times. The author's source material mentions in particular the sacred wells or "saints' wells" as they are called. The water was believed to have special power, primarily for healing people who drank it or washed in it. People also made offerings of coins or objects in these wells in return for the help they received.

The church authorities say nothing about the cult of wells in the sixteenth century, merely passing over it in silence. Condemnation on the grounds of superstition and idolatry did however become noticeable in the first half of the seventeenth century. The secular authorities also tried in the second half of the seventeenth century to impose prohibitions and punishments to eradicate the cult of wells. Some holy wells were destroyed precisely to counter superstitious practices.

Sometimes crosses or crucifixes were raised at the holy wells. There were moreover freestanding prayer crosses not connected to any wells. People were still going to these crosses at the start of the eighteenth century to make offerings, to cross themselves, and to say prayers. People also hung clothes and human hair on these crosses, which was perceived as giving away a part of oneself.

The dissertation is summed up in an analytical chapter (pp. 263–300) which weaves the threads from previous chapters together. The sections have the headings "The Power of Things", "Networks of Sanctity", "The Ambivalent Attitude of the Authorities", and "Continuity and Change".

It is easy to follow the author's reasoning throughout the dissertation. She makes constant references to international historical research and shows her independence with regard to this literature. She not infrequently draws different conclusions based on the extensive Swedish evidence that she has analysed. In that respect she has performed a mammoth task. In the middle of the book (pp. 163–184) there are 24 colour illustrations of objects and natural settings.

What I miss in this dissertation is more references to research in the ethnology of religion. In the Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore, SIEF, a working group on Ethnology of Religion has been active since 1990. Many publications have appeared. I would also have liked to see references to the church historian Hilding Pleijel, who coined the term "kyrklig folklivsforskning" (ecclesiastic folklife research) and started the Archive of Church History in Lund in 1942. He emphasized the complex character of folk piety, which is highly relevant to Zachrisson's study.

## 12 Researching Folk Religiosity ARV 2012

Torunn Selberg: *Folkelig religiøsitet. Et kulturvitenskapelig perspektiv*. Spartacus forlag, Oslo 2011. 174 pp.

The folklorist Torunn Selberg at the University of Bergen has been studying modern folk religiosity in Norway for a long time, often with a focus on New Age ideas. At the end of the 1990s she was involved in the interdisciplinary research project *Myth, Magic and Miracle in the Encounter with Modernity*. She has also been an active participant in the international working group Ethnology of Religion within the Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore, SIEF.

Selberg presents here a lucid summary reflecting on many years of personal research experience. She alternates between studying bygone folk belief and today's neo-religiosity, and the encounter between them in our own time. All this is included in the term "folk religiosity" or the alternative expression "non-organized religiosity", which is distinguished from organized and acknowledged forms of religion. "There are forms of religiosity that can be personal, creative, and linked to experience rather than dogmas and institutions" (p. 10). Since there is such clear emphasis on the individual level, we find many variations within folk religiosity. Examples of these are the healing performed by "Snåsamannen", the Norwegian Princess Märtha Louise's angel school, or notions even today about the huldra or wood nymph (Swedish skogsrå). A salient thesis in the book is that recent forms of folk religiosity are closely linked to old folk beliefs, such as those that were part of the official Catholic religion before the Reformation. Over time we can witness continuity and tradition, but also changes and adaptation to new situations. Given that Selberg is a folklorist, oral narratives are an important source for her, but also various forms of popular media. "People's experiences are grounded in folk religiosity, and narratives about experiences are therefore primary sources" (p. 27).

After a lengthy and important introduction about research outlooks and scholarly concepts, Selberg selects different empirical examples in the subsequent chapters. The first example concerns ideas about the huldra that occur not just in old folk belief but also in our own times. A hairdresser's salon in Bergen has been given the name "Huldra", and when a workshop was established to make jewellery in 1994, the company was called "Huldresølv AS" (Huldra Silver). The huldra has also been given a place in the Norwegian tourist industry and in modern marketing. Since this



supernatural creature of folklore is considered in this book, it seems as if Selberg makes no sharp distinction between the concepts of folk belief and folk religiosity. In this respect she differs radically from older folklorists in Norway, who made a sharp distinction between folk belief and folk religion. The latter was not a part of the folklorist's research field, coming instead under the study of religion. It is good that this old division has ceased to exist. What people believe in, without restrictions, is decisive.

A subsequent chapter discusses narratives of modern miracles through folk healing. The informant Liv has told Selberg in detail about a folk healer in Bergen in the 1940s and 1950s. He went under the name "Losen", because he was a maritime pilot and believed that his work was steered by God. The informant Gunvor was also healed by "Losen" and told Selberg about it much later. Although miracles disappeared from the established church after the Reformation in Norway, stories about them and belief in them continued to be handed down in popular religiosity. For Selberg this is a clear expression of continuity over a long time.

The next chapter deals with modern pilgrimages, with the prime example being the island of Selja, which was a destination for pilgrims as far back as the Middle Ages, when it was linked to the legend of Saint Sunniva, patron saint of Bergen. There has been a noticeable revitalization in our days. Selberg is mostly interested in the stories about these modern pilgrimages. It would have been beneficial if she had also published and discussed pictures of these pilgrimages. She makes comparisons with present day journeys along the pilgrim routes opened in 1997 between Oslo and Trondheim and between Telemark and Røldal. Trondheim and Røldal, like Selja, were places of pilgrimage during the Middle Ages. A characteristic feature of today's pilgrimages is that the individual is more at the centre than the collective, and that the journey itself has become more important than the destination. Similar trends are also found in other countries in northern Europe. The impulses, in my opinion, could very well have come to Norway from outside in modern times, even though Selberg envisages continuity within Norway with roots going back to Catholic times. This was before pilgrimages were prohibited in Denmark and Norway as a result of the Reformation in 1536/1537. On the pilgrimages to Selja she writes: "Despite an interruption of many hundred years, continuity is established with the pilgrimages of the past" (p. 76). The basis for the argumentation is far too weak, however. One criticism of the idea of continuity over a long time has been that the researchers in question have drawn too far-reaching conclusions in the absence of any (strong) evidence for the many intermediate stages that can extend over hundreds of years.

In several cases newspapers are an important source for Selberg in the study of neo-religiosity. There can be confrontations in a local setting when new Asiatic and mystic movements are established in Norway. An example of this is the debates at the start of the new millennium about a retreat centre, "Mystic Mountain" or "Dharma Mountain", in the little community of Hedalen in Valdres, with about 800 inhabitants. The leader was a guru named Vasant Swaha. Selberg has not studied this movement from the inside, instead following the reactions of outsiders as expressed in



newspapers in the form of stories and rumours, filled with fears and prejudices about sects. The picture of a new, unknown and non-institutionalized religiosity was very negative.

Journeys need not solely be linked to pilgrimages with old roots but can also be connected to New Age religiosity. They can be a form of religious tourism, arranged by special travel agencies. For New Age people there are magically perceived journeys through which one can use meditation to achieve new energy in “the world’s power centres”, such as Glastonbury and Stonehenge in England or certain places in Peru. New Agers find it highly significant that these places have a long prior history as specific sacred centres of a mythological character, and not just places that have attracted attention in recent times. In this way New Age links up with a long history. This agrees well with Selberg’s fundamental thesis that present-day religious movements not only create something new today but also have a specific attitude to the past, to which people feel a direct relationship. Selberg finds evidence of one such historical orientation both through New Age–inspired publications and through her own interviews with informants such as Inger, who has become a shaman with a keen interest in the cultures of “primitive” peoples.

I can conclude by saying that this book has a great deal to give, as regards both theoretical and concrete matters, to anyone interested in the domains of folk religiosity. These domains have actually been expanded through new fields of study concerning both the present and the past. It is valuable that Selberg has summed up her many years of experience in this research field. A reader outside the field gets a better grasp from a concerted volume like this than from scattered articles and debating pieces by the same author.

### **13 Church Involvement among Swedish Youth ARV 2016**

Maria Zackariasson: *Gemenskapen. Deltagande, identitet och religiositet bland unga i Equmenia*. Molin & Sorgenfrei Förlag, Farsta 2016. 232 pp.

Maria Zackariasson has studied present day youth cultures in Swedish society for many years. It began with her doctoral dissertation, presented at Uppsala in 2001, about the life of young students living in halls of residence. In 2006 the author published a study of Norwegian and Swedish young people’s political engagement in the global justice movement.

In this book the main question is why young people first become involved in a free church movement and what affects their continued engagement in it. This is a contemporary study of the category of “young Christians”. Between 2011 and 2014 Zackariasson interviewed fifteen people aged 15–23, nine women and six men. They were involved in various (anonymized) local associations in the Stockholm area within the free church youth organization Equmenia. Roughly half the interviewees came from homes that were engaged in the free church. The rest came from homes that had no connection to any church. The parents in these homes could be dubious,

at least initially, about the children's involvement in the free church. They were afraid that it was a sect. Not all the interviewees regarded themselves as Christians or believers – nor did Equmenia demand this. Involvement in activities did not necessarily go together with personal Christian faith, which may seem surprising to an outsider.

The young people who did not call themselves believers declared this to the other young people around them. As regards lifestyle, the young people were more like each other, for instance in that they mostly exercised moderation or abstinence when it came to alcohol or sex before marriage. They thus differed somewhat from other young people they met in school.

The term “community” is a key word and serves as the title of the book. The object of study, “young Christians”, is viewed in relation to the surrounding Swedish society as a whole, with particular regard to the question of the democratic upbringing that the activities in Equmenia could contribute to. It is the interviewees' narratives about their experiences and emotions that are at the centre of the study. The young people are viewed as actors in their own lives. They are not only recipients of ideas but also help to maintain and change these ideas.

The social solidarity or community within the free church group turns out to be attractive and fundamental for generating engagement. Everyday social acts tie people together. This also applies to the camps that are held at regular intervals. Here the free church youth could be appointed as leaders, which they found a positive challenge. It was also important that the people in charge, in the form of pastors and youth pastors, as representatives of the adults, did not try to govern everything the young people did. A reciprocal dialogue was essential. Openness and an inclusive attitude were important elements when outsiders who had not had any previous contact with the free church met the group. The Christian idea of spreading love was prominent and was felt to be clearly positive no matter whether a person said they believed in God or not. All the young people agreed about the significance of the golden rule. The author has not been able to demonstrate any obvious differences based on gender.

As a reader one is struck by how different, even contradictory, the responses from the informants are. This complicates the author's analysis of conceivable explanations. The book is both strikingly empirical through many long quotations from interviews and clearly analytical in relation to the collected material. On the theoretical level there are many references to and comparisons with literature, primarily in sociology and sociology of religion, all of it applied constructively. The book ends with a detailed index of persons and topics.

## 14 The Publication of Religious Books during the Reformation ARV 2019

*Reformasjonstidens religiøse bokkultur cirka 1400–1700. Tekst, visualitet og materialitet.* Bente Lavold & John Ødemark (eds.). Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo 2017. 293 pp. III.

The historian Bente Lavold and the cultural historian John Ødemark have edited a volume about the religious book culture at the time of the Reformation in Denmark and Norway. The book was published by the National Library in Oslo in 2017, five hundred years after Martin Luther nailed his 95 theses to the door in Wittenberg.

Bente Lavold has written the introduction to the book, with a brief presentation of the different chapters.

In the first chapter the historian Øystein Rian surveys the implementation of the Reformation in Denmark-Norway. The king became the powerful leader of the church. This was particularly evident in the church ordinance that was issued in 1537. Censorship was introduced, with instructions as to which books were approved. These were the Bible and the writings of the Reformers Luther and Melancthon. These books were printed in Copenhagen from 1536 onwards, while Norway had to wait until the seventeenth century before the first printing press was started. Norway did not have a church ordinance of its own until 1607, and then it was basically a copy of the Danish one.

In the second chapter, the scholar of religion Gina Dahl examines the books owned by Norwegian clergymen in the period 1650–1750 and analyses this from the perspective of diversity or restriction. Because of Lutheranism, textual knowledge became important, and it could be found in books. A total of ninety book collections have been surveyed. The majority of the books were in Latin or German, written by German Lutheran theologians. In addition, some books were published in Holland, written by Calvinists. Gina Dahl argues that there was both openness and restrictiveness in the acquisition of books.

The cultural historian and folklorist John Ødemark analyses a book from 1674 by the Norwegian theologian Johan Brunsmand, *Køge Huskors* (Domestic Affliction in Køge), concerning stories of devil possession which is said to have occurred in a period of seven years, 1608–1615, in the Danish town of Køge. The veracity of these narratives was questioned during the author's lifetime (1647–1707). The content of the book was classified by critics as "fiction", "a curious witchcraft story", or a suspect "folk legend".

The Latin scholar Espen Karlsen describes the status of Latin in Norway from the Middle Ages until the Reformation period. During the Middle Ages, Latin dominated in the Catholic church. The most important book collection in Norway was at the Archbishop's see in Trondheim. This was destroyed in a book burning in 1537 when

the Reformation was being implemented. A catalogue is preserved, however. After the Reformation, Latin strengthened its position as a language of learning, known as Neo-Latin.

The historian Lars Bisgaard analyses translations of the edificatory medieval book *Consolatio Animae* and of the post-Reformation satire *Peter Schmied und Adser Bauer*. The latter dialogue expresses strong criticism of the medieval Catholic church. *Sjælens Trøst*, the Danish translation of the Latin *Consolatio Animae*, was published in 1425 and *Peder Smed og Adser Bonde* was translated from German to Danish and published for the first time in 1559 and subsequently in 1577. *Consolatio Animae* appears to have been translated within the monastic world for didactic purposes. In the other book *Peder the smith teaches Adser the farmer* what he should believe about medieval church customs such as requiem masses, Purgatory, letters of indulgence, pilgrimages, holy water, and so on. This is a didactic comedy, but the translator is unknown.

The linguist Elise Kleivane discusses the position of the Bible in the Middle Ages among both laypeople and scholars. She argues that the Bible was known to laypeople even before the Reformation, when the entire Bible was first translated into the vernacular languages. Although the whole Latin Vulgate was not translated into any Nordic language in the Middle Ages, some of the books of the Bible were translated. It was also known to the people orally through sermons and expositions of the Bible in the vernacular and visually through church art.

The art historian Henning Laugerud studies visual culture in Denmark-Norway in the post-Reformation period. This includes illustrations in books such as the new editions of the Bible published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as illustrated prayer books. The background to these editions is Luther's argumentation for the use of images to convey the message of faith. There is thus continuity back in time to the Catholic Middle Ages. An innovation after the Reformation was the altar-pieces consisting of framed biblical texts instead of figure paintings. This is a visual expression of symbolic character.

The historian Bente Lavold studies the use and reuse of images in religious books in Denmark-Norway in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Repeated use is called pictorial migration, which is cross-confessional. Many post-Reformation woodcuts were based on medieval originals.

To sum up: the theme of several essays in the book is that the Reformation in many respects was not such a revolutionary innovation as historical research has previously suggested. There are instead several links back to the Catholic Middle Ages, which can be studied through the books that were published. Change was not the only crucial result of the Reformation, as there were also various examples of continuity or connections over time. One strength of this book is that it is explicitly interdisciplinary, in that the authors come from several different fields in the humanities and can thus complement each other in their analyses.

## Ritual Year and Life Cycle

### 15 Easter Celebrations in Norway ARV 2018

Ørnulf Hodne: *Påskefeiring i Norge. Kirke, folketro og folkelige skikker*. Novus forlag, Oslo 2018. 246 pp. Ill.

The Norwegian folklorist Ørnulf Hodne is known for his many popularizing works which have a broad readership in Norway. His latest book deals with the topic of Easter celebrations, concentrating on Norway in a long historical survey down to the present day. The emphasis is on the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The author published an earlier look at Easter celebrations in 1988. That has now been greatly expanded and updated in this new publication.

Hodne examines both church ceremonies and folk beliefs and customs. Although Norway is in focus, there are sidelights and comparisons with the neighbouring Denmark and Sweden.

The book is based on a broad range of source material. This includes laws and ordinances, church handbooks, collections of sermons, topographical descriptions, questionnaire responses, and especially autobiographical texts collected from all over Norway on three occasions: 1964, 1981, and 1996. Printed source material can be found in the comprehensive series published over many years by the folklore organization Norsk Folkeminnelag.

In the first chapter the author examines the origin of the Christian Easter in the ancient church and during the Middle Ages. This is followed by a consideration of the period after the Norwegian Reformation in 1537.

The account is chronologically structured in that it starts with Lent and continues with Holy Week and the days after Easter. Lent is the subject of a separate chapter. Rules for fasting are well attested in church laws and sermons in the Norwegian Middle Ages. The reformers, however, abolished the duty to fast. The long Lenten fast was preceded by various folk carnivals which ended with Shrove Tuesday in both southern Sweden and Denmark, as well as on the Continent. In Norway, by contrast, there is scarcely any information about comparable practices, not even from the Middle Ages. One exception is the German-influenced trading town of Bergen up to the seventeenth century. One residue surviving from earlier Lenten customs is the twigs with coloured feathers, which in recent times have had a solely decorative function.

Lent begins with Ash Wednesday, when people who went to church originally had their heads strewn with ashes and a cross drawn in ashes on their forehead. In Sweden this custom has undergone a certain renaissance in recent times, but there is no mention of any equivalent in Norway. The old Lenten prohibition on eating meat has long been respected by the peasants, especially in Vestlandet in Norway.

The next main chapter deals with Holy Week, which begins with Palm Sunday. Hardly any special customs or traditions are associated with this day, in contrast to Catholic countries with the dedication of palm branches and processions.

Several traditions and ideas are however connected to Maundy Thursday. According to folk belief, it was essential to protect oneself from supernatural forces which were particularly active on that day. Witches were thought to travel around, and magical prophylactics such as iron objects were often used to shield both humans and live-stock. What happened on Maundy Thursday was interpreted as an omen for the future. It was also a day for jesting marriage proposals. Maundy Thursday was one of the days in the church year when it was compulsory to take communion. Folk belief and church doctrine lived side by side. Hodne writes: "In our people's 'inner history' Maundy Thursday has been a time when the clash between faith and superstition, between ecclesiastical doctrine and folk religiosity, came to a dramatic head leading to the high point of Easter celebrations: Good Friday and Easter Sunday" (pp. 97f).

Good Friday was a day for living quietly and not visiting anyone. This is a distinct difference from the Middle Ages when people were supposed to do hard physical labour to be reminded of how Our Saviour suffered on that day. This kind of labour has also occurred since the Reformation, even as recently as the nineteenth century in southern Norway. In many places people dressed in mourning and flags were flown at half-mast. The sound of the church bells was muffled. What people ate reflected the solemnity of the day. Salted herring was a central dish which was intended to give people a powerful thirst, just as Jesus thirsted on the cross. There was a folk custom of giving each other a birching on the morning of Good Friday. This could be done both in earnest, as a way to remember Christ's suffering, and for pleasure. A youthful prank involved unmarried boys going round the district and sneaking into the dwellings of the unmarried girls. They could lash them with twigs and pour water on their beds.

