Folklore on Two Continents

Essays in Honor of Linda Dégh

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A few folklore scholars become international fieldworkers, probing firsthand the workings of two vastly different cultures and adding significantly to the understanding of both. Linda Dégh is one of the few. Her personal research offers remarkable insights into folklore on two continents.

From the age of nineteen, when she compiled her first collection of Hungarian folktales, to the present day, she has been a specialist in European traditional community life, examining the entire range of folk expression in her native Hungary, but focusing most sharply on the interrelationship of folktale and society.

The second phase of Dr. Dégh's scholarly interests began in the 1960s when she came to Indiana University. As a foreign scholar with a well-established reputation, Linda Dégh contributed significantly to the study of folklore in America by using and developing the results of her earlier research. Moreover, she embarked on several new investigations of American culture, ranging from belief legend in modern society to the folklore of urban and rural immigrant groups and oral life history as folk expression.

Both of her careers are marked not only by scholarly creativity, but also by a strong commitment to furthering international communication. As one of America's preeminent representatives of European folklore scholarship, she has encouraged her European colleagues to share their expertise with audiences in the United States. Through lecture tours and publications she has exported American research to Europe.

In order to celebrate Linda Dégh's achievements, and in keeping with the spirit of her dedication to worldwide communication, her colleagues and students on both sides of the Atlantic now present her with a Festschrift devoted to those areas of research in which she has made most of her contributions. The editors have solicited articles on topics which have a special bearing on her work and have sought to arrange the contributions according to a plan which in some ways reflects her scholarly development.

This book begins where Dr. Dégh's career began, with FOLK NARRATIVE, particularly the Märchen. From her early collections of the tales of Péter Pandúr to her landmark study of Folktales and Society, she has described the Märchen masterfully, and in almost every conceivable way: as a broad generic category, as a social phenomenon with special contexts and functions, as the personal and artistic expression of gifted individuals.

The section on LEGEND AND BELIEF marks a segment of Linda Dégh's scholarly interest which reflects her American experience as well as her European training. Her legend research began in Hungary, but it was in America that she made it her specialty. She has redefined the genre, stressing the importance of dialectic in the legendmaking process, and viewing the legend as a debate rather than simply as a narrative. Under her editorship, Indiana Folklore has attained recognition as the chief forum for the study of the belief legend in its newest and most vital forms.
GENRE THEORY has been one of Linda Dégh's greatest concerns. As a scholar, she has struck a fruitful balance between two important, but diverging, approaches to this subject: the formalistic view, which conceives of genres as abstract categories, and the contextualist view, which sees each specific performance as a thing in itself. As a teacher, she has encouraged her students to examine genres in terms of both their underlying meanings and their specific social applications. In her approach to genre theory, she has been most attuned to generic boundaries, exploring the ambiguous territory where legend blends into Märchen, protomemorat into memorat, oral autobiography into sculptured personal narrative.

Linda Dégh's abilities for describing both the general and the particular are also evident in her studies of STYLE, FORM, AND SYMBOL. In her various writings, she has captured the generic style of the Märchen in a few short pages, and devoted an entire book to the personal style of a few exceptional Märchen tellers. She has shown how oral and visual symbols can communicate the meaning of—and beyond—their specific forms. Her studies of ritual symbolism in "The Tree That Reached up to the Sky" (AT 468) and the Märchen symbolism in modern television commercials are among the most lively and innovative discussions of the allusive powers of folk expression.

Years before contextual and performance-oriented studies acquired their current prestige in Western folkloristics, Linda Dégh was deeply concerned with the BIOLOGY OF STORYTELLING. Under the tutelage of Gyula Ortutay, she began her folklore career with the conviction that the meaning of folklore is inseparable from the process by which it is created and the context in which it is performed. Her Folktales and Society is a model study of narrative biology: based on ten years of intensive fieldwork and over twenty years of scholarship, this book examines the history, beliefs, and day-to-day life of the taletelling community; the structures, functions, and meanings of the taletelling occasions; the dynamics of individual performances; the life, thought, and artistry of the best and most characteristic storytellers. In her American research, she has brought an equal depth to the study of legend, elucidating the processes by which legends are formed and developing the multi-conduit hypothesis of narrative transmission.

In her work and in her teachings, Linda Dégh has presented a very special view of the relationship between THE FOLKLORIST AND THE FOLK. She demands a great deal of the folklorist: to master a vast body of prior scholarship, to acquire a deep knowledge of the folk group, and to establish a personal and sympathetic view of the individual informant. Her own career serves as a model in all three of these respects. Her articles on folklore historiography engage the modern folklorist in a vital dialogue with the past. Her in-depth research of European and American ethnic groups reveals the importance of understanding the community as a whole before focusing on any particular part. Perhaps most impressive is her ability to represent—both sensitively and dispassionately—the worldview, the lives, the very souls of her informants. In its depth, its incisiveness, and its compassion, Linda Dégh's book-length description of the life and art of Mrs. Zsuzsanna Palkó and others presents an unsurpassed portrait of several storytellers.
This volume, dedicated to the achievements of Professor Linda Dégh, is meant not only to honor her significant scholarly contributions, but also--by its very existence--to provide a measure of the human impact of her years of devotion to folklore.

From the beginning, we realized that this project would require the cooperation of many individuals. We were not disappointed in our hope for such cooperation; wherever we turned, we met a positive response.

The Indiana University Foundation helped the book substantially by granting financial assistance.

Without the early support of Professor Richard M. Dorson, the book might have never been published.

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Especially impressive has been the effort devoted by students of the Folklore Department throughout the many months of work. We owe each of them a special debt for the moral support, which kept the project alive even in the most difficult times.

Harry Gammerdinger, Elissa R. Henken, and Egle Victoria Zygas proved to be the backbone of this endeavor. They assumed a disproportionate burden of the managerial, editorial, and proofreading tasks. Barry E. Childs and Merry Weed did a gargantuan share of the editing and artistic assignments. Betty Jane Belanus and Elizabeth Peterson helped much with the editing. Among the others who gave much in different areas are: Tina Bucuvalas, Robert Van Horn Dover, Dana Everts, Robert Fanelli, Phyllis Harrison, Eva Maria Kish, Carolyn Lipson-Walker, Tricia Lootens, Virginia A.P. Lowe, John M. O'Hara, Nancy Ridenour, and Peter Voorheis. All of these person set high standards of quality in their endeavors.

A number of Professor Dégh's former students, notably Elizabeth Tucker and Sylvia Ann Grider, helped us much.

Of course, it was the efforts of the contributors that made the book possible. This international group of established and up-and-coming scholars largely complied with the editors' rather stringent restrictions concerning theme, style, and lead time. In fact, the response of the contributors was so great that it threatened to overwhelm the personnel and facilities that were mustered for this book.

This Festchrift--the product of forty-five authors and several editors--cannot aspire to duplicate the synthesis of thought, theme, and style so characteristic of the work of Linda Dégh. With so many voices, harmony is not easily achieved. But we are united in our respect for Linda Dégh. All of us--each in a special way--have given something of our careers to celebrate her work, in order to express our gratitude for her friendship and guidance, and to tell her that we will be looking to her in the future, as we have in the past, to explain, to inspire, to teach.

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Folk Narrative
IMITATION AND ANTICIPATION IN FOLKTALES

Max Lüthi

Imitation and anticipation, which can be observed even in animal life, have the status of basic shaping processes in human existence. They are correlative assigned to each other. Only by appropriating traditions and by making provisions for the future can individuals, groups, and cultures keep alive. Without the knowledge and imitation of what has gone before, anticipation and planning for the future are not possible. Clearly, both imitation and planning ahead involve variation, renewal, and change of existing models. Both processes, imitation and anticipation, have become conscious basic attitudes of man. It is no wonder, then, that both come into play in works of literature. In fairy tales, legends, Schwänke—with their clear and simple structures, un-obsured by rich surface embroidery—these processes are particularly distinct. Of these genres, the fairy tale is the one most given to the episodic, and is, for that very reason, nothing short of dependent on repetitions and anticipations in both form and content. Again it hardly needs saying that verbal imitations and anticipations also occur, but these are normally matters of slightly varying repetitions and resorting to previous models. Man imitates by inclination as well as by necessity, but the pleasure he takes in renewing and varying is also involved, in art as well as in life.