A legend with accompanying ballads was linked to Good Friday in Norwegian folk tradition. It concerns the Wandering Jew or the shoemaker of Jerusalem, who is said to have taunted Jesus on his way to Golgotha. For this he was doomed to wander until Judgement Day, with no rest and no homeland. Portents of forthcoming weather were associated with both Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. Fine, clear weather was interpreted as a bad sign for the coming year. Snow and sleet on Good Friday, on the other hand, were viewed as a good sign.

In contrast to what has occurred in western Sweden into our own times, no bonfires were lit on Holy Saturday in Norway. Easter bangers were however commonly ignited to keep the Easter witches away. The animals on the farm were also protected against witchcraft by magical means in the form of steel and crosses above the byre doors. Salt was also used for protection. A youthful prank that is known only from the county of Østfold on the border with Sweden was to go to the homes of friends and acquaintances with an Easter letter which carried a positive message and could sometimes contain a proposal of marriage. The letter had to be thrown into the house

through a door or window, whereupon the sender ran away to avoid being seen. Hodne only mentions in passing what used to be a common practice, sending Easter cards by post. A follow-up might be valuable here. The author likewise omits a folk custom whereby adolescents, and in recent time children as well, dress up as witches on Holy Saturday and go from house to house collecting sweets. This has been studied in detail by the folklorist Fredrik Skott in a core area of western Sweden.

Easter Sunday was a great celebration when the mourning clothes were cast off and people dressed up in their finest garments. For breakfast they ate Easter eggs, which were often colourfully painted. The tradition of Easter eggs does not appear to be particularly old in Norway compared with other parts of Europe.

According to folk tradition, people had to get up early on the Sunday morning to see the rising sun dancing for joy at the resurrection of Christ. It was especially young people who gathered to sing and greet the sun. Here the author could have had a reference to the Swedish historian of religion, Carl-Martin Edsman, with his profound historical account of the dancing sun. In more recent times the old tradition of the sun has been transformed in parts of Norway into an Easter walk with an outdoor service on the morning of Easter Sunday.

On Easter Monday there were some pranks involving marriage proposals. Although Easter Tuesday ceased to be a holiday in Denmark and Norway in 1770, some folk customs have persisted on this day in Norway. It was regarded as a semi-holy day when Easter auctions and associated festivities could be held.

The last part of the book is dedicated by the author to Easter celebrations in our days, both inside and outside the churches. This account is more summary in character, based on less source material than previous chapters concentrating on older folklore collections. In the churches there were large collections for needy people during Lent. It has become common for believers to walk outdoors carrying a cross on Good Friday. The author does not say anything about folk passion plays with amateur actors performed outdoors on Good Friday. These have started to occur in Sweden in recent years, with newspaper reports, for example, in Uddevalla in Bohuslän starting in 2003.

Since the inter-war years, many Norwegians have used their time off at Easter to go to the mountains to ski and get a suntan. The church has built 85 mountain churches to maintain contact with the tourists. The services in Holy Week attract the largest number of worshippers there.

One example that I have studied to see how new folk customs can emerge concerns the shopping trips and boat tourism from south-eastern Norway across the border into Sweden on Maundy Thursday, a practice that has become common in recent decades. Young Norwegians from this area have moreover driven across the border in convoys of veteran cars, playing loud music, to party and consume large amounts of alcohol in Strömstad in the middle of the day. The background is that Maundy Thursday is not a holiday in Sweden whereas it is in Norway.

Hodne's book about Easter is based on the author's profound knowledge. It is written in accessible language aimed at a broad readership, for people who want to learn more about the ecclesiastical and folk history of one of our biggest holidays.

## 16 The Introduction of Christmas Cribs in Sweden ARV 2013

Hans Ahlfors: *Julkrubban i Svenska kyrkan. Julkrubbans reception i Stockholms, Göteborgs och Lunds stifts gudstjänstrum fram till 1900-talets slut*. Lunds universitet, Centrum för teologi och religionsvetenskap, Lund 2012. 435 pp. Ill. English summary. Diss.

Hans Ahlfors has submitted this doctoral dissertation in ecclesiastical history at Lund University, studying the introduction of the Christmas crib in church interiors of the state Church of Sweden during the twentieth century. He has selected the three dioceses of Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Lund, which include the cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö. The introductory chapter deals with the aim, the state of research, material, method, theory, and terminology. The first main chapter describes the earliest evidence of Christmas cribs in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. These cribs did not occur in churches but in bourgeois homes, vicarages, and church institutions in Stockholm, such as the diaconal institutions of Ersta and Stora Sköndal. This chapter can be described as a background, while the following three chapters are the core of the dissertation. There the author examines the introduction or, as he calls it, the reception of the Christmas crib in churches. He takes one diocese at a time, beginning with the diocese of Stockholm 1923–2000. The parishes are presented in the chronological order in which they accepted the Christmas crib. At the end of each of these chapters there are distribution maps, one for each decade. After Stockholm comes Gothenburg and then Lund. These three chapters fill some 300 of the dissertation's 435 pages and they are primarily descriptive in character. A subsequent brief five-page chapter (pp. 369–373) presents three diagrams showing the innovation process in the three dioceses with accompanying commentary. A summarizing analysis and a comparison between the three dioceses make up the final chapter (pp. 375–384). Thirty-one colour pictures are placed together at the end of the book. The dissertation is number 53 in the series *Bibliotheca Historico-Ecclesiastica Lundensis*. This reviewer was the opponent at the public defence of the dissertation in Lund on 19 December 2012.

The dissertation is an innovation study. Similar studies have a long history in research on church customs, although it is a long time since any such study was performed. Those studies focused on the 1960s and 1970s, with the ethnologist Nils-Arvid Bringéus as the leading exponent. Then there was a long break in the 1970s when Swedish ethnologists were highly sceptical about performing distribution studies with the aid of diffusionist ideas and cartography.

Recently, however, a new research trend has arisen, "ethnographic return". This means taking up earlier research fields which have lain fallow for a time. This trend



can be studied, for instance, in *Etnografiska hållplatser*, which was published in 2011 with the ethnologist Kerstin Gunnemark in Gothenburg as editor. The question concerns whether it is relevant to return to old research fields and consider them from new methodological and theoretical perspectives. New material may also have arisen. A comparative perspective over time becomes essential.

When the critique of diffusionism was at its harshest, cartography was also scorned in culture studies. Here too there has been a reassessment, not least in ethnology's neighbouring disciplines. I would especially single out the professor of Scandinavian Languages in Umeå, Lars-Erik Edlund. He took the initiative for a symposium arranged by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy in Uppsala in 2006 on the topic of "Maps in the Service of Research". The book from the symposium, *Kartan i forskningens tjänst*, appeared in 2008. Outside Sweden too, cartography has recently seen a revival. The Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore (SIEF) has a special commission for the study of cartography, the International Ethnocartography Network. In 2011 the book *Ethnographic Atlases: Regions, Borders, Interferences* was published in Budapest. I would categorize Ahlfors's dissertation as an example of ethnographic return.

The author states as his goal to "describe [my italics] the course of events by which the custom of the Christmas crib was implemented in the three 'big-city dioceses' of the Church of Sweden" (p. 14). Here I would also have liked to see the verb analyse, which is crucial in a scholarly dissertation. The how of description should be accompanied by the why of explanation. Some analytical reasoning is interspersed in the descriptive presentation of the material. A subsidiary aim of the dissertation is that it should serve as a reference work (p. 13), which I find contrary to the intention of a doctoral dissertation, where analytical reasoning about presented facts must be central.

The author has chosen to study the introduction of the Christmas crib in church interiors, which is a late phenomenon. The Christmas crib had a long history before that, having occurred in urban bourgeois homes and in vicarages, as well as in church institutions in Stockholm. In other words, the development has gone from the private sphere to the public sphere that the church interior constitutes. The Christmas crib could have been discussed in terms of the private–public dichotomy. It took time to introduce the Christmas crib in churches. It would be of great interest to analyse the factors behind this lag. Did fear of Catholicism play any part here? Did Lutheranism attach such importance to the preaching of the word in the church that visual presentations were not considered necessary?

The author calls the earliest Christmas cribs in bourgeois homes and vicarages a "tradition within the tradition". I find it more relevant to describe these as forerunners of the churches' Christmas cribs. Another term we encounter already in the title of the dissertation is reception, which the author sometimes varies with implementation in the text. I would have replaced these English-influenced terms with the Swedish

words *införande* (introduction) and *accepterande* (acceptance), which are more in line with earlier research on innovation.

Ahlfors has selected the three dioceses which include the three biggest cities in Sweden. One may wonder whether the contrasts between these three dioceses are sufficiently prominent. When making a selection, the criteria should be carefully discussed, and it is an advantage to juxtapose contrasting things. One wonders what the author could have gained by comparing a big-city diocese with one of a quite different character, such as one in Norrland, or the diocese of Visby, or why not Skara where there is an early example from the rural parish of Händene in 1885/1886? Do innovations come later to rural areas?

The author calls his dissertation a macro study (p. 11). The diocesan level that he has selected may be said to concern the macro level. It is often important to proceed from macro studies to find the broad outline of a custom. It is then possible, as in this study, to see the patterns of spatial distribution. The questionnaires from the Archive of Church History in Lund have been sent to all parishes in Sweden every six years since 1962, and the response frequency has been very high, enabling studies on a macro level. These constitute the author's primary source material. He has used the responses to questionnaires distributed in 1962, 1968, 1974, 1980, 1986, and 1995. These provide information about the year of introduction of the Christmas crib. As regards source criticism, there is a minor source of error when different questionnaires from the same parish in some cases state different years for the introduction. These discrepancies of one or two years do not matter so much, however, since the author analyses the material by decade, not by year.

If we instead come down to the local and personal level one can talk about the micro level. There one can see more clearly that the material artefact, in this case the Christmas crib, is dependent on human actions and values. One way to get at the local level is to study material in the church archives. That the author has performed some searches is evident from the list of unpublished sources. In his connection the researcher has to make a strategic selection. The author's treatment of material in the archives of St Peter's Church in Malmö is relevant in view of the fact that this was where the Christmas crib was first introduced in the Diocese of Lund, in 1929 (p. 233f).

Yet another way to examine the local level in depth is to visit different parishes to take photographs and conduct interviews. According to the list of unpublished sources, the author has done just two interviews (p. 420). One wonders why these two informants were chosen. A similar question can be asked about the 31 photographs published here, 17 of which were taken by the author. The remainder are archive pictures. Are these 31 pictures supposed to illustrate different crib designs? Can one see any development over time in the outward form of the cribs? Questions like this receive no answer in the dissertation.

The makers of the Christmas cribs can be divided into three categories. First, there were some prominent largescale manufacturers in Sweden who produced many cribs

for a large number of parishes and sometimes did so over a long time. We may mention the artists Birger Frohm and Lena Börjesson in Stockholm, the clergyman Ragnar Sundin in Malmö, the potter Ulla Frick of Billinge in Skåne, and the sculptor Eva Spångberg in Småland. Ragnar Sundin made 39 wooden Christmas cribs for the Diocese of Lund between 1947 and 1977. As a reader one would be interested in knowing more about these largescale makers and any archival material they may have left behind. Is there any written communication surviving between the clients and the makers of the Christmas cribs? Were any specific wishes expressed by the parishes? Did the makers do any marketing? We get no answer to any of this in the dissertation.

Quite a few Christmas cribs were locally made by youth groups in the different parishes. One wonders to what extent these cribs differed in design from those produced by professional largescale makers. On this point the author could have been more explicit.

The third category of Christmas cribs was acquired from abroad. They came from Catholic countries (Germany, Austria, and Italy) or Israel (Bethlehem). According to the author, cribs from Israel and the Catholic village of Oberammergau in southern Germany were new additions in the 1960s when Swedes began to take charter trips abroad (p. 380). The former East Germany, a Lutheran country, also occurs in some cases as a place where cribs were purchased. Is it relevant that East Germany comprised the old Lutheran parts of Germany and not the Catholic parts?

Innovators are the people at the local level who play a crucial part in the introduction of innovations. In Ahlfors's dissertation we have the clergyman Gustaf Lundblad of Händene in the Diocese of Skara in 1885/1886 and the clergyman August Lind of Hjorthagen Church in Stockholm in 1923. At Össjö in Skåne in 1930 it was Emil Vöchs, who came from Austria and became churchwarden. It would have been useful to know more about these innovators. Can one find any similar features in them? What were their motives? What reactions did they encounter?

Another category of local actors are the people who bring out the crib every year, set it up and later take it down. These individuals could be called the upholders of the custom once it has been established. They are either paid churchwardens, people from the church sewing circle, or other volunteers. There is no detailed discussion of these upholders of the custom in the dissertation, however. The cribs were either placed at the entrance to the church, in which case the author calls them defiling-skrubbor (cribs to view while walking past them) or in the chancel, termed here central cribs. There are examples in the material here showing that the former type was later replaced by central cribs.

It is often stated that an earlier crib was later replaced by a new one. It may be envisaged that this was out of consideration for the people who saw the crib. The old one may have been badly worn, which was sometimes the case when a children's group in the parish had made it. Another reason could have been that the parish wanted a more aesthetically pleasing and educational crib. It would have been

valuable to hear a discussion of the motives for the many changes of Christmas cribs that we see in the material.

The maps in the book give a picture of the course of dissemination in the parishes, decade by decade. The author presents each diocese separately, which makes it hard to make comparisons between them. To facilitate comparison I have taken the author's figures and had a diagram compiled with the dioceses side by side. This shows a minimal spread in all three dioceses during the 1920s and 1930s. In the 1940s we see the first noticeable increase, which took place in the Diocese of Lund. In the 1950s this diocese remains far ahead of both the other dioceses. Readers would like to know more about the reasons why this diocese was in advance of the others. How relevant is it that the clergyman Ragnar Sundin made cribs? It is not until the 1960s that the increase becomes more significant in the dioceses of Stockholm and Gothenburg. In percentage the increase was much faster in Stockholm considering that there are roughly half as many parishes there (181) as in the Diocese of Gothenburg (367). The calculation should actually have been done on the basis of the percentage of the total number of parishes in the diocese and not the number of new instances of Christmas cribs. The diocese of Gothenburg is the last of the dioceses to show a rapid growth, which came in the 1970s and 1980s. There is thus a lag in the adoption of ecclesiastical novelties here, as is also attested in other innovation studies. A stage of saturation followed by a distinct decline was reached in all three dioceses in the 1990s. An interesting observation in the Diocese of Stockholm during this decade is that the three new instances of Christmas cribs in churches in the inner city refer to the church institutions which had acquired Christmas cribs a hundred years previously, but without giving them a place inside the actual churches of these institutions until a century later. An important question concerns why these early pioneers were the very last in the Diocese of Stockholm to admit the cribs to the church interiors. A local study in more depth would have been needed here.

Within the dioceses one can see an earlier acceptance in the inner cities of Stockholm and Gothenburg than on the outskirts. In the Diocese of Lund the fastest acceptance came in the western parts of Skåne, which is in line with earlier innovation studies. In eastern Skåne and even more so in Blekinge, on the other hand, acceptance came much later. It would have been particularly interesting to hear an explanation why the acceptance of Christmas cribs in churches went slowly for so long in Blekinge. Did the influences come later, or were there forces acting against the new custom?

My final judgement is that it has been interesting to read Hans Ahlfors's dissertation, despite the critical views expressed here. The author has done extensive work and revived a research field that needed renewal after many years in the doldrums. The phenomenon of Christmas cribs in public settings has not been exhausted with what happened in the twentieth century, the period covered by the author. The custom is taking on new forms in the twenty-first century. In reality and in newspaper reports in recent years I have noticed a great interest in living Christmas cribs. They have arisen outside the church interiors and can consist of people dressed up along with

live exotic animals such as camels, donkeys, and dromedaries. Outside Gothenburg Cathedral the custom has been practised since 1996, while in Grebbestad in northern Bohuslän it had its premiere in 2012. There is good opportunity here to continue the documentation and analysis down to the present day.

## **17 Rituals of Death among the Swedish Minority in Finland ARV 2013**

Bo Lönnqvist: *Dödens ansikte. Tro och sed bland herre och folk*. Scriptum, Vasa 2013. 216 pp. Ill. English summary.

The Finland-Swedish ethnologist and cultural historian Bo Lönnqvist gives us here a detailed description of the ritualization of death in different social strata among the Swedish-speaking minority living in the coastal districts of southern and western Finland. The book is richly illustrated with paintings and photographs from churches, cemeteries, museums and archives, combined with the author's own fieldwork since the late 1960s. The pictures illustrate situations, such as funeral processions, as well as objects used in connection with death and burial.

This is a narrative study, with the basic material consisting of written records left by 75 local informants, mostly living in the countryside. These records are the responses to a questionnaire, "Traditions of Death and Burial", which the author compiled and distributed back in 1967. He was then an archivist at the Folk Culture Archives of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland. He met many of these informants in person and has published photographs of several of them in the book. He also did fieldwork with tape recordings in 1968. The 75 local informants primarily represent a rural setting, consisting of farmers, fishermen, craftsmen, crofters, and servants. The respondents in 1967–1968 were born between the 1880s and the 1920s, and they recount both what they heard tell and what they themselves have experienced. The focus in this study is on the late nineteenth century, but the account is continued down to the early twentieth century. Facts are mixed with experiences. From the upper classes, chiefly the culture of the manor houses, there are some early written sources in the form of diaries and memoirs reaching back to the late eighteenth century.

The model for the collection in 1967 was the Swedish standard work *När döden gästar* (When Death Calls), published by Louise Hagberg in 1937. It is only since his retirement in 2004 that Lönnqvist has tackled the analysis of the responses collected in 1967–1968. Here one can talk in modern terms of "ethnographic return", when a researcher goes back to a previous study after a long time, to elaborate on it from new aspects.

The author closely follows the whole course of events from the moment of death to the funeral meal (*gravöl*) and ideas about life after death. The upper classes were careful to mark their status at funerals. This could be done in the arrangement of the

funeral procession and receptions in the home of the deceased. Such an occasion was called *gravöl* and could last for at least a couple of days. Aquavit played an important part. It was only people without money or property who did not serve alcohol, only coffee. The *gravöl* was regarded as a feast, a sign of an “honest” funeral, and it was important for status. A significant narrative tradition grew up around it, and this is well attested by the local informants. The upper classes also marked their special position in the cemeteries by building mortuary chapels or sepulchral monuments. These differed radically from the common people’s simple memorials of wood, which were not as permanent as memorial tombs.

After a death occurred it was important to be careful with the body, since a corpse was considered dangerous. Rituals had to be strictly observed so that the dead person would not come back as a ghost. Special shrouders, women from the lowest class of people without property, took care of the washing and dressing of the body. The book has several pictures of corpses, including a number of children, lying in the coffin without a lid and with the chief mourners looking on. Photography revolutionized the possibilities of remembering the dead. Dead bodies were not tabooed at this time as they later became. On the day of the funeral the remains were carried on a bier to the cemetery, before hearses became common in the late nineteenth century. The ringing of the church bells was done by the immediate family.

Because of the harsh climate, especially in northern Finland during the winter, it was difficult or impossible to dig graves because the ground was frozen solid. It therefore happened in the coastal districts of north-west Finland that the bodies of those who had died during the winter were kept in special morgues. In the early summer a large mass grave was dug and the coffins were emptied into it, after which lime was strewn on them and the grave was filled in. This eliminated the social differences between higher and lower classes, between rich and poor. The stench at these times was dreadful, so this work was done by men who were heavily under the influence of alcohol. The empty coffins were burnt afterwards. This custom persisted until the end of the nineteenth century, when it was prohibited by the authorities.

Lönnqvist’s book is an important contribution to Nordic research on death, which has been coordinated since the start in 2010 by the Nordic Network of Thanatology (NNT). One of the merits of this study is the detailed descriptions of ritual. The author has long quotations from the collected records. Theoretical discussions are toned down, and mostly concern passage rites. Differences between social classes are clearly highlighted. This may be because Lönnqvist has previously undertaken several studies of manor house culture among Swedish speakers in Finland. On the other hand, in this study he does not attach so much importance to changes over time. He depicts a pre-industrial era with a cyclic perception of time. Social status is more important for the author than time, although some changes are glimpsed in the text.

## Local History

### 18 Danish Local History under Debate ES 2017

Kim Furdal: *Kampen om lokalhistorien*. 1–2. Museum Sønderjylland, ISL-Lokalhistorie, Sønderborg 2016. 714 pp. Ill. English and German summaries. ISBN 978-87-88376-99-9.

Kim Furdal, curator at Museum Sønderjylland, starts from the growing interest in local history studies in Denmark since the 1970s. In this comprehensive two-volume work with over seven hundred pages he gives a detailed historical account running from the end of the nineteenth century to the contemporary focus on works of local history in Denmark. The two books are based on the author's doctoral dissertation from 2012.

Furdal is critical of the way that historical research at universities in Denmark has devoted scant interest to local history and has even regarded such studies as uninteresting and unscientific in terms of source criticism. Instead national history has been at the centre.

The author seeks to correct this by analysing local history literature, with the emphasis on Sønderjylland (South Jutland). This corresponds to the Duchy of Schleswig, which belonged to Germany from 1864 until a plebiscite was held in 1920. Denmark's southern boundary at this time ran much further to the north than today. In view of the German history it is natural that the author also considers the interest that Germans have taken ever since the nineteenth century in the concept of *Heimat* (*hjemstavn* in Danish). In this concept there has been a clear link between the home district and the nation state after the unification of Germany in 1871. In Denmark, on the other hand, *hjemstavn* does not always refer to a local district where one feels at home; the idea of the nation is automatically included in it too.

Furdal's aim is to try to understand the forces that drive the interest in local history and how it has developed over time. The breakthrough for local history began in the 1890s at Askov folk high school, which is close to the old border with Germany. In 1891 a journal of Danish cultural history was started, *Aar bog for Dansk Kulturhistorie*. At the same time there was a growing interest in *Heimatvereine* in Germany.

Up until the 1920s the term "topographical history" was used, referring to a place to which the researcher has no personal relationship. It concerns an objective history with strict scientific theories and methods which university historians can accept and engage in. The results are supposed to have a general bearing, to say something about the development of society, and to have some potential connection to the national history.

Coming as a later contrast to this was *hjemstavns historia* (homeland history). This means that the author and the reader have a personal bond to the place that is

studied: the place where they were born, have their family, and feel at home. This is personally experienced history, with one's own memories and with the people at the centre. This kind of history has a limited chronological depth, going back at most a hundred years. This is the history the author is mostly concerned with. Chronological or linear time is not important in these cases, in contrast to topographic history. What has happened took place "within human memory", without the time being exactly specified. The place is more important than the time. For the author it is essential that homeland history is not generally regarded as poor-quality local history by comparison with topographical history. Instead it is a matter of different forms of historiography, each with its own justification.

It is only since the 1970s that literature on homeland history has begun to appear to any extent in Sønderjylland. Many local history archives and societies were established at this time. The consequence was a democratization of local history in that more people without specific training in history could write articles and publish works from their own locality. In this context one can talk of amateur historians. The interest in the place where one feels at home can be perceived as a counter to the technologization and globalization that has increasingly affected people's lives in recent decades. Through what they have experienced locally, individuals gain something personal and need not feel lost in the face of an impersonal multitude of people and rapid technological development.

The primary thing about Furdal's two books is that he focuses on and explains two completely different strategies that have occurred in Danish local history literature. These are topographical history versus the homeland history that he identifies with more. There is a red thread running through both books. The detailed presentation and the many examples may however make it heavy work for the reader to plough through the large amount of text and follow the running theme. For anyone who would like a more accessible survey of the main points in the discussions and analyses there is a good summary in the closing chapter, "In the Mists of Time" in volume 2, pp. 585–605.

## 19 A Danish Smallholder in the Nineteenth Century ES 2011

Gunnar Solvang: *En østsjællandsk husmand i en brydningstid. Hans Olsens optegnelser og livsforløb i Hyllestettehuset Enderslev Sogn 1849–1890*. Køge museum, Køge 2010. 264 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-90299-22-4.

The Danish smallholder Hans Olsen spent his whole life from 1819 to 1890 on the smallholder's farm of Hyllestettehuset in Enderslev Parish on the Danish island of Sjælland. A smallholder had a dwelling with or without a small area of land to farm. Smallholders also made their living through crafts and by working for bigger farmers or on the estate of Vallø Stift in the parish. Hans Olsen had six acres of land. He can be regarded as a small farmer compared to other farmers in the parish. In 1849, at the age of 30, he began to keep notes about important events in his life. First he



briefly wrote his recollections of his childhood and youth up to 1849. Then he made notes year by year, which means that he has left us annual reports, not a diary of the kind that many Danish farmers and also some smallholders kept in the nineteenth century.

The Danish ethnologist and museum worker Gunnar Solvang, who has done extensive research on smallholders in Denmark, has published and analysed these notes. The major part of the book consists of analyses and commentary. Olsen's actual notes are printed in full on pp. 200–247. It is valuable that readers can thus peruse the original text and thereby form an opinion of their own which can be related to what Solvang says.

The book begins with the author's presentation of essential features of Enderslev Parish, its cultural landscape, buildings, and division of occupations. This is followed by an analysis of Olsen's notes, first about his home and family, then about the local community, then about Denmark as a nation, and finally what Olsen writes about the outside world. Local and national politics, as well as foreign politics, are among his great interests. He began to write in the same year as the Danish constitution was adopted. This introduced democracy and meant the end of Danish absolutism. Olsen became a champion of democratic development in Denmark. He was also involved in the Scandinavianist movement in the 1850s and 1860s. In 1858 he took part in a large Scandinavianist demonstration at Ramlösa in Skåne. This was his only trip outside Denmark, and he describes it in detail. He regarded the magnificent gathering in Skåne as "one of the happiest days in my life" (p. 210).

In his youth Olsen helped his father with craft work, which consisted of making wheels for spinning wheels. He got married at the age of 25, in 1844, and the couple had a son and two daughters. He took over the home place at Hyllestettehuset with its lands when his father, Ole Hendrichsen, died in 1851. The land was leased from the Vallø Stift estate, but in 1868 Olsen was able to buy the house and land. From 1860 to 1870 he leased an additional ten acres of land from the vicarage. Through his craft work, Olsen built up a solid economy compared with other smallholders in the parish.

Olsen had his first experience of local government in the 1850s. In 1855 he became parish supervisor and in 1859 parish executive officer, which included police functions and responsibility for clearing snow. In 1873 he became first a member and then chairman of the parish council. This was responsible for schools, poor relief, fire-fighting, roads, and collecting municipal taxes. Olsen then had the two top posts in the local government, which was highly unusual at the time for a smallholder. There was no payment for work on the parish council, but as parish executive officer Olsen received a remuneration of 40 kroner a year. He retained that post for the rest of his life. He had good contacts with the management of the Vallø Stift estate. When a memorial stone was to be raised to the owner, Count Frederik Georg Julius Moltke in 1877, Olsen was given the task of unveiling the monument and making a speech. This meant that there was no significant difference between high and low in the

parish. Olsen also took an active part in the associations that were being formed. In 1866 he was one of the founders of a shooting club.

Olsen also commented on national politics and how the intentions of the Danish constitution were being fulfilled. He criticized the growing liberal party, Venstre, which was increasing in power. He had greater sympathy for the conservative party, Højre. He also expressed his views of Denmark's wars with Prussia in 1848–1850 and 1864. The latter was disastrous for Denmark, which had to cede Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenborg in southernmost Denmark to Prussia. Olsen wrote the following emotional comment: "I have never been in such a mood, it was almost as if one were going to die" (p. 214).

In the 1880s Olsen commented on the various changes during his life that he was glad about. He felt that he had lived at a watershed between old and new. Subsoil draining had become widespread in agriculture. In 1879 Olsen witnessed the opening of the railway through Enderslev. It was he who delivered the speech to the king, who thanked him afterwards by squeezing his hand. Olsen notes that this was such a great honour for him as a smallholder that he would never have believed it possible to experience anything like it in his life. In 1879 he received his highest award, when the king presented him with the Order of the Dannebrog in the form of a silver cross. Another example of technical progress alongside the railway, was the telegraph. What Olsen objected to at this time was the increasing luxury in dress. This was not compatible with his sense of thrift.

As a whole, it may be said of Olsen's notes that political matters at local and national level are at the centre. The reader does not learn very much about the family's life, nor about farming and the weather, although there are some brief notes each year. It would have been appropriate if Solvang had made a comparison in the final chapter, looking at characteristic features of the farmers' and smallholders' diaries that are preserved from the nineteenth century and have been analysed by Danish ethnologists.

A prominent feature of Olsen's notes is his trust in God and God's help; there are open prayers to God at several places. His religion gave him security. Gunnar Solvang, unfortunately, does not comment on this inward aspect which makes itself noticeable in different phases of Olsen's life, whether they are occasions of joy or sorrow. Olsen makes no secret of his feelings about the events he describes. His notes are a fascinating source for the life of a smallholder in Denmark in the latter half of the nineteenth century, against the background of the technical and political changes that took place. They also show how a smallholder could cross class boundaries to become a political leader at the local level. The book is an important contribution to micro-historical studies of bygone times.

## 20 North Norwegian Local History in the Late Nineteenth Century ES 2011

Øyvind Wæraas: *Brytningstid i Hammerfest 1860–1885. Modernisering – Religiøsitet – Diskriminering*. Novus forlag, Oslo 2010. 303 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-578-3.

Øyvind Wæraas has written a book about the local history of Hammerfest, the town in North Norway where he grew up. The focus is on the late nineteenth century, specifically the historical development between 1860 and 1885. The author's aim is to study the radical changes that took place during this time, which he designates as modernization; by this he also means the technical and economic development. The basic idea of the book is that the old society was challenged and disappeared. Something new came instead, and it happened during a relatively short period. It made itself felt on the economic, technical, political, social, cultural and religious levels.

The author clearly states that he sympathizes with these changes in society, and his text paints a rather critical picture of the older society. He does not have much good to say about the magnates – merchants in the export trade – who ruled at the expense of the ordinary people. It is thus obvious that he adopts the role of a subjective researcher, and tends to take it a little too far.

A major technical innovation was the opening of a telegraph station in Hammerfest in 1870. This meant that the townspeople could communicate with the outside world in a way that had not been possible before. What happened during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870–1871 suddenly became present in northernmost Norway. The newspaper *Finnmarksposten* started in 1866, providing a forum for lively discussions and exchanges of opinion between the conservative editor and merchant Iver Rostad and the liberal debater and public official Andreas Hinberg. A political dividing line became obvious here between the defence of the old society represented by the magnates and the introduction of something new. Hinberg fought for democracy and universal suffrage. The magnates, who were first or second generation immigrants from more southerly parts of Norway, made up just 3 per cent of the population in 1875.

Many associations were founded at this time, both political and religious, which strengthened the development towards democracy. The first workers' association came in 1865, dominated by craftsmen. A separate craftsmen's association was founded in 1871. Craftsmen constituted a large share of the people who migrated here. The largest population growth took place in 1865–1875, when the town grew from about 1,500 inhabitants to 2,100, an increase of about 40 per cent. The newcomers were mostly younger people from more southerly parts of northern Norway.

On the religious level, the author thinks that the ideas of the lay preacher Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824) were of great significance for the development of society in North Norway. The author clearly sympathizes with this current of ideas, which led

to something new. It questioned the authority of the established church, the system of which the author is critical. He views Hauge as a predecessor of democratic development. In Haugianism there were also female preachers, which was something new. The author attaches great importance to the first moves towards women's liberation under Hauge's influence. In my opinion, however, it is difficult to prove that Hauge's ideas had any direct impact in Hammerfest in the late nineteenth century. It should be regarded as an assumption. There was scarcely any female emancipation in Hammerfest at the end of the nineteenth century.

A negative tendency that made itself felt in North Norway in the late nineteenth century was the increasing racial discrimination against minorities. This affected the Sami and the Kven, the latter being immigrants from Finland. This development took place alongside the emergence of a stronger national sentiment in Norway. Minorities had to be integrated in Norwegian society as quickly as possible. Norwegianization was the key word, and it had to be achieved through coercion. The Sami and Kven languages were not to be used. As a consequence of this, a large number of Kven people emigrated to the USA in 1870–1890.

The author has done important work on the development of society in a small town in Northern Norway at the end of the nineteenth century. He also describes currents of thought that extend from the eighteenth century to the twentieth. In this respect he has not confined himself to the period 1860–1885. This gives the book a less stringent impression than the subtitle promises. In some respects the chapters about ideas seem to be loosely connected to what happened in Hammerfest in the late nineteenth century. Do we really need the parts about what happened in North Norway during the twentieth century, for instance the Nazi occupation in the 1940s? What he writes about this is interesting in itself, but it is outside the scope of the book. There is no concluding discussion of the processes of change or modernization in the late nineteenth century in the book, which ends abruptly with what happened in the 1940s.

## Coastal Culture

### 21 Sailors' Wives in Denmark ARV 2018

Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen: *Sømandskoner i Marstal – fortællinger fra sø og land*. Marstal Søfartsmuseum, Marstal 2017. 94 pp. Ill.

The ethnologist Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen has worked at Marstal Maritime Museum on the island of Ærø in southernmost Denmark. She has now published a study of sailors' wives in the coastal town of Marstal, which has been wholly dominated by shipping. A map of the region would have been a useful addition to the book. Since the eighteenth century a significant part of the Danish merchant navy has had its home port in Marstal. There has been a school of navigation here since

1863. Many women in Marstal have married men who studied at this school and later settled in Marstal.

The men were away for long periods, travelling over much of the world, while the women mostly stayed at home, with responsibility for all the work that had to be done there, and for the economy. In some cases the wife could accompany her husband on the voyages, either to cook or, in the case of captains' wives, for company. Then the children often had to stay at home.

The author uses notes and photographs in the collections of the maritime museum, besides which she conducted interviews in 2016 with several sailors' wives born either in the 1940s and 1950s or in the 1980s and 1990s. In addition she has had access to a large amount of photographic material in private ownership.

The book is divided into two chronologically separate sections, one covering the first half of the twentieth century (pp. 16–32), the other dealing with the second half of the century, in more detail (pp. 33–80). For the early twentieth century the notes left by the shipbroker and local historian Albert E. Boyes (1842– 1924) have been important. Something that affected the lives of the sailors' wives besides all the practical tasks at home was the constant worry about the men's life and health far away at sea. This was especially palpable during the First and Second World Wars, when 54 and 82 Marstal sailors respectively lost their lives. A major commitment for the women was the church and the Bethesda mission house.

Conditions for shipping changed noticeably after the Second World War. Large iron ships were procured. The division of labour between women and men nevertheless remained largely unchanged. The women administered the economy alongside their duty to bring up the children and deal with all the practical tasks in the home. If a new house had to be built, the women took all the responsibility. At the same time, the women, who were all in the same situation, had a considerable sense of community with each other. The sewing club provided an informal network. According to interview data collected by the author, the sailors' wives appear to have learned to accept having their husbands away for long periods. They made a virtue out of necessity and could simultaneously enjoy a degree of freedom in their everyday lives. As the men were away so long, their return was celebrated with fairly fixed rituals. At the very least there had to be a special dinner with wine.

In recent years some women have begun to do paid work outside the home. The men have been given more responsibility for housework during their spells at home. Captains' wives were highest in rank, often accompanying the husbands to sea, and not having any gainful employment. Working women were able to take leave from their jobs for a limited time in order to go on a voyage together with their husbands, but this practice has declined in recent years. In some cases the children came along too, but sometimes they were left at home, which made the women feel divided. On these journeys their thoughts tended to be with the children at home in Marstal. When the children were old enough to leave home, it could happen that a sailor's wife found employment as cook on the boat where her husband worked.

Contacts between wives and husbands have recently been facilitated by improved communications. In the first half of the twentieth century the women sent telegrams and letters to the men. It took a long time before they got an answer, which increased the worry they felt at home. This has changed radically thanks to satellite telephone, FaceTime, and Skype. Spouses can have daily contact and the children can see their father on the screen.

Finally: It is important that the author has devoted a thorough study to women in a maritime environment, where previous research on shipping and fishing has focused exclusively on the men. In this study it has been valuable to follow the external changes that have taken place in shipping and to see how communications have affected the women's everyday lives. I recognize many of the patterns in the women's situation from my studies of the lives of fishermen's wives in the province of Bohuslän on the west coast of Sweden in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The women's independence has been a prominent feature in both Marstal and Bohuslän.

## Tourism

### 22 Narratives of Nordic Summer Life ARV 2016

*Sommarliv. Minnen, drömmar och materialitet.* Kerstin Gunnemark (ed.). Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Stockholm 2016. 335 pp. Ill.