The research scholar who deals with fairy tales is struck by the many repetitions and variations in the tales; he is familiar with both terms. He uses the expression "imitation" to characterize a particular phenomenon. The German-speaking scholar refers to "missglückte Nachahmung"; the English speaker talks of "fatal imitation," "foolish imitation," or "unsuccessful repetition." The following tale types and motifs furnish famous examples: "The Kind and Unkind Girls" (AT 480); "The Two Travelers" (AT 613); "The Poor and the Rich Brother or Neighbor" (AT 676, "Open Sesame"); "The Prophecy" (AT 930, "The Lucky Child"; cf. AT 461, KHM 29, "Three Hairs from the Devil's Beard"); successful or unsuccessful rejuvenation or beautification by taking a bath in boiling mare's milk or by cutting off one's head and putting it on again (Motif J2411.1, AT 531)\(^1\); unsuccessful imitation of a magic action in general (for example, when the mortal wife seeks to emulate her supernatural rival\(^2\)). There must be added a large number of Schwankmärchen, Schwanklegenden, and Schwänken in general (subsumed by Thompson under the heading "Foolish imitation": Motifs J2400–2449). Immediately the question arises: why does the folktale, which is so fond of formal repetition and variation (the extreme being chain tales of the type "Cock and Hen," AT 2021; or "Fleeting Pancake," AT 2025; cf. AT 2000–2399 in general, formula tales), emphasize negative, unsuccessful imitation in its contents? A provisional answer suggests itself: formal and real-life impulses are both at work. In real life, every child (and every adult) finds out over and over again that intentional imitations often fail. In formal terms, the unsuccessful imitation represents an ideal, model combination of the principles of repetition and
contrast—that is, of two principles which permeate and structure the whole world of the folktale. In the numerous versions of the fairy tale of Mother Hulda (Frau Holle: AT 480, KHM 24), the bad girl would like to have the same success as her stepsister, but her laziness, conceit, negligence, or brainlessness—according to the individual character of the respective versions—causes her to act in a contrary fashion. It is interesting to note that in many versions of this type of tale the imitator has to be forced (by her mother) to undertake the long journey of imitation, and that even where no real force is used she performs the imitation with marked distaste. She has usually been informed by her sister about every stage of the successful journey; in some versions she knows down to the last detail how the successful sister acted, but she cannot bring herself to act the same way. In contrast to her sister, and because of her stupidity, thoughtlessness, arrogance, laziness, irresponsibility, weariness, or disgust (the emphasis is not on her motivation at all but on her behavior), she does the wrong thing. Similarly, the rich brother or neighbor (AT 676, KHM 142: Simelberg, Alibaba) is the antipode of the poor one whom he is prepared to imitate exactly, of his own free will. He fails because he is not able to remember the magic word. In both the Alibaba type and the Mother Hulda type, the tale makes a sharp distinction between good and bad, between likable and not likable. Similarly, a villain may try to vanquish the fairy tale hero but achieves the very opposite through his own maneuvering. He now follows in the hero's footsteps, but the imitation fails, and instead of salvation he brings about disaster: he is drowned or has to relieve the restless ferryman (AT 461—as Thompson puts it, "The envious king attempts to imitate the youth's exploits"); or he is thrown into the oven or the lime pit in place of his unwelcome son-in-law, tragically by his own orders (AT 930; cf. Schiller's Gang nach dem Eisenhammer). The antagonist, who would like to be rejuvenated or beautified like the hero, burns to death in a bath of boiling milk. The birds or ghosts whose helpful secrets the fairy tale hero has overheard catch the guilty imitator and kill him, without knowing of his true guilt (KHM 107, AT 613: "The Two Travelers" and "The Crows"). In this last instance, we can speak of double imitation: the villain tries, consciously but in vain, to imitate the one he has so cruelly blinded; the supernatural, only half-"knowing" creatures unsuspectingly imitate the past destructive doings of their victim—but their "imitation" succeeds more perfectly than the model which the wicked wanderer has set up: the man blinded by him was healed, but the villain is destroyed. As so often happens, this unsuccessful imitation comes at the end of the fairy tale plot; it is a final failure.