Cultural research on tourism in the Nordic countries has recently displayed a new vitality. A Nordic network on the history of tourism was established in Lund in 2015, and a conference on the history of tourism was held in Uppsala in 2016. This year also sees the appearance of this volume edited by Kerstin Gunnemark, the Gothenburg ethnologist, about summer life.

In this volume about summer life, sixteen authors, fourteen women and two men, have collected and analysed narratives from the 2010s in which informants retell their personal memories of many years of summer life. The collected material is reflected in the book through generous quotations. The authors work at universities, archives, and museums. Thirteen of them are ethnologists, joined here by one art historian, a human geographer, and an economist. We should remember here that folkloristics in Sweden is included in the discipline of ethnology. Twelve of the authors work in Sweden, two in Finland, and two in Germany.

The study addressed the owners of houses and caravans and also boat tourists. It covers the period from the 1950s to the present day. It was in the 1950s that the construction of small, simple holiday homes began.

Kerstin Gunnemark has written both the introduction and the epilogue. Life in the summer resorts is contrasted with urban life during the rest of the year. The differences are palpable, especially the simpler way of life and being close to nature in

the summer. It has been common to return to the same places year after year, reinforcing the sense of having a stronger affinity to the summer paradise than to the place that is home the rest of the year. According to the life stories, it can be more difficult to sell one's inherited summer cottage than one's childhood home. In the epilogue each of the authors gets a chance to give a brief account of their own summer experiences.

I have chosen to present some of the essays in the book briefly. It begins with Yrsa Lindqvist describing how Swedish-speaking people in Finland spend their summers along the coast. The summer cottage is a meeting place for different generations in the family, which is treasured as a heritage. A questionnaire study yielded more than a hundred responses and rich pictorial material.

The island of Gotland is one of the bigger tourist attractions in Sweden. Huge numbers of people come in the summer, especially from the Stockholm region but also from Germany. The Gotland ethnologists Carina Johansson and Birgitta Strandberg-Zerpe have seized on the fact that even permanent residents of Gotland have acquired summer homes on the coast. A simple summer dwelling makes it possible for the family and relatives to get together.

Ole Rud Nielsen works in Finland but originally comes from Denmark. In the 1970s he conducted a study of summer life in the Danish coastal resort of Tisvilde in northern Sjælland. In summer 2015 he did a new field study in the same place, where he found obvious changes that had taken place in the intervening decades. In 2015 festivals had become a prominent feature, but they were unknown in the 1970s.

Silke Göttisch-Elten from Kiel has used narratives in Internet blogs to study German citizens' dreams and experiences of summer holidays in Sweden from the 1970s onwards. They particularly mention the sense of freedom and being close to nature, the sight of elk and red wooden houses. Astrid Lindgren's children's books have been and still are an inspiration for the dreams.

Asta Burvall has interviewed caravan owners who have spent their summers year after year in the same place. They see both practical and economic advantages in staying in a caravan compared to acquiring a summer cottage. Tents set up beside the caravan give extra habitable space and serve as living rooms.

Maja Lagerqvist discusses how old and abandoned crofters' cottages function and are perceived when they have been turned into summer cottages. This became increasingly common in the 1950s and 1960s. The gardens around the cottages give additional opportunities for relaxation. The question of attitudes to the cultural heritage also arises in this connection. The historical roots communicated by the houses through their simple character and atmosphere are felt to be important by many people.

Kerstin Gunnemark studies narratives provided by informants who have changed their summer homes two or more times. This has taken place during different phases of life, affected by changing family constellations. According to actor-network

theory, an interaction arises between people and the materiality constituted by the summer cottage.

Susanna Rolfsdotter Eliasson examines some personal blogs about summer life. These describe the summer cottage and its surroundings in our times. They are full of descriptions of natural scenery. Based on actor-network theory, she also studies relations between people and materiality, the significance of the things that people find it important to surround themselves with in the setting of the summer cottage.

Christine Fredriksen and Eva Hult have investigated narratives about life on a popular type of leisure boat that was first manufactured in the 1960s. It was a sailboat of plastic which was also used in races. Social interaction has always been important in pleasure boating. The simple way of life and being close to nature among solitary islands in the archipelago is also emphasized.

Mattias Frihammar has devoted interest to the people who acquire leisure boats of wood and who can be called veteran boat enthusiasts. Their meeting places are boat clubs where they renovate old boats with loving care. At wooden-boat festivals in the summer the boat owners exchange experiences. In this essay it is relevant to discuss issues of nostalgia and cultural heritage.

This collection of essays gives interesting insight into how people today look back on summer life over a long sequence of years and share their experiences and reflections. Changes have taken place. Nostalgia and thoughts about cultural heritage have emerged. The book is an important contribution to current Nordic research on the history of tourism. It can also be read by anyone with a general interest in cultural history. The long, bright summer days have a special position in the thoughts and experiences of Nordic people.

## **23 The Dream of the Cabin ES 2020**

Marianne E. Lien & Simone Abram: *Hytta. Fire vegger rundt en drøm*. Kagge Forlag AS. Oslo 2019. 205 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-489-2328-2.

The social anthropologists Marianne E. Lien and Simone Abram, who work at Oslo University, have published a rich and beautifully illustrated contemporary study of life in cabins and ideas about cabins, scattered from north to south in Norway. The study is an outcome of the research project: "Materializations of Kinship: The Life Cycle in Norwegian Cabins". The construction of cabins gained momentum in the 1960s and 1970s as a result of new laws on paid holidays, and because the Norwegian economy had recovered after the downturn caused by the German occupation. It now became possible to acquire a car of one's own when the rationing of cars ceased in Norway in 1960. That was when "the cabin became everyman's property and Norwegians became cabin people" (p. 18). Almost half of the Norwegian population have access to at least one cabin. There are now nearly half a million cabins in Norway. They have been considered not only from the point of view of social



community, but also from a national aspect, with the feeling that they are typically Norwegian. The word rendered here as “cabin”, *hytte*, is difficult to convey in other languages. It is like a weekend cottage, a summer home, similar to the Swedish *stuga* and the Danish *sommerhus*.

The fieldwork has involved visits by the authors, with their observations of cabins along with the photographer Haakon Harriss. Interviews have been conducted with the owners and users of cabins in different generations. An important source in the documentation of life in the cabins is the “cabin books” that people have kept. These books are emotionally important to current owners, keeping alive the memories of life in the cabin in previous years.

The people and their memories, rather than the buildings themselves, are the main interest in the survey. Cabins play a major role in the families, used for recreation and for unifying the family, but inheritance disputes can also arise when a younger generation takes over the ownership after the parents. Then the symbolic and sentimental value of the cabin, its social significance, is clearly seen in addition to the economic value. One possibility that is exploited in many cases is co-ownership between different families. Then the larger kin can be held together over several generations. People can draw up fixed rules for the cabin, for example, concerning refuse collection and the distribution of practical tasks in the form of painting, mowing the lawn, and so on, and sharing the overheads and maintenance costs. Almost half of today’s cabins have been passed on from one generation to the next. Cabins are also lent to relatives. On the other hand, only six per cent say that they rent out their cabins. There are also examples of inheritance disputes that have led siblings to become enemies for life.

Many cabin owners want to mark the difference in comfort between the home and the cabin. The older generation did not want to install running water or electricity, but nowadays this is more common. Among today’s cabin owners there are many who reject novelties such as television and broadband. To be able to relax and enjoy freedom, they feel a need to shield themselves from the technical facilities of modern society. Being close to nature is perceived as important.

Through its solid empirical foundation and its analytical reasoning, the book is an important contemporary contribution to the research on Nordic tourism that has intensified in recent years. It led in 2015 to the formation of the Nordic Network for the History of Tourism and in 2018 to the publication of the edited volume *Turismhistoria i Norden*, published by the historian Wiebke Kolbe in collaboration with myself. The book reviewed here is written as popular scholarship and can therefore be recommended to a broad audience not only in Norway but throughout Scandinavia. Cabin owners can read about how other families live in and feel about their cabins.

# Migration

## 24 Norwegian Women's Migration to the USA ARV 2017

Siv Ringdal: *Kroppens transformasjoner blant unge Agder-kvinner i New York, 1945–1965*. Det humanistiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo. Oslo 2016. 370 pp. Ill. Diss.

Siv Ringdal defended her doctoral dissertation in cultural history at Oslo University in 2016. She has studied young, unmarried Norwegian women who moved to New York in the period 1945–1965 to look for work. They emigrated from the two southern Norwegian provinces of Aust-Agder and Vest-Agder.

The problem tackled in the dissertation is how the women's views of and attitudes to their own body were affected by the migration to the USA. Material culture, for example, in the form of clothes and jewellery, is important in this context.

The migrants largely came from small rural farms and in a few cases from big towns. They knew no English and ended up in an unknown urban environment that was a world metropolis. Religion in the provinces of Agder was heavily influenced by pietism, with strict rules concerning the female body. When the Second World War ended there was widespread poverty in Norway as a consequence of the German Nazi occupation of the country in 1940–1945.

The author has done several years of fieldwork, interviewing 21 women in New York and in Agder during the years 2010–2013. The majority of the informants were born in the 1930s. Seventeen of them came from Vest-Agder and four from Aust-Agder. Nine of the informants were teenagers when they emigrated, and eleven were aged 21–24. They are all given fictitious names here. The author herself comes from Vest-Agder, and in her fieldwork she has been able to take advantage of her contacts and experiences from there.

Besides the interviews which are the main source, the author has used newspaper material from New York, etiquette books, photographs, and artefacts, for example, in the form of clothes and jewellery.

The emigrant women had a great advantage in making early contact with Norwegians who had emigrated to the USA earlier in the twentieth century. They mostly lived in the Brooklyn neighbourhood in New York, which functioned as a kind of Norwegian-American network. Some of them were related to the informants. The young women received considerable help from these Norwegian-Americans, learning the new language and the culture, and finding contacts so that they could get a job quickly.

At first the young migrants mostly had to take low-paid, low-status jobs as maids in wealthy upper-middle-class families. There they ate together with the host family and had rooms of their own. Working days were long. One advantage compared with

Agder was that the housework was lighter thanks to technical aids in the form of washing machines, vacuum cleaners and the like. The young women felt that they were in demand on this labour market.

In her analyses the author has used various theoretical models concerning materiality, migration, consumption, gender, whiteness and race, science and technology. She emphasizes the importance of theoretical openness and flexibility.

The dissertation is divided into three main sections with many subdivisions: The Working Body (pp. 46–121), The Consuming Body (pp. 122–232), and The Leisure Body (pp. 233–334).

The chapter “The Working Body” looks at everyday working life in New York in comparison with the women’s experiences from Agder. Learning to understand American society was a gradual process. Whiteness and purity were prominent ideals. The women from Norway were unaware that white skin had such high symbolic value in the USA. Their whiteness was so obvious to them that they had not reflected on it.

There were both positive and negative experiences in working life. The informants spoke of good and bad jobs depending on the employer they had. The difference concerned the respect they thought they received from the host family. This could vary considerably. In good jobs the women felt that they were respected and enjoyed some independence. They were given good assistance in learning the distinctive cultural features of American society, and they also received active help in learning the language. The result was a positive learning period. In the bad jobs, on the other hand the women felt inferior and powerless. The informants who had experienced these working conditions resigned after a short time. They were able to do so because they were in demand on the labour market.

The chapter “The Consuming Body” investigates how the Norwegian women took advantage of the wide range of American commodities to express their feminine body. This particularly concerns mass-produced ready-made clothes which could be made from previously unknown synthetic materials. The author relates this to the very different experiences the women brought with them from Agder. Many of the clothes there were home-made. There was a shortage of clothes and there was textile rationing during the German occupation and up to 1951. The contrast was striking. At first the women felt out of place in America. This soon changed, however, when they began to acquire the new ready-made clothes. There was a very large choice of clothes at affordable prices. This meant that the women could feel that they adapted more to their American surroundings. They switched from being producers to become consumers buying fashionable new clothes at regular intervals.

The Norwegian women also encountered a new ideal regarding the cleanliness of the body in America. Perspiration had to be kept under control. One means in this struggle was deodorants, formerly unknown to the informants. The new disposable sanitary pads which the women quickly started using also contributed to the

increased cleanliness. They were now expected to change and wash their clothes and bath or shower daily. Another novelty for the Norwegian women was the ideal of having shaved armpits and legs. In several cases, however, the women were skeptical about shaving their legs.

The chapter "The Leisure Body" deals with the way the migrants showed off their bodies in leisure time, particularly at the dances they attended. We see this in surviving photographs. The new feminine ideals were in stark contrast to the pietist rules of behaviour in Agder. To some extent these had been carried on, albeit in a laxer form, among the Norwegian-Americans in Brooklyn. This gave rise to some reflections among the migrants about how they were supposed to behave. This required a balancing act between new American ideals and the religious rules they had brought with them. What was to be considered moral and immoral? For example, they had to be moderate in their use of make-up such as lipstick, compared to the extravagant use they witnessed in the USA. This was regarded as being far too unnatural for the body. The women therefore departed from the dominant American ideal. The women who were most active in religion were also the ones who were most cautious about using make-up. According to the pietist ideals in Agder, women were not supposed to use any make-up at all, as several of the informants had learned in their youth. Nor did they need so much make-up in America in view of their white skin, which they had learned to cherish after arriving in America.

Many of the women stayed in America their whole life and got married there, in several cases to well-established second-generation Norwegian-Americans. Seven of the informants returned to the Agder region. This meant yet another process of adaptation after having gained new experiences and ideals during their years in America. The author, however, does not examine the women's continued lives in detail. The focus is on their young years in America.

To sum up, it may be said that the author has done thorough work. She is well acquainted with the living conditions and cultural environment in Agder that the female emigrants left behind. Through repeated interviews she has managed to come close to the informants. They have talked in detail of positive experiences but also of difficulties that arose in the process of adapting to the completely different living conditions in America. These women encountered strong contrasts.

The author's analytical reasoning is penetrating and her theoretical openness is a distinct advantage. She tries in every way to explain the cultural process that adaptation entails. She has even shed light on how the ideals and lifestyles that were unknown to the new migrants had emerged in America during the early twentieth century. This study is an important contribution to cultural research on migration and the ever-relevant issue of the integration of newly arrived migrants. It is of particular value that young and inexperienced women have been studied in depth.

## 25 Today's Young Swedish Labour Migrants in Norway ARV 2015

Ida Tolgensbakk: *Partysvensker; GO HARD! En narratologisk studie av unge svenske arbeidsmigranternes nærvær i Oslo*. Universitetet i Oslo. 2015. 232 pp. Ill. Diss.

Ida Tolgensbakk has presented a doctoral dissertation in cultural history with a folkloristic profile at Oslo University. The study concerns young Swedish labour migrants who came to Norway in the twenty-first century, when youth unemployment was much higher in Sweden than in Norway. In 2013 there were around 55,000 Swedish migrants in Norway, mostly in the capital Oslo. Their lives and world views have not hitherto been a subject of research. In 2008 the term “party Swedes” was heard for the first time in Norway, and it gives the dissertation its title.

The author has conducted life-course interviews with 21 young Swedes, 11 women and 10 men, mostly aged 18–25. This yielded a total of 30 hours of recorded interviews. The informants come from different parts of Sweden. They work for varying lengths of time in Norway, in the service and construction sectors, before returning to Sweden, as they often do; some of them have chosen to remain in Norway. The author has also had access to ten interviews that Akershus Museum in Oslo conducted with young Swedes. In addition, for three years the author has regularly observed an open Facebook network entitled “Swedes in Oslo”, abbreviated SiO, with some 13,000 members. It is aimed at and run by Swedish labour migrants. The collected material has been anonymized by changing the names of the people in the interviews and by numbering the postings to SiO, e.g. SiO345.

The way Norwegians view and react to the young Swedes has been studied in the media and popular culture from 2008 to 2014. The material here amounts to 150 newspaper articles, along with some television and radio items. However, no Norwegians were interviewed.

As regards theory, Mikhail Bakhtin’s dialogical ideas play a major role. All the statements we hear presuppose a response. They are, in other words, inter individual. The author writes that she has used Bakhtin’s ideas in an attempt to “understand the relationship of individual utterances to other (people’s) utterances, and to the culture in which they are uttered” (p. 5).

The dissertation focuses on the interfaces between the Swedes and the Norwegian population. Since this is a narratological study of cultural encounters, narratives are central. Nationality is an important aspect for understanding the narratives. The author has selected five themes for her study, each of which occupies a chapter in the book.

The first theme is Swedish labour migration to Norway in a longer historical perspective, going back to the nineteenth century (pp. 27–54). South-eastern Norway became industrialized much earlier than neighbouring parts of Sweden where poverty

prevailed. This led Swedes to cross the border in search of work. This section can be regarded as a background chapter.

The second theme in the dissertation concerns ideas about similarities between Swedes and Norwegians (pp. 55–91). White skin constitutes a visual similarity, so it is impossible to distinguish the inhabitants of the two countries by their appearance. This is an advantage for the Swedish immigrants compared to foreigners from other parts of the world. Another frequently mentioned similarity is the close relationship of the two languages. Yet there are also variations here in vocabulary and accent which lead the author to talk of the young Swedes as an audible minority. They perceive the language partly as an obstacle in everyday life, and this came as a surprise to them when they arrived in Norway. They had initially expected a greater similarity than they found in practice. They want to avoid using a mixture of Norwegian and Swedish. Norwegians can express the view that the Swedish language is beautiful, but they also try to imitate the Swedes. The young Swedes can find this both irritating and humorous.

The third theme is the Norwegians' humour and their stereotypes of the young Swedes (pp. 93–131). This is where the expression "party Swedes" enters the picture, used for the first time as a slogan on a wall in Oslo in 2008. The image is that the young Swedes work in the service sector, live together in collectives, earn a lot of money, and party a lot in their spare time. Through their humour the Norwegians express a condescending outlook on this way of life. This was something the young Swedes did not expect. They reacted by ignoring the talk of "party Swedes" or accepting the designation with self irony or pride.

The fourth theme deals with how the young Swedes navigate between Swedishness and Norwegianness, that is, how they handle the transnational situation in which they live (pp. 133–174). The author's object of study is the Facebook group SiO. Dialogues between different participants are a distinctive feature. A central theme is looking for somewhere to live, often a collective to join in order to keep costs down. There are advertisements from people wanting to buy and sell furniture and other household necessities. Postings of a social character occur, as when the group members coordinate the celebration of Swedish holidays that are not celebrated by Norwegians. Examples are May Eve and Midsummer with the maypole. More problematic from an ethical point of view, the author has read about sales of smuggled alcohol and even drugs. After much doubt, she chose to report the most serious cases of drug sales to the police.

The fifth theme examines the young Swedes' own migration narratives (pp. 174–208). The author finds that optimism and a thirst for adventure are characteristic features when the young people leave unemployment in Sweden to head to Norway to work for good pay for a short time. With the money they save, they then want to go on some long journey before settling down with a permanent job and a family. Mobility can then be replaced by stability. The young people are basically content with their situation in Norway but miss certain food habits that cannot be found there. A

frequently mentioned example is a hot lunch in the middle of the day. To get the news they watch Swedish television and read Swedish online newspapers. Sweden is thus in focus in their thoughts.

In conclusion, I would say that the author has given us a thorough and well structured dissertation. It is easy to follow her reasoning. She uses different theories when analysing the collected material. The dissertation is an important contribution to research on transnational culture. Because the author contrasts the two nations, Sweden and Norway, she does not consider differences within the nations. It is instead the similarities that are in the foreground. The author has called her concluding chapter “Likeness and Laughter” (pp. 211–216). The young Swedes are viewed as a unit rather than a group of people with their internal differences. No distinction is made in the analysis according to whether the informants are women or men. We are told that they come from different parts of Sweden and are mostly from the middle class (p. 197), but there is no discussion of the significance of this in the analyses. Likewise, the outlook on party Swedes in the Norwegian media and popular culture seems to be uniform. If the author had done some interviews with Norwegians, greater differences might have been revealed.

## Minorities

### 26 The Swedish Minority in Finland ARV 2017

*Föreställda finlandssvenskheter. Intersektionella perspektiv på det svenska i Finland.* Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Blanka Henriksson & Andreas Häger (eds.): Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors 2017. 375 pp. Ill.

During the period 2010–2013 the Swedish Literature Society in Finland financed the research project “Pieces of the Same Puzzle? Intersectional Perspectives on Swedishness in Finland”. Eight Swedish-language researchers took part in the project, most of them connected to the subject of Nordic Folkloristics at the Swedish-language university Åbo Akademi.

The results of the project are presented in this volume. This is a text study which analyses ideas about and experiences of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, which constitutes about five per cent of the country’s population. The Language Act of 1922 made Swedish an official language alongside Finnish in Finland. The authors investigate public debates in various media, especially in newspapers and on the Internet, but also literary accounts.

A central concept in the book is intersectionality. This means that identity and social positions depend on many different factors: class, gender, ethnicity, urbanity/rurality, education, sexuality, age, domicile, religion, mother language, etc. Being a Finland-Swede is not a uniform phenomenon; there are many different variations, partly

depending on where in Finland one lives. In other words, the regional perspective is relevant. This is underlined in the title of the book, which talks of “Finland-Swedishnesses” or identities in the plural. Living in the northern province of Österbotten is culturally different from having one’s home in southern Finland, particularly in the capital, Helsinki. This became very clear in an intensive debate in 2013 in the press and online. The people of Österbotten endeavoured to assert themselves against hegemonic features among the Finland-Swedish population in the Helsinki region.

Another important concept in the volume is the English word “coping”. The authors interpret this as action strategies used by the Finland-Swedish population to strengthen the internal loyalty. This can make itself felt, for example, when an external threat is perceived, as in the question of whether oral snuff should be banned or not.

Blanka Henriksson and Andreas Häger have followed debates in readers’ letters to Finland-Swedish newspapers in recent decades, as well as Internet forums. The Finland-Swedes feel a distinct threat to their continued existence. The Swedish part of the province of Österbotten has been described in the media as a bible belt and thus as conservative and behind the times from a secular point of view. This debate is examined by Andreas Häger. He notes that the designation of bible belt does not correspond to the reality in Österbotten, which is more complex than this epithet suggests. Not all those who live in Swedish Österbotten follow a uniform religious practice; there are palpable differences.

Sweden has a dispensation within the European Union to permit the manufacture and sale of oral snuff (snus). This does not apply in Finland, however, where the Finland-Swedes are associated with oral snuff. Blanka Henriksson has analysed the lively Finland-Swedish debate in the media and on the Internet between 2008 and 2011 about whether oral snuff should be permitted in Finland. The advocates, many of whom lived in Österbotten, argued that the use of oral snuff had a tradition going back a long time in Finland and was not a recent product. They also felt that there was a power struggle in relation to the majority Finnish-speaking population which tried through political decisions to discriminate against the Finland-Swedish minority population.

Another media debate studied by Mikael Sarelin concerns how Finland-Swedes perceive outsiders who come to fish with spinners in their waters after a new Finnish law allowing largely free spinner fishing in 1997. People feel powerless in the face of the threat of urbanization and the spread of Finnicization along the Swedish-speaking coast.

In 2007–2008 there was an intensive discussion in the newspapers about Finland-Swedish place names and their age, which Sofie Strandén-Backa elucidates in her chapter. One camp in the debate assumed the existence of very early Germanic/Scandinavian settlement in Finland that yielded place names dating back to the Iron Age. The other camp was represented by onomastic scholars. They argued that Swedish immigration came much later, in the twelfth century, and claimed that



a great many Swedish place names in Finland were of Finnish origin. The coping strategy here consisted of calling the view of the opposing camp unscientific or pseudo-scientific.

One way of studying the position of the Finland-Swedes in Finland is to investigate what is written about this minority in Finland-Swedish history textbooks. This is the subject of Johanna Björkholm's contribution. She has found that the Finland-Swedes, at least the common people consisting of fishermen, farmers, workers, and those without property, are mentioned seldom or not at all. Two periods are exceptions, when the educated upper class Finland-Swedes are described. These concern the first settlement in Finland, the date of which is disputed, and the national revival from the 1860s onwards.

An expression that has occurred in the Finland-Swedish political discourse is tolerance. Andreas Backa discusses the debate that has been conducted about this concept. He has studied how the Swedish People's Party of Finland campaigned for openness and tolerance in the election to the Finnish parliament in 2011, and a pop song "Our Time – Our Land". It was performed in the same year by the group "Artists for Tolerance and Openness" on the initiative of the Swedish Assembly of Finland. The aim was to create a positive image of the Finland-Swedes as a linguistic minority. There must be linguistic tolerance between Finnish and Swedish in Finland.

In the last chapter of the book Sven-Erik Klinkmann discusses the saying "Swedish speakers are better people". They are described as being particularly rich or well off compared to the Finnish-speaking majority. Klinkmann has investigated texts in newspapers, blogs, books, and audiovisual media during the period 1994–2010. This saying goes back to the nineteenth century, before the concept of Finland-Swedish had arisen in the 1910s. In recent times the saying has acquired an ironic and stereotyped meaning in view of the fact that the Finland-Swedes no longer have the same upper-class position as in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The book ends with an afterword by Lena Marander-Eklund and an exhaustive index of names.

Finally: In theoretical terms the concept of intersectionality, along with action strategies, has functioned well as an analytical tool for understanding complex processes and connecting the different chapters. The point is that it is not possible to single out one or just a few explanatory factors. Instead one must find out how different factors can interact in historical processes. The book has an important message to all readers interested in ethnic and linguistic minorities and their attitudes to a majority society with a different language and a different ethnic composition.

## Popular Movements

### 27 The Historical Development of the Scout Movement ES 2016

Espen Schaanning: *Barneridderne. Baden-Powell og den norske speiderbevegelsen*. Cappelen Damm Akademisk, Oslo 2015. 651 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82- 02-48728-7.

The Norwegian historian of ideas Espen Schaanning has written a very thorough study of the ideological development of the scouting movement from its start in England in 1907. As a boy he was a scout himself in the years 1964–1974, which gives him inside experience. The first part of the book concentrates on the philosophy of the founder of the Boy Scouts, Robert Baden-Powell (born 1857) and the first decades of the movement in England up to the founder's death in 1941. The second part of the book focuses on the establishment of scouting in Norway and its subsequent development there.

Baden-Powell was a military man, which affected the scouting ideology. Life as a soldier constituted the model, with features such as uniforms and patrols. Baden-Powell gave detailed instructions in the book *Scouting for Boys* from 1908. The term "boy knight" meant that scouts were supposed to aspire to be like medieval knights, emulating King Arthur and St George. Baden-Powell wanted to assemble boys from all social classes and imprint strict discipline, obedience, and internal cohesion. It was also a matter of building up a strong national sentiment and applying the motto "back to nature". Practical tasks became important in connection with camp life in the outdoors, and the pleasurable aspect was emphasized. Religion could assist in the disciplining process, but it was not particularly prominent for Baden-Powell. In the long term, scouts were supposed to become good soldiers when they grew up, able to defend their native country. Initially Baden-Powell was highly successful, and the scout movement expanded vigorously in England.

The scout movement was known in Norway from 1909, and the focus on outdoor life was popular there. The first Norwegian scouting association *Norske gutters speiderkorps* (NGS), was founded in 1910 and a handbook for Norwegian scouts was published. The military element was prominent, along with sport and outdoor life. The NGS, however, was terminated in 1912 and replaced by the rival *Norsk Speidergut-Forbund* (NSF), founded in 1911. Unlike its shortlived predecessor, the NSF maintained the importance of Protestant Christianity in the scout movement. Religion even took the place of the military element as an ideological basis. A scout was supposed to have Jesus as his model. The great outdoors where the scouts spent their time showed the way to God. The NSF had its own handbook *Speidergutboken*, published in 1912 and from 1911 issued its own newsletter *Speideren*. Sport played a central part, but not for competition. Discipline, cooperation, order, and patriotism were the guiding stars in accordance with Baden-Powell's instructions. No class differences were to occur. On the other hand, the NSF insisted that political matters

should be kept outside the scout movement. It was to be apolitical and not have as its goal to change society. But peace was an important issue. Peace could only be established if the individual became a better person. This was a basic condition in the scout movement.

The apolitical stance would soon be criticized by the alternative “red” scout groups founded within the labour movement in the 1920s to take part in the class struggle. The NSF was accused of representing the outlook of the bourgeois. The “red” scout groups, like the NSF, gave priority to sport and out-door life, but also discipline, internal cohesion, uniforms, and patrols. The “red” scout groups enjoyed no success, however, and ceased to exist in the 1920s and 1930s.

The 1930s saw the growth of Norwegian national socialism *Nasjonal Samling*, with its youth association *Nasjonal Samlings Ungdomfylking* (NSUF) emerging as a new political movement. As a consequence of its apolitical stance, the NSF did not denounce Nazism. After Germany’s occupation of Norway in 1940, the NSF was banned in 1941 and its assets were seized. Some former scouts then joined the Norwegian resistance in its struggle against Nazism. This happened against the background of the scout movement’s ideology in which the struggle for the native land was central. There were also some similarities between the NSF and the NSUF, such as discipline, obedience, physical activities, and internal cohesion. This may explain why some scouts joined the NSUF.

When the war ended, the NSF resumed its scouting activities with great success according to the same guidelines as those prevailing before the war. A major change took place in 1978, when the *Norsk Speiderforbund* was founded. This was the first time female and male scouts could work together in a joint organization.

Schaanning’s study is impressive for its thoroughness. A rich corpus of empirical material is combined with in-depth analyses of the historical development. The author always puts the scout movement in its contemporary context; this applies to political movements and various youth movements. The sheer wealth of detail means that this book will scarcely attract a broad readership. On the other hand, it can and should become a standard work in the future in research on youth culture. It provides a foundation for future ethnological studies of individual scouts’ and scout clubs’ experiences. This will mean a move from the level of ideas, the starting point of this book, to the level of practice in the reality of scouting.

## Second World War

### 28 Swedish Everyday Life during the Second World War ES 2015

*Västsvenskt vardagsliv under andra världskriget – en tillbakablickande antologi.* Birgitta Skarin Frykman, Annika Nordström & Ninni Trossholmen (eds.). A-Script Förlag, Göteborg 2014. 247 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-87171-11-6.

This edited volume is a result of the research project “Everyday Life in Sweden during the Second World War”, initiated in 2007 at the Department of Ethnology, Gothenburg University, in collaboration with the Dialect, Place-name and Folklore Archives (DAG) in Gothenburg. A detailed questionnaire was distributed by the archive and received almost 500 responses from both rural and urban informants, chiefly in western Sweden. The informants were born in the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s and were thus young during the war years. None of the informants has stated that there were any Nazi sympathies in their immediate surroundings. This, however, is something we can never know for sure so long afterwards, with the obvious stigma now attached to Nazism. We do know that some grammar-school teachers expressed pro-Nazi views to the pupils.

A large share of the collected material was published in a separate book in 2012 entitled *Vardagsliv under andra världskriget: Minnen från beredskapstiden i Sverige 1939–1945*. This volume contains a popular presentation of the collected material and is illustrated with a large number of quotations and photographs. Fourteen authors, mainly ethnologists and historians, take different perspectives on the crisis that affected Sweden, even though the country was not directly involved in the war, unlike all the neighbouring countries. Sweden was better prepared for the new crisis than during the First World War, when there was a much greater food shortage and even famine.

The person with the main responsibility for the project was Birgitta Skarin Frykman, who has written the introduction, the first chapter, and the afterword in this volume. She dwells on the fear that was prevalent during the war and the expressions of great joy that broke out when the war was over and the first boats brought bananas to Gothenburg once again. The ringing of church bells marked the beginning of the war. All windows had to be blacked out from 1940, as a security measure against the eventuality of an air attack. The compact darkness and the air-raid warnings had a terrifying effect on people.

Lars Brink has conducted a special study of the Swedish Home Guard (*Hemvärnet*), which was set up in 1940 through a decision of parliament; it consisted of uniformed men and women (the latter known as *lottor*). Many women worked with aircraft observation, sitting in tall towers to keep an eye out for enemy aircraft. Men in the Home Guard helped with forbidden contacts across the border with Norway, which was completely sealed by the Nazis. Many refugees from Norway managed to cross the border in secret with the aid of Swedish border guards.

Ninni Trossholmen has conducted interviews about memories of the war on the islands in the Öckerö archipelago west of Gothenburg. The people there lived very close to the passing German warships and aircraft bound for Norway. Many fishermen were killed by exploding mines. The bodies of fallen English and German soldiers floated ashore and were buried in Öckerö cemetery. There was dread and anxiety, especially among the women and children who feared for the lives of the men,

but the fishing had to be done. There was no other way to acquire food for the families.

Åke Sintring has collected narratives in which people from western Sweden tell of their experiences of the trains that transported German soldiers to and from Norway on Swedish railways, with the permission of the Swedish government. It was forbidden to photograph the trains, and for Swedes to speak to the German soldiers. Many people gathered to watch the German trains passing.

Lennart K. Persson has problematized sports and politics by using newspaper material to study handball internationals in Gothenburg between Sweden and Nazi Germany. The matches drew big crowds. The newspapers made a distinction between sports and politics and did not criticize the opposing nation.

Several articles in the volume deal with the rationing of consumer goods that prevailed in Sweden during the war years and continued for several years afterwards, up to 1951. The informants remember very well the ration cards. They were distributed by local crisis committees. About seventy per cent of foodstuffs were rationed. Rationing of coffee was felt by many people to be the most difficult hardship. It led to the introduction of many different surrogates, none of which tasted very good and all of which lacked caffeine.

Textiles were rationed too, as described by Eva Knuts. A great deal of cloth was reserved for the armed forces. New substitute materials began to be produced. They went under names like "artificial silk" or "cell wool" and consisted of cellulose fibres. The quality, however, could not be compared with that of ordinary textiles. Clothes were mended and altered endlessly, and the same thing happened with shoes, which were rationed from 1943. Those who did not obey the rationing restrictions were fined. A black market operated outside the coupon system, which is the subject of Mathias Schwarz's special study. Legal exchange of coupons also occurred. Rearing rabbits and chickens helped households to increase their supply of food, as Ulla Centergran describes in the book.

The educationist Berit Askling examines how schooling functioned during the war years. Many of the informants who answered the questionnaire were at school at the time. School buildings were often commandeered by the military. In schools close to the Norwegian border, teaching was cancelled on certain days. The schools' outdoor days were used for practising shooting and other exercises. Preparations were made for the possibility that pupils might have to be evacuated from the towns to the countryside. Patriotic songs were sung during the lessons.

Annika Nordström analyses the music of the emergency years, which helped people to see a light in the darkness, to increase national unity and strengthen the will of the enlisted soldiers to defend the country. Community singing occurred often, when people sang from popular songbooks. One song frequently mentioned by the informants was "My soldier".

This volume gives important insight into people's everyday life during a time of serious crisis in the immediate vicinity of the war. The book is written to be easily accessible to a broad audience. It is important that this difficult time, which is not so far away in the past, is not forgotten in our present-day affluent society. In that respect the book is a major contribution and can be recommended not least to young people. This study was conducted while people with personal experience of the war were still alive and able to tell about the hardships. The fact that the account is based on statements by these witnesses strengthens its credibility and information value.

## Research on Archives

### 29 The History and Future of Tradition Archives ARV 2019

*Visions and Traditions. Knowledge Production and Tradition Archives.* Lauri Harvilahti, Audun Kjus, Clíona O'Carroll, Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, Fredrik Skott and Rita Treija (eds.). (Folklore Fellows' Communications No. 315). Academia Scientiarum Fennica. Helsinki 2018. Ill. 384 pp.

This volume addresses the role of tradition archives in the formation of knowledge both historically and in the future. The work was done within the international "Archives" working group, which was established in 2013 as part of the Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore, SIEF ([www.siefhome.org](http://www.siefhome.org)). In this volume there are contributions from several countries in northern and central Europe, namely Estonia, Finland, Ireland, Latvia, Norway, Romania, Switzerland, and Sweden. In addition, from outside Europe, Canada is represented. The lectures were presented at four panels at the SIEF Congress in Zagreb, Croatia, in 2015.

In the introduction, Clíona Carroll from Ireland presents the main lines of the eighteen articles, which are divided into four different main sections. These are entitled: 1) "Tilling the Soil – Words of Introduction"; 2) "Bringing the Harvest Home – Insights from Past Collection Practice"; 3) "Fields of Cultural Identity – Archival and National Policies"; 4) "Seeds for Future Practice – Recent and Future Challenges for the Tradition Archives".

In the first section, "Tilling the Soil", the Canadian folklorist Maryna Chernyavska begins with general observations about folklore archives and then goes into particulars concerning the Ukrainian folklore archive in Canada, founded in 1977 at the University of Alberta. She points out especially that archives and folkloristic research go hand in hand and are not separate activities as she has found to be the case elsewhere.

The second section, "Bringing the Harvest Home", which contains seven essays, presents several case studies from different archives. We are shown examples of working practices for collecting and archiving and how these can change over time. Thoughts

about the future are also included. Marleen Metslaid begins by analysing developments in the newly created subjects of ethnology and folkloristics during the 1920s and 1930s, after Estonia gained independence in 1918. Collection took place through both the Estonian National Museum and the Folklore Archive that was founded in 1927. Both institutions were tasked with participating in the construction of the new nation. An extensive network of local informants responding to postal questionnaires was established in the 1930s.