It would be tempting to accumulate and analyze more fairy tale examples for the phenomenon of unsuccessful imitation. As in the contrasting instances provided by AT 480 (Mother Hulda type, golden daughter/dirty daughter: Goldmarie/Pechmarie) and AT 676 (Alibaba), numerous nuances and oppositions would be revealed, though the basic structure would remain the same. The model of unsuccessful imitation is a stereotype that is taken up over and over again but filled out in rather diverse ways. Within the framework of this necessarily short article I can only point out that in fairy tales there is also such a thing as an unsuccessful imitation of self. The witch in the fairy tale of "The Two Brothers" (AT 303, KHM 60) tries to outwit, to ruin, to petrify the second brother with the same method that she has earlier used on the first; but she fails, for in the second son she meets her master.
A Brazilian fairy tale has the same pattern: the villainous Jaguar manipulates the stupid Stag, the first few times for the sheer fun of tormenting him, but in the end to his own advantage—and to the undoing of the Stag who, slandered by the Jaguar, is beaten to death by the shepherd. When the Jaguar tries to do the same with the Monkey, he fails again and again and is finally destroyed by the same trick he had used to set the shepherd on the Stag. Nowhere could it be more obvious than here that the tale mirrors life. When situations change (as when the second brother of the "Two Brothers" fairy tale, warned by the disappearance of the first brother and hence suspicious, acts with caution), or when partners change (as when the clever Monkey replaces the stupid Stag), whoever merely copies himself instead of adapting to the new situation will fail; if things turn out for the worst (and the fairy tale usually chooses this course), he perishes. In reality the imitation of self is of vital importance: patterns of behavior must be practiced, must be repeated. Successive, successful imitation of self is the rule. But when the repetition of one's own method becomes absolute and rigid, when everything else is disregarded, failure results—the two types of tale just mentioned demonstrate this special case.

Just as the unsuccessful imitation of self is a special instance of the successful one, the whole complex of unsuccessful imitation is a special instance of imitation in general. It has long been recognized that imitation, to a great extent, shapes the fairy tale and orally transmitted literature in general. In a lecture given in 1908 (and printed in 1909), Axel Olrik spoke about the "law of repetition" prevalent in "folk literature" (by which he meant oral literature\(^3\)); in 1971 Bennison Gray discussed "repetition as the chief compositional characteristic of oral literature.\(^4\)

Repetition, however, is imitation. Reading a Hungarian fairy tale of the type of "The Devil's (Dead Man's) Mistress" (AT 407B; Degg #\(^5\)), Gray is reminded more of musical than of literary composition. Musicology uses the term "imitation" chiefly in the analysis of fugues; imitation, however—both strict and varying—is a basic principle of music in general. I chose the term "imitation" because—among other reasons—it signifies the specifically human form of repetition. Plants and animals (and man, insofar as he, too, belongs to the natural kingdom) appear in shapes that are repeated a thousandfold (and in only slightly varying forms) and that behave again and again in the same or similar ways, because they are programmed in advance by laws of nature—that is, from within. But above and beyond that, man—consciously, semi-consciously, and even unconsciously—plays a game of imitation that goes far beyond all animal rudiments. If leaves are like other leaves in shape and behavior it is not because they wish to be so, but because they must. But man transcends such inner necessity, which has been imposed even on him, by imitating others—and, from a temporal point of view, himself as well.