The Swedish ethnologist Susanne Nylund Skog in Uppsala has conducted a special study of Karl Gösta Gilstring's (1915–1986) private folklore collection and the extensive correspondence that he had with the informants. This applies in particular to the childless widow Elsa Linnéa Frideborg Pihl (1901–1974), who was especially active during the 1950s. Gilstring wanted to save stories about old traditions before they disappeared completely.

The Estonian literary scholar Liina Saarlo has studied the collection of Estonian folk-song traditions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One prominent collector was Jakob Hurt (1839–1907). Repertoire studies were performed in the twentieth century, with the singers Anna Lindvere (1878–1955) and Sohvi Sepp (1871–1959) occupying a special position.

The Norwegian folklorist Åmund Norum Resløyken has studied three questionnaires distributed by the project "Words and Customs" 1934–1947. The intention was to collect narratives about the Christmas goat. All the answers consider the question of whether the Christmas goat should be considered a demon or not.

The Estonian folklorist Ave Gorsic tackles the question of studies of folk belief during the Soviet period in the history of the country from 1940. The new ideology ruled that folklorists should study working-class folklore, revolutionary topics, and war songs. This excluded studies of folk belief. These survived on a limited scale and gained new life again in the 1980s. Studies of folk medicine were also included.

The Swedish folklorist Agneta Lilja analyses collection strategies at the Institute of Dialect and Folklore Research, in Uppsala, abbreviated as ULMA, founded in 1914. It sought to rescue a vanishing folk culture in rural Sweden through fieldwork and questionnaires. The instructions to the informants were comprehensive, strictly controlled by the archivists. Lilja, however, draws attention to a paradigm shift that took place in the 1970s. Attention was then focused on individuals and their narratives, instead of collective descriptions, and on changes in contemporary society. The instructions were no longer intended to exert the same control as before. The first questionnaires about working class culture were distributed during that decade.

The third section, "Fields of Cultural Identity", contains three essays. The question concerns how collections in the tradition archives can further the production of cultural identities. The Irish folklorist Kelly Fitzgerald and the Finnish folklorist Niina Hämäläinen have written a joint paper comparing Ireland and Finland. These countries have a similar history as new nations needing to build up and reinforce their national identity. For this purpose, folklore has been an important instrument. The

authors' conclude: "In both Ireland and Finland, Folklore Studies led to a renewed sense of national pride and growth in the recognition of the native language in each country" (p. 200).

The Swiss folklorist Konrad J. Kuhn studies knowledge production in the form of collection policy among earlier scholars of Swiss Volkskunde, especially the first professor of the subject in Zurich, Richard Weiss. The national focus of the research is particularly evident through the establishment of the Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde in 1936. The multicultural orientation became prominent in a country with four different languages.

The fourth main section, "Seeds for Future Practice", consists of seven essays that look forward to new challenges in the digital society of the future. The Norwegian linguist Eldar Heide sees great potential for new research if more of the material in the folklore archives is digitized. Previously collected material can be used to shed light on new questions.

The Romanian ethnologist and folklorist Laura Jiga Iliescu has studied tales of supernatural encounters and what can be gained from archived documents discovered in the folklore archives founded in Bucharest in 1928.

The Latvian folklorist Sanita Reinsone has been the leader of the Digital Archives of Latvian Folklore, established in 2014. It represents an extension of the Archives of Latvian Folklore, founded in 1924. It contains comprehensive material collected from the mid nineteenth century onwards. The Digital Archives of Latvian Folklore have recently conducted campaigns, with the help of radio and television, to make the material known, to reach new volunteers, and to collect material from our own times.

The librarian Catherine Ryan and the folklorist Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh represent Ireland. The latter is the Director of the National Folklore Collection (NFC) in Dublin. The two authors raise the question of how to make the historical collections accessible and interesting to today's researchers, and also to the general public by electronic means. By 2017, about 17 per cent of the material in Irish and about 14 per cent of the English material had been digitized. Great work has also been done on compiling a usable index (thesaurus).

The Swedish folklorist Fredrik Skott considers ethical issues related to the digitization of previously collected tradition material. It is important to protect the individuals who told their stories, as well as those who are mentioned in the third person. Ethical aspects have become even more relevant as the narratives in the archives have changed from being collective descriptions to concern personal experiences and reflections. The pronoun in the questionnaires used to be the indefinite "one" but this has been replaced by "you". The archives can apply two methods to protect individuals: anonymization and selection. The latter means that certain material that is perceived to be problematic is exempted from digitization. Skott mentions, for example, a large body of material with negative stories told by outsiders about tattare (roughly



“tinkers”). In Sweden, there is legal protection for material that is less than fifty years old.

The Norwegian folklorist Audun Kjus discusses principles, including ethical aspects, for future digitization at the Norwegian Ethnological Research (NEG) archive where he works, which was founded in 1946. The archive has collected material in the form of responses to postal questionnaires sent to a few hundred correspondents who have replied from different parts of Norway. The Irish folklorist Clóna O’Carroll, director of the Cork Folklore Project, discusses principles for how audio/ visual interviews can be digitized, based on experience from the Cork archive.

In conclusion, this comprehensive volume is of great value for the broad discussions that are conducted on the important content of tradition archives in different countries. How can this be used in future research and also constitute an important source of information for a broad public? That question is particularly relevant today because of the extensive digitization that has begun in many places and will continue during the coming years.

### **30 The Ideas behind Questionnaires ARV 2018**

Åmund Norum Resløyken: *“Ein lut av det nære levande livet”. Tradisjon, tradisjonselementer og tradisjonsforskere. En studie av spørrelisteserien Ord och sed 1934–1947.* Det humanistiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo, Oslo 2018. 202 pp. Ill. Diss.

Åmund Norum Resløyken has presented a doctoral dissertation in cultural history at the University of Oslo. It is a history of a discipline, the archive sector. It leans slightly towards intellectual history in that the focus is on the ideas behind the creation of the questionnaires that have been distributed by the archive. The questionnaires studied here were sent annually to informants in the years 1934–1947. They were part of a series of questionnaires entitled Word and Custom. The groundwork was done by Nils Lid, who became the first professor of ethnology in Oslo in 1940. He was the author of the majority of the questionnaires concerning Norwegian folk traditions, while others were compiled by the folklorists Svale Solheim and Kjell Bondevik, the ethnologist Rigmor Frimannslund, and the physician Ingjald Reichborn-Kjennerud.

Resløyken has chosen to analyse one third of the total 141 Word and Custom questionnaires. He wants to shed light on the ideas that impelled the questionnaire authors. How did they perceive folk traditions? The questionnaires “reify” different elements such as artefacts, customs, words and expressions, beliefs, and narratives. Customs and ritual acts were considered older than myths and legends. They were therefore interesting to study. It was especially important to ask about beliefs in supernatural beings, since they could show long continuity back to the saga age. Lid had a particular interest in magic and witchcraft. The words and expressions that were to be collected could give information about the occurrence of magical beliefs.

Resløykken calls the different cultural elements “objects of tradition”, which in turn communicate traditions. He writes: “In this dissertation it is this selection and construction of the objects of tradition that I want to examine” (p. 5). The objects of tradition are said to have been constructed by the questionnaire authors on the basis of theories of culture that prevailed in contemporary research. The author writes: “I argue that Word and Custom articulated folk culture as talk about the people rather than from the people”. The people are consistently referred to in the third person. In line with this, the author does not investigate the responses to the questionnaires that were sent to the archives. In that respect he differs from the studies of questionnaires undertaken by the Swedish ethnologists Agneta Lilja and Fredrik Skott.

The ethnographer Wilhelm Mannhardt is said to have been important for Lid with his questionnaire collections during the nineteenth century. These concerned customs in several European countries, including Norway. He wanted to get at what the customs could say about Indo-European beliefs. Theories of fertility, evolution, and historical continuity were prominent.

Another source of inspiration for Scandinavian folkloristics in the 1920s and 1930s was James George Frazer’s book *The Golden Bough*. It is based on a collection of ethnographic material from the whole world. According to Lid, national material collected in Norway had to be put in relation to international research likewise based on collected material.

The analytical tools used by Resløykken consist of current anthropological research, in particular Marisol de la Cadena’s book *Earth Beings*. His use of the term actants, the entities acting in a network, comes from actor-network theory (ANT). The author equates actants with objects of tradition but also with actors.

In his empirical analysis of the questionnaire texts the author first devotes a chapter to material objects of tradition, then to customs, and finally to supernatural beings in folk belief as the primary elements. In the material sector, building practices played an important part. This also includes rituals and folk beliefs associated with house construction. The questionnaires asked for very detailed information about what supernatural beings were believed to look like. This reminds me of how the Western Swedish folklife painter Carl Gustaf Bernhardson (1915–1998) visualized these beings in his art, based on what he himself had experienced and heard tell.

Resløykken’s dissertation is stringently executed. The running theme is easy to follow, but the detailed and – in places – complex reasoning makes the dissertation heavy reading. It is noticeable that the author has derived inspiration from international anthropology. I would have liked to see more comparisons with comparable Nordic studies about the collection of material for ethnological and folkloristic archives. Here I am thinking especially of the dissertations by Agneta Lilja and Fredrik Skott mentioned above. They are only briefly named in the author’s introduction.

## 31 Everyday Life in Nineteenth-century Denmark ES 2014

*Dagligliv i 1800-tallets Jylland. Evald Tang Kristensen om mennesker og landskaber.* Palle O. Christiansen (ed). Hovedland, Copenhagen 2014. 213 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-7070-395-6.

The Danish ethnologist and cultural historian Palle Ove Christiansen has devoted great energy to an in-depth study of the Danish folklore collector Evald Tang Kristensen (1843–1929) and his extensive work. A book that appeared in 2011 was devoted to the people who provided information during the collector's fieldwork (32). In his next book, published in 2013, Christiansen concentrated on Tang Kristensen as a person and the milieu in which he lived (33).

This book appeared in 2014 and deals with Tang Kristensen's publications about everyday life in rural Jutland in the nineteenth century. These books were based on material which he collected during his fieldwork, chiefly in the 1870s and 1880s. Christiansen's book consists of nine chapters which deal with different themes of everyday life. The author starts each chapter with an explanatory commentary both on the content of the texts and on archaic words that are now difficult to understand. This is followed by a reproduction of parts of Tang Kristensen's own texts, which appeared over a period of 45 years. The book is richly illustrated with drawings and photographs from the nineteenth century, including a number of sharp photographs of Tang Kristensen's informants, taken in 1895 by the photographer Peter Olsen.

The first chapter provides a survey of working life, homes, foodways, clothing, and gatherings to mark festive occasions of the calendar or the life cycle. The presentation primarily concerns simple people who lived and made their living in the meagre heathlands of northern Jutland. The second chapter considers how the peasants raised and sold castrated bulls (steers) on the Jutish estate of Viskum.

The third chapter concentrates on peasant life in the parish of Brandstrup, where Tang Kristensen grew up in the 1850s, and where he also spent some time as a teacher in the 1880s. The text that is reproduced here was printed in 1923. By that time Tang Kristensen could look back on the great changes that had taken place since he had grown up in the countryside where he later collected his material. The roads in the latter part of the nineteenth century were simple and inadequate. The houses were often in a dreadful state. The old folk costumes of homespun were still being worn. All children, regardless of sex, wore skirts up to the age of three or four. Food was simple or frugal. In the evening people ate porridge made from rye or barley with wooden spoons, and there was no coffee. Lighting was very poor and there were no oil lamps. This was before the heath was cultivated and before the implementation of a reform which redistributed the common land among the farms. The poorest people had to beg. Beggars could rove around in large groups, acting importunately and maliciously towards the local people. At the same time, some beggars were good at telling stories and singing songs, which Tang Kristensen documented.

Some descriptions of people who lived in very primitive conditions are also included in this chapter. There were men who were alcoholics and some who swore like troopers. It is a veritable history of poverty that is served to the reader.

On the margins of the peasant community were the people who wandered around, known in Denmark as *kæltringer*. They swept chimneys, ground knives, and slaughtered and skinned horses, dogs, and cats. The latter work was held in great contempt. Some of these travellers could act in a threatening manner towards the local populace and they had a reputation of being thieves. They not infrequently got into fights with each other. For that reason, people were often afraid when the *kæltringer* came visiting.

One chapter in the book deals with legends that Tang Kristensen heard. There were stories about ghosts in the form of animals or people without heads. Tang Kristensen discusses the basis of these beliefs but does not arrive at any sure interpretation. Beliefs and customs associated with Christmas, on the other hand, could go back to pre-Christian times, in his opinion. Tang Kristensen declared in his later years that the folk beliefs of bygone times, which he had once been able to document, had ceased to exist. To his disappointment, people were now more interested in materialism. Younger people no longer listened to the older people's stories and songs.

Palle Ove Christiansen's three books about Evald Tang Kristensen give posterity a detailed picture of a man who amassed a huge and unusual collection of folklore in the nineteenth century. Tang Kristensen was a gifted fieldworker who listened carefully to his informants' stories and songs. At the same time, he was a good observer of what he saw on his many field trips over several decades. Tang Kristensen's field collecting and his writings are a unique contribution to our knowledge of simple people's living conditions in a part of rural Denmark in the nineteenth century.

### **32 Collecting Field Material in the Nineteenth Century ES 2012**

Palle Ove Christiansen: *De forsvundne. Hedens siste fortællere*. Gads forlag, København 2011. 237 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-12-04620-2.

The school teacher Evald Tang Kristensen (1843–1929) was a great collector of folklore in Denmark at the end of the nineteenth century. In this book Palle Ove Christiansen of the Danish Folklore Archives in Copenhagen describes the journeys on foot undertaken by this collector in 1873. He visited poor people, both women and men, in some of the sparsely populated districts on the Jutland heath, where the vegetation was dominated by heather. The informants had small patches of land to cultivate. Some of them earned a living as craftsmen, for example, as weavers or tailors. Those who were worst off were given a small payment for assisting with the collecting of the material. Tang Kristensen sought out people of whom he had heard that they could tell old stories and legends or that they could sing folksongs and ballads. He was careful to note down different variants of the tales and songs. In 1876 some of the collected legends were published in *Jyske Folkesagn*, which according to the

author Tang Kristensen were “collected from the mouth of the people”. The aim was to make the material available to the general public. Some of the collected tales and songs are quoted in their entirety in the book reviewed here. Some of the informants were not just good storytellers and singers but also practised folk medicine. They did this with the aid of handwritten magic books that they owned. These old folk traditions were combated, however, by the Home Mission, a pietist revival movement that began to grow vigorously after 1870. Tang Kristensen had personal experience of this opposition several times during his collecting travels. Once an old mother was prevented from telling old stories and singing folksongs by her son who belonged to the Home Mission. The old traditions were regarded as pagan, the work of the devil. Ballad singers who joined the Home Mission turned to more religious material, influenced by their faith in God and a longing for the life to come, but Tang Kristensen was not much interested in these new songs. He wanted to search out the old traditions while they still survived among the common people. He thought he was on a rescue expedition. Tang Kristensen was acting on behalf of the language scholar Sven Grundtvig (1824–1883) at Copenhagen University, with whom he was in constant contact. Grundtvig gave continuous commentary on the newly collected material and wrote letters of encouragement to the collector out in the field. In 1895 Tang Kristensen returned to the same area that he had visited in 1873. With the help of the photographer Peter Olsen, the previously recorded informants were photographed in their everyday surroundings. These photographs are reproduced in the book, and Tang Kristensen had some of them published in 1898 in the magazine *Illustreret Tidende*. Moreover, the artist Hans Smidth painted the barren natural scenery and some of the simple houses that Tang Kristensen visited. Many of these works are published in colour in the book; they date from the 1860s and a few decades onwards. In 2010 Palle Ove Christiansen commissioned the art photographer Henrik Saxgren to take pictures of the places where collecting had been done in 1873. In some cases the informants’ simple dwellings still survive today. This new collection provides additional information compared to the photographic portraits from 1895. The merit of this book is that the reader is able to follow the work of a great folklore collector in an early phase of collecting at the end of the nineteenth century. Tang Kristensen left detailed notes about his contacts with the informants in different field situations and thus did not just present the material he collected. Posterity has not hitherto known so much about the field methodology and collecting contexts of the time.

### **33 A Danish Field Researcher in the Nineteenth Century ES 2014**

Palle O. Christiansen: *Tang Kristensen og tidlig feltforskning i Danmark. National etnografi og folkløse 1850–1920*. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Copenhagen 2013. 300 pp. Ill.

The Danish ethnologist and cultural historian Palle Ove Christiansen has performed an in-depth study of Denmark’s great folklore collector Evald Tang Kristensen (1843–

1929). In this book the author seeks to get close to Kristensen as a person and to the milieu in which he lived. The collector and his context are the focus of attention, not the people who provided him with information during his fieldwork; they have been studied in a previous publication, *De forsvundne: Hedens siste fortællere* (30).

The source material in this study consists primarily of Kristensen's fieldnotes and correspondence, as preserved in the Danish Folklore Archives in Copenhagen, founded in 1904. The letters Kristensen wrote during his field trips were addressed both to his own home and to scholars of folklore in Copenhagen.

From 1867 to 1888 Kristensen taught in a country school in Jutland, simultaneously undertaking his many long field trips, on foot in all weathers, especially in northern and western Jutland. Through the topographical maps in the book, one can follow the routes Kristensen travelled between the different informants. In 1888 he received continuous state subsidies for his collecting activities and no longer needed to work as a teacher to support himself and his family. He married three times and had nine children altogether. He was only 23 when he became a widower as his first wife and a newborn baby died in childbirth in 1866. During his difficult period of mourning, his mother urged him to start collecting stories from old people. He began with folk-songs, both lyrics and tunes. This was the start of his lifelong collecting trips.

Kristensen's longest marriage was with his second wife, Grete, who died in 1900 after twentyeight years of marriage. In 1905 he was married for a third time, to a former pupil, Marie, and his last child, Johannes, was born in 1906 and lived until 1994. Johannes preserved much of his father's material. Unfortunately, the letters from his wives Grete and Marie to their husband have not survived.

Kristensen's letters home discuss practical matters that had to be dealt with there and on the farm that was combined with the teaching post. Kristensen also writes about his work and his experiences in the field. There are detailed descriptions of situations arising from visits to his various informants. These were often members of the poor population, living in cramped and dirty homes. Several of the informants were visited multiple times so that the collection of material would be as complete as possible.