Creators and tellers of fairy tales love having an episode followed by similar episodes. In doing so, they obey, to a certain degree, the laws and tendencies of literature which develops orally and is meant to be apprehended by ear and reproduced orally. Over and above this degree of necessity, narrators give free rein to the pleasure of repeating and imitating—to an excessive degree in chain tales, and more moderately in magic tales (Zauber-märchen) and novelle (Novellenmärchen), which are governed by a tendency toward three-part structure. In listening to and even
reading fairy tales, one senses that the tellers enjoy repetitions, even those which they have to use for reasons of narrative technique. To paraphrase Schiller, narrators receive the law into their wills. The fairy tales in books retain of their own accord, many, if not all, repetitions found in oral tales; they are part of the charm not only of the spoken but also of the printed fairy tale.

Within the fairy tale narrative, then, later episodes are often merely the slightly varying or contrasting repetitions of an earlier episode. The fairy tale characters imitate each other: for example, all three brothers set out to accomplish a task. The two elder ones copy each other fairly exactly—even though the second knows nothing of the blunders and little of the misfortune of the first, he makes the same mistakes and falls prey to the same fate. But within the same framework of adventure, the youngest brother behaves in a contrary fashion and therefore achieves success. Contrary behavior is a marginal form of imitation: as Goethe said, "Every spoken word arouses its opposite." All manner of being and happening provokes not only direct but also contrary imitation. In musicology, inverted repetitions and exact repetitions are both considered to be true "imitations" of a musical theme. Among such "imitations" are "retrogression" (Krebs)—the repetition of sounds in inverted order—and the mirror-like supercession of one figure of sound developing upward by another analogously developing downward. Similarly, in folktales, the character who does the opposite of what another or he himself has done is still dependent on the model that has been set up; he imitates it negatively. When brothers or other fairy tale characters act identically, similarly, or contrarily in succession without being conscious of it or without knowing how their predecessor has acted, this behavior reflects the compulsion to imitate which is imposed on man as much as on other living creatures. The second brother is still conscious of imitating the setting out and the objective of the first, but he acts identically in the particulars of his journey only because, from a formal point of view, he is his brother's double—semantically speaking, one would have to say, because he is a being of the same kind. The hero is portrayed in many fairy tales as one who imitates himself: after he has defeated a dragon for the first time he fights two more (ever more dangerous) dragons; similarly, he frees three (ever more beautiful) princesses in succession. From the point of view of narrative technique, this is incremental repetition; but from the point of view of the character, this is a second application of the model he has set up for himself. Similarly, the hero reapplies the model he has used in riding to the glass mountain or in jumping up to the balcony of the princess. Again, when the hero first attempts to retrieve the picture of the czarevna, the first time three blocks of wood separate the hero from the picture, the second time two, and the third time he catches the picture (AT 530, Meyer #41). In the Grimm fairy tale of the "Golden Bird" (KHM 57) the hero imitates his initial mistake twice: he flings the advice of his animal helper to the winds, and thereby gets into difficulties; but for that very reason, he fares better than if he had heeded the fox's warnings and injunctions. In the final part of the fairy tale there occurs another fateful self-imitation, and, for one last time, the helper has to step in to save the situation.

If we take seriously Bennison Gray's suggestion that the fairy tale is composed almost in the manner of a piece of music, we must refer to the phenomena which he stresses—that is,
"Incident repeats narration" and "narration repeats incident"—as quasi-musical imitations. Direct and reported speech are reflected in the actions which realize them; actions are reflected in the speeches which report them.

These last examples point in yet another direction. Neither the term "repetition" nor the term "imitation" quite does them justice. In the tales of the three brothers (AT 530, 550, 551, 402, 471, 570, 577, 610, and others; cf. Motifs L10-L49) or in the one of the bear's son (AT 301, KHM 91), the second brother or companion imitates the first. In both cases, this action points forward to what is coming; the unsuccessful outcome of the episodes featuring the two elder brothers practically cries out for completion by a variation in which the envisaged goal is attained: "What is crooked wants to be straight; what is half full, full." In the fairy tale there are not only repetitions and imitations, but also anticipatory elements. Those parts of the plot that belong to the two elder brothers or to the companions are somewhat like deficient anticipations of that part of the plot which is still in the offing and allotted to the hero. Corresponding to the numerous imitations in the fairy tale, we find an equal or even greater number of "premitations" (Vorahnungen—a term proposed by the Shakespearean scholar Martin Lusereke). The unsuccessful attempts of the hero's predecessors and (in the same or in other fairy tales) the first unsuccessful attempts of the hero himself are negative anticipations; the parallel to the unsuccessful imitations suggest the expression "unsuccessful premutation." But much more frequent than such negative anticipatory elements are normal anticipations. If Gray speaks of the "repetition" of what has been sketched in words by what happens later ("incident repeats narration"), the event can be viewed in an opposite way: advising or warning words, often precise instructions concerning actions and prophecies by non-human characters (speaking animals and other-worldly creatures) anticipate later events. Advice, assignments, tasks: all three are extremely popular in the fairy tale. In fact they are nothing short of essential to the genre, anticipating on the level of words—in outline or in detail—what is to come. Less common, but still frequent enough, are prophecies (for example, AT 930: "The Prophecy"), dreams (AT 725, Motif M312.01: "Dream of future greatness," Josephstraum; AT 425C, "Beauty and the Beast": Beauty's dream of the Beast lying in the grass, dying, occasions the return of the heroine to the bewitched partner), revelation of secrets (AT 302, "The Ogre's Heart in the Egg": the eliciting of the secret leads to the discovery of the "hidden life" and thus to the destruction of the ogre who keeps the princess imprisoned; the ogre's soul is destroyed in a series of stages, identical to those indicated at the revelation of the secret), and, of course, curses. The picture or the dream image of the beauty anticipates the encounter with her and occasions the search. Negative injunctions, also typical of the fairy tale genre, anticipate the subsequent events in a negative way: even more plainly than the initial failures discussed above, these are negative anticipations which aim at the realization of what has been forbidden. Everything that has been conceived, even if it is in negative form, has the tendency to realize itself; hence the many transgressions of injunctions in the fairy tale (and, less often, in real life). Magic gifts, also part and parcel of the magic tale, are also anticipations. Their qualities are first outlined in words; later we see them in action. Like magic gifts, the frequent recognition tokens and the occasional life tokens (e.g., a knife
turning rusty) are materialized references to later events. The most potent anticipation in the fairy tale is the task. By necessity as well as for pleasure, man is an accomplisher of tasks. It is significant both from an anthropological and a structural point of view that the task (which by its nature is always a kind of project) has the most essential function in the fairy tale plot; it sets the story in motion and limits it at the same time.¹²

In comparison to the dense network of anticipations in the fairy tale, the various kinds of repetitions appear quite modest: repetition or variation of speeches or episodes or the compelling drive to hear an exact recounting of one's crimes (and, possibly, to pass judgment on oneself), the private party with the injunction not to leave the room, the inn of tales (where those who used to be active tell of their former doings, or where others tell of them), recapitulation of earlier happenings by means of a brush.¹³ The translation of previous actions into riddles in the Rätselmärchen (AT 851) can be looked at from the point of view of repetition ("narration repeats incident") as well as of anticipation: the course of the adventure anticipates the riddle that is to be asked later.¹⁴

Bennison Gray has stressed the factor of repetition. Criticizing Örluk mildly and Parry and Lord sharply, he protests against viewing repetition almost exclusively as a defect bound up with oral narration or as some sort of metrical compulsion.¹⁵ He says that repetition is, rather, a fundamental means of composition in oral literature. In my opinion Gray is correct in this respect. What he does not seem to see is that other means of composition which is at least as effective in oral literature: anticipation. Repetition (in our usage, "imitation") is something relatively static; it leans on something that is already in existence. But anticipation is dynamic; it aims at realization. The countless gifts, tasks, assignments, pieces of advice, instructions concerning actions, and negative injunctions—as well as the rarer anticipations in the form of prophecies, curses, dreams, and pictures—are more productive forces of composition than are the repetitions, the imitations. Repetitions are perceived immediately by the reader; they are striking. Anticipations are more subtle, but more concentrated and effective.