Kristensen started publishing his works early; they were selfpublished so that he could reach a broad readership. In these books he presented the material he had collected, accompanied by commentary. The first book in 1871 was about folksongs and tunes from Jutland. The series on Jutish folklore, *Jyske folkeminder*, included 13 publications from 1871 to 1897. The legend collection *Danske sagn, som de har lydt i folkemunde* was published in seven volumes from 1892 to 1901. The last published work from Kristensen's hand was the autobiographical *Minder og oplevelser* ("Memories and Experiences"), which appeared in four volumes from 1923 to 1927. His wives and children had the job of distributing these works by post to the buyers when Kristensen was away on his field trips.

In the world of folklore scholarship, the folksong researcher Svend Grundtvig was Kristensen's most important contact from 1869 until Grundtvig's death in 1883. He gave much advice about what Kristensen should collect and how the work should



be done. There are also letters to other leading Danish folklorists, especially Axel Olrik (letters 1883–1917), H. F. Feilberg (letters 1873–1918), and Hans Ellekilde (letters 1911–1929). In this circle of scholars there was recurrent discussion, when Kristensen's books appeared, as to whether he was a researcher or merely or primarily a collector of material. The most common view was that he was a collector. Everyone agreed that his extensive field collections were carefully accomplished and extremely valuable as sources for scholarship. Kristensen himself wanted to be perceived as a scholar and occasionally found himself in conflict with prominent folklorists about interpretations of the collected narrative material. The disagreement with H. F. Feilberg is obvious in Kristensen's critique of Feilberg's work *Dansk bondelev*, 1889, which he regarded as an armchair product by someone who had learned everything from books rather than by doing fieldwork of his own. There were even confrontations with Svend Grundtvig about the copyright on the material collected by Kristensen. He suffered from an uneven temper and felt injured by criticism. Among scholars it was well known that his temper grew worse over the years. He had high self esteem, which was manifested in his awareness and emphasis of his own significance for the Danish nation, in that he had rescued the old folklore before it fell into oblivion. This accentuation of the Danish nation should be seen in the context of the humiliation suffered by Denmark's national self-esteem after the defeat in war in 1864, as a consequence of which the country had to cede Southern Jutland to Germany. Much of this area was restored to Denmark, but not until 1920, after a referendum. Kristensen's national contribution is frequently mentioned as part of his posthumous reputation. And it is in 1920 that Palle Ove Christiansen ends his study, and he uses the designation "National Ethnography and Folklore" as the subtitle of the book.

Finally, I must say that the author has undertaken a thorough scrutiny and analysis of the extant letters and notes. The book is a major contribution to the early history of Danish folklore studies. The source material is presented in many quotations. These could have been rendered in bigger print; there is a risk that the reader will skip the quotations. This book has already had a favourable reception in the form of a prize awarded to the author by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy in Sweden on Gustavus Adolphus Day, 6 November 2013.

### **34 West Nordic Explorations ES 2016**

Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen: *Nordisk længsel. Møde med folkekulturen i Sven Havsteen-Mikkelsens rejsedagbøger og billedverden*. Udgivet af Johannes Larsen Museet, Kerteminde 2012. 163 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-87-92620-18-7.

The Danish ethnologist Mette Eriksen Havsteen-Mikkelsen has analysed the artist Sven Havsteen-Mikkelsen's (1912–1999) diaries, photographs, drawings, sketch-books, lithographs, woodcuts, and oil paintings resulting from his explorations in the West Nordic countries. This means Norway, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and

Greenland, which were part of the Danish realm from the Middle Ages until 1814. The journeys from Denmark were undertaken from the late 1920s onwards, but the majority in the 1950s and 1960s. Several of the voyages in the 1950s were made together with the author Martin A. Hansen before his death in 1959. The artist contributed illustrations in books that Hansen published in the form of travel accounts, such as *Rejse på Island* ("Journey to Iceland", 1954). These are descriptions of folk life based on fieldwork. The author of this book is married to the artist's youngest son Olaf. The book is richly illustrated with the artist's own works. Copious quotations from the diaries are rendered in italics. This is supplemented with detailed commentary by the author and extensive notes. The material left by the artist is mostly held by the Johannes Larsen Museum on the island of Fyn in Denmark, an art museum in memory of the bird painter Johannes Larsen. This museum has also published this book. Much of the artist's correspondence with the author Martin A. Hansen and others is preserved in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. A large number of photographs, lithographs, drawings, oil paintings, and letters are privately owned. Sven Havsteen-Mikkelsen had a great longing to travel in order to discover new natural environments that he could depict in sketches, drawings, lithographs, woodcuts, photographs, and oil paintings. He took a keen interest in living folk culture which preserved archaic life ways, costumes, and building styles, uninfluenced by the modern age and industrialization. The artist yearned for the authentic and original. He therefore deliberately sought to get far away from towns and cities to distant, sparsely populated places which tourism had not yet reached. He wanted to live close to people, observing their everyday life and their festive occasions. On the west coast of Norway he took part in fishing and whaling, and in the Faroe Islands he hunted pilot whales and birds on the steep cliffs. He appreciated and participated in the archaic Faroese chain dance. This really was participant observation. In Norway he was fascinated by the medieval stave churches. The artist also visited the farm of Havstein near Trondheim where he had distant ancestors. His harsh criticism of tourism was based on his view that it had a destructive effect on old and authentic culture. This had to be allowed to live on without disturbance from modern civilization. On 14 June 1950 the artist wrote: "tourism is the basilisk of our day; all living things die when it looks at them" (p. 31). The book is of obvious ethnological interest in that the artist has done detailed and repeated fieldwork in distant places with archaic culture and left us meticulous reports through his notes and his pictorial material.

## History of Sciences

### 35 The Folklore Researcher Lauri Honko Revisited ES 2014

Matti Kamppinen & Pekka Hakamies: *The Theory of Culture of Folklorist Lauri Honko 1932–2002. The Ecology of Tradition. With a Foreword by Armin W. Geertz.* The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter 2013. 115 pp. ISBN 978-0-7734-4543-7.



For several decades Lauri Honko (1932–2002) was a leading Nordic scholar of folklore and religion. Two of his pupils and successors in Finland, Matti Kamppinen and Pekka Hakamies, have published this book in English about the theoretical perspectives that Honko applied in his studies of culture. The authors maintain that their study in the history of the discipline focuses on “theory of culture”, which means “what culture is and how it can be studied” (p. 2). Honko’s main theoretical concepts were the ecology of tradition, functionalism, system thinking, genre analysis, and process theory. In this book the concept of the ecology of tradition is ascribed the greatest significance and allowed to serve as the subtitle on the title page. This concept means that the study of folkloristic texts must relate them to the contexts where the texts functioned and were recorded. Honko himself wrote these characteristic words in the edited volume *Folkloristikens aktuella paradigm*, 1981: “To be able to penetrate a particular setting and gain a place there, folklore must adapt to cultural, social, economic, and physical environmental factors. Investigating these adaptation processes is the task of the ecology of tradition” (p. 47). Functionalism, which studies functional roles, is closely allied to the ecology of tradition. System thinking refers to “the search for systems behind the appearance” (p. 4). Genre analysis means “classifications of oral tradition” (p. 8). The genres are ideal types created to serve as the researcher’s tools (p. 46). Folklore process involves the study of “the life course of tradition” (p. 5). The researcher’s task is to “identify the dynamics of contents as they migrate from one context to another” (p. 75).

Theoretical perspectives were important for Honko, but at the same time he was anxious to stay close to the empirical in the form of recorded texts as well as oral material collected through fieldwork. The theories always have to be tested empirically. In later years Honko did fieldwork in India, performing an in-depth study of a prominent singer, Gopala Naika. He developed perspectives of performance theory to analyse the songs in widely different contexts. They were performed “in healing rituals, in work songs, and in theatrical displays” (p. 80). The singing and the lyrics are adapted to the context and can vary on different occasions. In his later years Honko was also involved in applied research, in that he acted to ensure that oral folklore all over the world would be saved for posterity and not allowed to disappear. As chairman of a UNESCO committee Honko was active in the formulation in 1989 of the UNESCO Recommendation for the Safeguarding of Folklore.

Honko occupied a leading position in the Nordic countries through his writings and the assignments he was given, chiefly in his capacity as director of the Nordic Institute of Folklore (NIF) 1972–1990. I got to know him when I was a member of the board of NIF 1981–1989. After his time as director of NIF, Honko started The Folklore Fellows’ Summer School in Finland, held annually from 1991. It was “an international training course for folklorists” (p. 91). This demonstrates both Honko’s international commitment and his ambition to train new folklorists who could investigate oral folklore all over the world. It was not only to be preserved but also studied by academically qualified researchers.

Honko was frequently engaged as a referee expert in the assessment of doctoral dissertations and academic appointments in the Nordic countries. When I became professor in Uppsala in 1987, Honko was one of the three referees. In NIF Newsletter 1988 nos. 1–2 he described my scholarly work as follows: “His conclusions derive more from grass-roots observation and fieldwork than from abstract theorising, but what he has produced by way of generalising on the regression of custom, cultural contact in processual profile, our cultural barriers in situations of adaptation easily attains theoretic importance” (p. 35). It is obvious here that when Honko assessed other scholars’ work, the link between empirical and theoretical was central.

This book ends with a presentation of the many folklorists in Finland who gained their doctorate with Honko as supervisor and were thus inspired by his theoretical ideas. The book is dedicated to one of his pupils, Anna-Leena Siikala, to mark her seventieth birthday in 2013. According to the authors of the book, she can “be considered the most influential student of Lauri Honko, together with Juha Pentikäinen” (p. 96). Pentikäinen was Honko’s first assistant and the first of his disciples to gain a doctorate in 1968. In 1970 Honko and Pentikäinen together published the first presentation of cultural anthropology in Finnish.

The authors’ aim with this book is not just to survey the history of the discipline but also to look at the future. They wish to demonstrate the relevance of Honko’s theoretical perspectives for today’s and tomorrow’s research on folklore and religion. In their opinion, “if we anchor religion to the belief in the supernatural, then the tools of genre analysis and of folklore process become inevitable in religious studies” (p. 78). When the authors outline future societies and research tasks, they are convinced that “the toolbox for religious studies and folkloristics should include the basic assumptions of Honko’s theory of culture and tradition ecology: functionalism, systems thinking and the process view of the world, balanced with bold theorizing and pragmatism” (p. 101). This view of Honko’s relevance is contested, however, by the Swedish folklorist Inger Lövkrona in a review written in 2013 of the book *Folkloristikens aktuella utmaningar*. She claims that “tradition ecology today is as withered as the historical-geographical method – described by Honko as ‘the evergreen’ – and comparativism and genre analysis” (Rig 2013, no. 2, p. 124). This outlook is representative of Sweden, but need not apply to every country.

To conclude, I think that the authors of this book have made an important contribution to the history of folklore studies by giving us a living picture of one of the leading Nordic exponents, who was deeply committed to internationalizing research and research contacts. The book takes its place as a major example of a trend in Nordic disciplinary history, in highlighting the significance of now dead ethnologists and folklorists. Publications with this kind of content appeared in Sweden in 2010 and in Norway in 2013. An obvious advantage of the book about Honko’s culture theory compared with the Swedish and Norwegian publications is that it is in English so that it can benefit readers all over the world.

### 36 The Folklorist Lauri Honko ARV 2014

*Theoretical Milestones. Selected Writings of Lauri Honko.* Pekka Hakamies and Anneli Honko (eds.). FF Communications No. 304. Helsinki 2013. 338 pp.

In Nordic ethnology and folkloristics, studies on the history of the discipline have had a renaissance in the 2010s. In both Sweden and Norway, collections of articles about a number of now deceased ethnologists and folklorists have been published. Monographs have also been published about individual scholars, such as Nils-Arvid Bringéus' book about the folklorist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow. In this genre a book appeared in 2013 about the cultural theory of the internationally renowned Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko (1932–2002), written by his pupils Matti Kamppinen and Pekka Hakamies (33). As a continuation of that work, Pekka Hakamies and Lauri Honko's widow, Anneli Honko, have published the collection reviewed here. It consists of selected writings in English with a theoretical orientation, from different parts of Honko's large scholarly production. They have previously been published in various journals or edited volumes. The fifteen essays span a time from 1964 to 2002, the year of Honko's death. There are one to three essays per decade and no fewer than six from the 1980s. The editors have written a twenty-page introduction presenting the main features of Honko's scholarly work. Before his death he himself had plans to update and reissue some of his important older essays. In selecting texts for this volume, the editors have proceeded from the list left by Honko.

The studies in the book are not presented in chronological order; they are arranged according to seven themes that were prominent in Honko's research. The first section is genre analysis, which aroused his interest early on. One topic of discussion at the time concerned whether genres were real or constructed as tools for research. The second section consists of studies of the meaning that can be read in folkloristic texts and in performance settings between the performer and the listener. Beliefs constitute yet another distinct research field. Honko's starting point in this respect was studies of memorates.

One section in the book is devoted to the concepts of functionalism and theecology of tradition. An important part of this involved studies of context and the associated variations, and the adaptation of traditions. This has been one of the foundations of Honko's studies. The next section in the book deals with the Finnish national epic, the Kalevala. In this connection Honko devoted great attention to comparative field studies, starting in the 1960s among various Finno-Ugrian peoples in present-day Russia. He was keenly interested in the traditions concerning female professional mourners in connection with deaths, funerals, and ceremonies in cemeteries.

Honko's comparative interest also found expression in periods of fieldwork in India from the 1980s onwards, with the emphasis on epic songs. In this connection he undertook performance studies using the concept of "mental text". This refers to the singer's own notion of the text as a whole in his mind. The last section in the book

concerns Honko's discussion of the concepts of tradition, culture, and identity and the differences between them.

The theoretical perspectives in this book were not an end in themselves for Honko; they always had to be linked to empirical investigations. The theories were aids for analysing the empirical material collected in archives or through fieldwork.

As a concluding reflection, one may wonder about the broader significance of assembling and publishing a scholar's works several years after his death. Collections of this kind have been published as a festschrift or the like, to celebrate the birthday or retirement of an appreciated scholar. I believe that it is meaningful to have a collected volume in English where one can follow central features in the comprehensive work of an internationally respected scholar like Lauri Honko.

### **37 Nordic and European Cultural Processes ARV 2011**

*Kulturelle processer i Europa. Indlæg fra den 29. Nordiske etnolog- og folkloristkongres.* Flemming Hemmersam, Astrid Jespersen, Lene Otto (eds.). Museum Tusulanums Forlag, Københavns Universitet. København 2010. 292 pp. Ill.

Nordic ethnologists and folklorists hold a joint congress every three years. The 29th congress was held in 2003 at Helsingør in Denmark. The theme was "Cultural Processes in Europe". It has taken a long time – until 2010 – for the congress publication to appear. There is no comment in the book as to why the publication has required seven years. Congress publications should in principle appear as soon as possible since they are supposed to reflect current research and discussions. It has not been possible for the authors in this volume to update their texts which, according to the editors' intentions, were supposed to reflect the research situation in 2003. They may therefore seem somewhat outdated when appearing in 2010. I think that at least the reference lists could have been updated to assist today's researchers working on the topics.

One of the Danish editors, Lene Otto, has written an introduction to the book. The arrangers' goal for this Nordic congress was "to turn the gaze outwards and remind ourselves about the European aspect of our subject" (p. 9). It is mentioned that there were different sessions during the congress. It would have been an advantage if these had been enumerated in the introduction. After the introduction come first eight plenary lectures and then eleven papers delivered to different sessions. Finally, the congress is summed up with one paper each from Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. Some of the congress papers have already been published in scholarly journals and are therefore not included in this book. In this review I present some of the papers that I find most relevant in relation to the in Europe". Some papers are peripheral to this theme. Some of the articles are in English (Cris Shore, Lisanne Wilken, Regina Bendix, Valdimar Hafstein, and Maja P. Frykman) and the rest are in Scandinavian languages.

Inge Adriansen from Denmark, who has done penetrating research on national symbols in Denmark in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has a paper here analysing historical memorial sites as a mirror of cultural processes at a national level. The original stimulus for these symbols need not be national; they may very well come from outside. Adriansen demonstrates this as regards the Danish national symbol and national hero Holger Danske, who has his roots in the medieval European legend and ballad tradition. What appears to be extremely national may thus have its origin at an international level further back in time.

The anthropologist Cris Shore from New Zealand analyses the significance of the slogan for the EU's cultural policy, "In uno plures" (Unity in diversity). This expression was coined after 1992, when cultural policy was first given a place in the EU through the Maastricht Treaty. This slogan is actually a problematic contradiction, but it seemingly wants to demonstrate an intention in the EU, as a combination of many states, to assert cultural pluralism. Shore is critical, however, believing that it is a bureaucratic term created within the EU elite and thus a vision from above that has no democratic support. The author, who works outside Europe, objects to the exclusivity vis-à-vis the rest of the world that he sees in the EU: "It is no peoples who are excluded from the canon of 'European' culture, but also those from the United States" (pp. 46f). According to Shore, the goal of the EU's elitist and bureaucratic cultural policy is not actually "diversity" but "unity", which he deplors. "It would seem as if 'diversity' is to be encouraged, but only if it does not obstruct the quest for unity or further integration" (p. 49).

The Danish anthropologist Lisanne Wilken also considers the question of "unity in diversity" as regards the way the EU handles minority languages. This respect and support for minority languages did not exist from the beginning; it emerged through a political process in the form of lobbying by minority representatives in the European Parliament in the early 1990s. This has officially been regarded by the EU as an expression of "a cultural vision for integration" (p. 56), but according to Wilken this is really a construction after the event. The researcher's critical attitude to control from the top in the EU is noticeable.

Bo Lönnqvist from Finland places Nordic ethnology at the intersection between east and west in Europe. Thanks to its geographical location, Finland is the Nordic country where ethnologists had most contacts with the east through its neighbour, Russia. Lönnqvist stresses the significance of studies of border contacts and the cultural processes taking place there, both in earlier days and in more recent times since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. Many Finnish tourists have since visited Russia, and Russian guest workers have come to Finland. It is along the external Nordic borders that Europeanization comes about in a special way.

Regina Bendix from Germany is the only European author from outside the Nordic countries. She argues for studies of schools and learning processes as an important and neglected research field in Europe. This is "the subfield of anthropology of education" (p. 123). Schools should be studied over national boundaries, and at the same

time there can also be intercultural and multicultural meeting places in the same schoolroom. Moreover, it is important to implement ethnological knowledge in the school system. Bendix chooses her examples from American cultural anthropology and German ethnology, having worked for a long time in both the USA and Germany.

Anne Leonora Blaakilde from Denmark has done fieldwork in Greece. She has interviewed five grandmothers, aged 53–80, in the countryside about their life history and relations to children and grandchildren. Unlike their children and grandchildren, these older women did not go to school and are illiterate. The author performs a narrative analysis of their stories. At the end of the paper she makes a very brief comparison with the results of fieldwork that she did in the 1990s among elderly women on a small Danish island. In view of the main theme of the congress, cultural processes in Europe, I think she ought to have gone deeper into this comparison between old rural women's narratives in southern and northern Europe. The comparative perspective on different places and regions in Europe ought to be important in current European research.

Flemming Hemmersam discusses folklore about the EU which has arisen since Denmark joined in 1972. There is both positive and negative folklore about the EU, highlighting the advantages and disadvantages of belonging to the Union. This reflects ideas espoused by people in the for and against camps.

Norway has chosen to stay outside the EU, after referenda in 1972 and 1994. Line Esborg has studied the Norwegian opposition to the EU and how this is expressed in folklore that can be described as resistance stories. This is a sign of a tradition of counter-power, with Norway as a country on the northern fringe of Europe reacting against a power centre in Europe that it wishes to escape. The periphery turns against what it perceives as a hegemonic centre in Europe. In 2008 Esborg presented a doctoral dissertation about the Norwegian opposition to the EU as cultural practice.

Maja P. Frykman discusses the concept of diaspora as an analytical tool applied to immigrants in Europe. Her emphasis is on Croatian immigrants, which is natural since she comes from Croatia but now works as an ethnologist in Sweden. The Croatians who have come to Sweden were labour migrants in the 1960s and refugees in the early 1990s. Frykman "argues for the necessity of a transnational perspective in ethnological research and migration-related topic and promotes the use of diaspora as an analytical tool" (p. 238).

My final verdict on this book is that it is very uneven, in that so many of the papers show little relation to the theme of "Cultural Processes in Europe". The book would have had greater stringency if those papers had been omitted, and published elsewhere. The book would also have gained from appearing earlier, or from being updated with respect to the research the authors have done since 2003. The Nordic area viewed in a European cultural context is such an important research topic that it should not be mixed with other papers. I would nevertheless recommend the book

to anyone who is interested in the topic, and I have therefore chosen to comment on the papers that I find most relevant to that overall perspective.

### **38 Scholarship and Politics in Historical Perspective ARV 2015**

Petra Garberding: *Vetenskap mellan diktatur och demokrati. Svensk och tysk folklivsforskning i skuggan av nazismen och det kalla kriget*. UNIVERSUS Academic Press. Malmö 2015. 342 pp. Ill. English Summary.

Petra Garberding was born in Germany in 1965. She did her undergraduate studies in ethnology at the University of Kiel in 1986–1993. In 1994 she moved to Sweden to continue her ethnological studies at Uppsala University. She took her doctorate in 2007 at Södertörn University. This book is a result of her postdoctoral project in Uppsala 2009–2011.

The aim of this study is to examine “the development and change of ethnology in Swedish-German relations in the tension between dictatorship and democracy” (p. 11). It is an investigation of disciplinary history, focusing on the relationship between scholarship and politics in contacts between researchers in Germany and Sweden. With the aid of a subjective research perspective, the contrasts between dictatorship and democracy can be made clear. The time frame of the study is the Nazi period in Germany 1933–1945 and the subsequent Cold War up to the fall of the wall in 1989. Historical discourse analysis is the analytical concept. Hegemonic discourses can influence or steer research, as happened under the Nazis. They can later become unacceptable and be replaced by other discourses. The author’s analyses in the book are nicely nuanced and credible in that different interpretations of the collected material are pitted against each other in the discussion.

The book is structured chronologically. The author primarily pursues archival studies of correspondence between German and Swedish, but also American scholars. The author is deeply engaged in her subject and has not left anything to chance in her efforts to find archival evidence. On the subject of the Cold War era she has also interviewed twenty-five ethnologists, both Swedish and former West and East German; I was one of the Swedish ethnologists. Quotations from German texts are published here in Swedish, translated by the author. The original German texts are provided in the notes at the bottom of each page. An index of names at the end of the book is useful for anyone wishing to search for details about individual scholars.

It was in the 1930s that ethnology established itself in earnest as an academic discipline in both Sweden and Germany. For the Nazis it was an important subject because it was believed that its findings could be applied politically both in the expansion efforts and in racial policy. Considerable funding was allocated to ethnology by the Nazis. In Germany the first chair of ethnology (Volkskunde) was established in 1936 in Berlin. There were several Nazi-oriented ethnologists at this time, and the expression “political ethnology” (politische Volkskunde) occurred.

A central Swedish scholar in contacts with Germany was Sigurd Erixon, professor of ethnology in Stockholm 1934–1955. In 1936 the University of Heidelberg, which had dismissed 44 teachers since 1933 on account of their race or opinions, wanted to award him an honorary doctorate. At the same time he was invited to a scholarly congress in Lübeck arranged by the Nazi organization Nordische Gesellschaft (The Nordic Society). The theme was research on houses and farms, a topic close to Erixon's heart. He chose to attend the congress in Lübeck rather than go to Heidelberg. He led a session about Germanic houses and farms in historical times, without mentioning racial theories. However, there are no written sources where Erixon criticized Nazism. He continued to collaborate with German scholars throughout the 1930s, both those with a Nazi orientation and those in the opposition.

Another prominent Swedish scholar in the 1930s was the folklorist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, who became professor in Lund in 1940. In letters to German colleagues he expressed his concerns about scholarly development in Nazi Germany. He cited examples of scholarly lectures and publications which he deemed as substandard, especially in view of the racial politics they applied. Sigfrid Svensson, who had worked at the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm during the 1930s, had many German colleagues but was simultaneously highly critical of the way the Nazis politicized ethnology. He wrote publicly about this in the Swedish press.

Expanded international cooperation in the 1930s began through Swedish-German contacts in connection with two conferences, one in Lund in 1935 and one in Berlin in 1936. This was the foundation for the formation of the International Association of Folklore and Ethnology (IAFE) and the journal *Folk*, which was financed with Nazi money from Germany. The IAFE would comprise 15 European countries and the USA. The Swedish researchers viewed their collaboration with Berlin solely as scholarly work with no political influence. British scholars, on the other hand, expressed fears that the IAFE could become a platform for Nazi German propaganda. Later on the Swedes began to cooperate more closely with British scholars, which led to critique from Germany. The German financial contribution to *Folk* was withdrawn and the journal had to close. After Germany's occupation of Denmark and Norway in 1940, Swedish scholars distanced themselves more explicitly from Germany and refrained from scholarly collaboration with German colleagues.

After the end of the Second World War in 1945, most of the German ethnologists with whom Swedish scholars had had contacts before the war were condemned as Nazi sympathizers. They were not allowed to practise their professions for several years. Carl Wilhelm von Sydow maintained contacts with certain German ethnologists after the war, those who had not obviously been influenced by Nazism before and during the war. He described these scholars as victims of Nazism. The victim motif also occurred in Germany. One example is Lutz Mackensen, who became professor in Göttingen soon after the war. Will-Erich Peuckert, who was dismissed by the Nazis in 1935 and who became professor of ethnology in Göttingen after the war, maintained contacts with Sigurd Erixon. Otherwise there was silence in Swedish ethnology after the war about German scholars' shared responsibility for Nazism.



This period was hushed up, as also happened in Germany. Gerhard Lutz's handbook of German ethnology, published in 1958, completely omitted the history of ethnology during the Nazi period. Sigfrid Svensson commented on this with satisfaction in a review in the journal *Rig* in 1960. He wrote that "after 1945 there is no reason for a foreign observer to lift the blackout now" (quoted from Garberding p. 245).

When German ethnology was to be built up again in the 1950s and 1960s, Swedish-German research contacts became important, although the situation differed totally in West and East Germany. Contacts with states which, like Sweden, had been neutral during the war became especially important in Germany. According to the author, German scholars regarded Swedish scholars as "crown witnesses" who were untainted by a Nazi past. In East Germany, research on material culture became central, in contrast to the Nazi period. In the new situation it was felt that contacts were important with an expert such as Sigfrid Svensson, who was moreover perceived as an anti-Nazi. A Swedish researcher who did come into conflict with the communist state system was Svensson's pupil Sven B. Ek. He had taken part in an East German ethnological congress in 1967 and subsequently spoken critically in a Swedish newspaper article about the communist focus. He later received written complaints from the ethnologist Paul Nedo and had to stay away from East Germany. The mixing of scholarship and politics in a dictatorship with a hegemonic discourse appears to have been no less than during the Nazi years.

After the building of the wall between East and West Germany in 1961 it became almost impossible for ethnologists from the two states to meet. On the other hand, ethnologists from the politically neutral Sweden could receive entry permits to East Germany. I myself took part in a couple of East German ethnological congresses in 1984 and 1987, giving papers there. In West Germany, Nils-Arvid Bringéus and Sven B. Ek became leading sources of inspiration, the latter in the growing urban ethnology. Bringéus was important in renewing ethnological atlas studies through his research on innovations. He was moreover a central pioneer in studies of food and pictures. In the 1980s Orvar Löfgren and Jonas Frykman also inspired through their works on cultural analysis.

One question that I ask is: what readership can be attracted by this in-depth study? In Swedish ethnology the interest in the history of the discipline has been weak or almost non-existent for a long time. This book could revive the interest in disciplinary history and issues of scholarship and politics. It has clear links with the discussions of Nazism and racism that are highly topical in the Swedish political debate.

At the same time I think it is a pity that a German readership cannot benefit from the contents of this book. The author actually has German as her mother tongue. Readers outside Sweden have to make do with an English summary (pp. 320–325). Questions about coming to terms with Nazism were long a taboo topic in German research. Now the distance in time has become greater and the third generation of Germans, to which the author belongs, can tackle such questions in a nuanced way. In fact, she begins the book by mentioning that her archival studies in Berlin had led to the

discovery that her grandfather, who died in the war, had been a member of a Nazi organization, the SS. No one in the family had told her this before; all she had heard was that her grandfather had died as a soldier in the war.

## Auto-ethnography

### 39 Autobiography of the Ethnologist Nils-Arvid Bringéus ARV 2014

Nils-Arvid Bringéus: *Örkelljungapåg och Lundaprofessor*. Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi CXXVIII, Uppsala 2014. 216 pp. Ill.

Nils-Arvid Bringéus was born in 1926 and has been active in ethnology in Lund since 1947. His list of scholarly publications is extremely long and multifaceted. He has for a long time been a leading figure in Nordic ethnology and folkloristics. For his 88th birthday he published his most recent book, which is autobiographical, based on the author's own recollections as well as diary entries and letters. A rich collection of privately owned pictures is well used here. The book is number 128 in the Acta series of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy.

The first half of the book covers the time before the author became an ethnologist. This part is mostly concerned with his family. His academic work is presented in broad outline in the second part of the book. Here the author could have gone into greater depth by shedding more light on the scholarly context of his studies and describing how he experienced and handled it. The reader is not told anything about whether recent academic discussions of reflexivity, auto-ethnography, the researcher's role, and subjective interpretations have contributed to the genesis of this book.

The author's work as head of the Department of Ethnology in Lund, where he chaired the research seminars, is not treated in any detail. During his time as professor from 1967 to 1991, Bringéus was head of the department and of the Folklife Archives in Lund. In the 1970s, moreover, he was inspector and examiner for the Department of Ethnology in Gothenburg, which was then being built up from scratch.

I first made the acquaintance of Bringéus as a history student in autumn 1965 when he lectured on cultural history at the Kulturen museum in Lund. For my fellow student Gösta Arvastson and myself it was the inspiration that stimulated us to switch to folklife studies, the subject that became ethnology in 1970. A characteristic of Bringéus has been his ability to inspire students and young researchers. He supported them in their progress, first to a doctorate and later to various positions in universities, museums, or archives. I suppose this is a topic he cannot write about himself, but it is something which many pupils have experienced, and which ought to be emphasized here. The research seminars chaired by Bringéus were inspirational and forward-looking. There was always something constructive in his viewpoints, not only

criticism of a dissertation text. He praised and blamed as needed. After every seminar the doctoral candidate had a clear idea of how to move forward. During my time as a doctoral student in the early 1970s, minutes were kept of the seminar discussions. There must be material there to shed light on the contemporary ethnological discussion in Lund.

Yet another matter that ought to have been highlighted is Bringéus's role in forging international networks, an achievement of lasting value. The food congresses that began in Lund in 1970 are still held every other year. The SIEF commission on bildlore has been active since 1984, and the commission on folk religion since 1993. Bringéus was careful to ensure that we research students established international contacts in Europe, at conferences, symposia, and through excursions. If he had not encouraged me in this early on, I would probably not have built up my own international contact network. The outward face of Nordic ethnology was the journal *Ethnologica Scandinavica*, started by Bringéus in 1971. It still informs the world about what is happening in Scandinavia. In the present century Bringéus has also been a central source of inspiration for a renewal in the disciplinary history of Nordic ethnology and folkloristics. He took the initiative for both a Swedish and a Norwegian anthology about formerly active ethnologists and folklorists.

This book gives information about many encounters with people over the years. Bringéus gives us a generally bright picture of his life. He mostly avoids touching on the rivalries and controversies that occurred. Perhaps it is best for the author's well-being and for posterity that the bright sides of life are given most prominence. Bringéus is not a person who has willingly engaged in scholarly polemic. Bringéus has been such a productive author during his emeritus years.

#### **40 Memoirs of a Folklorist ARV 2012**

Ebbe Schön: *Fotspår på röd granit. Glimtar från min vandring i tiden*. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2012. 302 pp. Ill.

In recent years there has been a growing interest in publishing biographies of deceased ethnologists and folklorists. A volume of brief biographies of Swedish ethnologists and folklorists appeared in 2010, and a comparable collection is currently being compiled in Norway. It can be just as important for researchers themselves to reflect on their work while they are still alive. This allows readers to follow the development of research right up to the present day. In this respect one is reminded of the term auto-ethnography in international culture studies, where the significance of the researcher's self is considered. Subjective aspects of research have recently been increasingly highlighted not just in Anglo-Saxon research but also in Germany.

In this book, the folklorist Ebbe Schön concentrates on retelling memories and interesting episodes from his life in the service of scholarship and popular enlightenment. Impressions from his childhood and adolescence in the home of a stonecutter and farmer on the Bohuslän coast have played a crucial part throughout his life. The title

of the book, meaning "Footsteps on Red Granite", testify to this. The author, who was born in 1929, has had a chequered career. In his native district there was a rich narrative tradition, many antiquities in the form of dolmens and rock carvings, and a barren natural environment. The people spoke an archaic half-Norwegian dialect. At an early age Schön learned to do physical labour, which was what his parents valued most. Supernatural creatures in the form of ghosts occurred frequently in the local folktales. As regards politics, social democracy has been crucial for Schön, as it was for his parents. They were also organized total abstainers, which was otherwise not common among stonecutters. The author grew up imbued with the spirit of democracy, which he later fought for in his professional life. He has worked actively to counteract bullying in the workplace, and he cites several examples of cases where he took a stance. "Fighting against bullying and against hostility to criticism is, in my opinion, a very urgent task for an honest and stable democracy in Sweden" (p. 261).

When Schön was growing up there was no future for young people in his locality since the stone industry was in a serious crisis. He chose a military career and graduated from the Armed Forces School for Secondary Education in Uppsala in 1952. This was followed by two years' study at naval college. Schön ended up as an officer in the coastal artillery, but he did not want to spend his whole life exclusively in the military. From his youth onwards he had a keen interest in studying, especially languages and humanities. He studied for a long time alongside the military work through which he earned his living. These studies led to a doctoral dissertation in 1973 and later the title of docent in literature at Stockholm University. The dissertation was about the working-class writer Jan Fridegård's literary works; Schön met and interviewed Fridegård several times.

In his military life Schön worked with the media. In 1960 he became press officer on the Navy Staff; for this he did not have to wear a uniform, which pleased him well. He was involved in the production of the navy's films, exhibitions, radio programmes, and in the coverage of the Royal Palace, state visits, and the like. He also instructed radio telegraphists. All these tasks meant constant new challenges and contacts. Examples are the state visit of the Shah of Iran in 1960 and the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in 1964. Less pleasant duties were reporting on military accidents, which was a heavy mental strain on the emotionally sensitive Ebbe Schön. It was not easy to be exclusively rational. "We humans evidently need to believe in some meaning, and I felt that it gave some security to try to believe at least a little bit in fate, as was so common where I grew up" (pp. 183f). This is thus where Schön the folklorist comes in; as usual he found a connection with experiences in his childhood. He actually calls himself an "incorrigible and conscious local patriot" (p. 298). I recognize the importance of the native district for researchers of culture. An interest in culture can be established there, which can later become an object for collecting and scholarly analysis.

Schön's primary work in the humanities was to be in the study of folklore. In 1977 he became head of folklore collecting at the Nordiska Museet. He notes with satisfaction: "I had actually reached some kind of goal with my studies and my crooked

path" (p. 217). Later he also became head of the museum's newly founded folklore department (Minnesavdelning), a post he held until his retirement. A characteristic feature of Schön's work at the museum was that he continued to maintain contact with the mass media, thus passing on examples of folklore to the general public on both radio and television.

Another side of his work at the folklore department was a drive to collect new material in collaboration with Stockholm University. It was in this connection that I first met Ebbe Schön. During the period 1979–1982 we jointly led fieldwork with students of ethnology from Stockholm in our shared home environment along the Bohuslän coast. The project was entitled "Folklore in Maritime Settings". This was where I encountered Schön's good organizational skills and cooperative spirit. We visited several places on the coast and were fascinated by the narrative zest of the locals. Schön writes with enthusiasm that "we learned an unexpected amount about folk beliefs at sea that we previously knew nothing at all about" (p. 284).

In this context it is interesting to consider the folklorist's own attitude to the folk belief about supernatural beings found in the collected material. The researcher naturally has a scholarly side, being concerned with what can be rationally demonstrated. This could lead to denial and even a condescending attitude towards the content of the narratives, as did in fact happen among some early folklorists. It is refreshing to read that Schön does not stop here but is also open for – and feels a need for – another dimension of existence, which he calls the imaginative, "a more poetic self who believes in a life beyond death" (p. 285). Scientific proof is never possible here, but the very openness and the respect for individuals is essential in contacts with people who tell stories about folk belief and religion.

I admire the author's vivid language. His account has a literary spirit. Not only fellow folklorists but also general readers will take pleasure in Schön's narrative ability. The memoirs are illustrated with good pictures from Schön's life in both colour and black and white, which further enhance the value of the book. I personally think that they could have been put in their appropriate places through the book instead of, as now, grouped together in a separate appendix. If there is anything else an interested reader would like to know more about in the book, it is Schön's family life after he reached adulthood. He briefly mentions his first wife Irma, who had a Finnish background, and two daughters who were born very early in his life. I myself have noticed that the personal context is very significant for a researcher all through life.

Finally, I would urge everyone to read these memoirs and be fascinated by the exciting and personal content.