The game of anticipations and imitations is particularly varied and many-faceted in the fairy tale. But a few examples will demonstrate that both are important in other types of folktales as well.

The story of Alī Chawādscha (chodjah), half exemplum, half anecdote, is pretty as well as instructive. Scheherezad tells it in the 946th night as a Harūn er-Raschid anecdote: Alī entrusts his whole fortune, one thousand pieces of gold hidden in an olive jug, to a friend who eventually discovers the hidden gold. He seizes the gold and fills the jug with fresh olives; shortly afterwards Alī, whose journey has lasted seven years, returns. In vain he looks for his gold in the jug. He files a charge but, as he has no witnesses and cannot prove anything, it is dismissed by the cadī. Then he hands the Calif Harūn a petition in which he begs him to take up his case. The Calif's decision is made easy: as he walks through the town that evening—incognito, as is his custom—he sees some boys enacting the trial of Alī. But they do not simply copy it; the clever boy who acts the part of the judge is far more circumspect and astute than the cadī was. He takes into account the fact that the olives would have rotted after seven years and (still within the framework of the game) has the
olives in the jug examined by experts, who find the fruits are of recent vintage—thus the rascally friend is proved guilty. Now, the Calif could simply repeat what has been enacted by the boys—instead, however, he summons the clever boy and has him play the game again, in earnest now, with the real plaintiff, the real defendant, and real experts (olive merchants); the young judge passes sentence and the wise Calif carries it out. 16 Thus, children imitate adults, but play the trial differently, and better, than the adults have played it. Their game becomes the model for the appeal proceedings before the Calif, who without this model would probably not have discovered the truth. When children play, imitation and anticipation occur simultaneously; the playing boys of our story do not only practice modes of acting for their own distant future, but also influence the near future by correcting a false sentence in their game. On the following day the wise boy is allowed to copy himself, and perfectly faithfully too, whereas earlier, in the game, he had copied the incompetent Cadi in the manner of contrast—so diversely are imitation and anticipation interwoven here. But the explosive force—and with it the spice—of the story rests not in the imitation, but in the anticipation. This tale has an analog in Jewish tradition: to everyone’s surprise the boy David plays better than King Saul (Motif J176.317) and thus anticipates his future position.

In a different way, Schwänken concerning clever people in court contain anticipatory elements. When the verger (or blacksmith) manipulates the vicar (or master) he has robbed (and who is now taking him to court) so that the vicar lends him a decent coat for his appearance in court, the shrewd fellow has calculated the whole scene in advance. He will get the wronged vicar to say that the coat worn by the verger is his and will thus undermine his credibility (Motif J1151.218). Thus the swindler’s plan anticipates his own performance in court; at the same time he speculates as to what the reactions of the plaintiff and the judge will be, and since he is right in his estimation he wins the lawsuit. The listener or reader foresees that the coat in question will play an essential part in the next scene, just as the pistols hanging on the wall in the first act of a play have to make an appearance in the last act at the very latest. The borrowed coat, just like the magic gifts in the fairy tale, is, so to speak, the embodied anticipation of what is to follow. Not only the characters in the tale itself, but the listeners and readers as well, anticipate.

Another popular and widespread motif of the Schwank, frequently used as an opening scene in the tale just described, shows how a social inferior gets the better of his superior by praying aloud for a hundred talers—and not one taler less, or he will not take the sum. He has good reason to hope (that is, he foresees, he anticipates) that a rich man hearing this strange prayer will try the test for fun; when this happens, he pockets the money, remarking that God or the Virgin or the saint to whom he has prayed is bound to supplement the missing coin—or he makes some other excuse (Neuman #210: "Our Lord is an old man, he may have miscounted the money," Motif J 1473.1; AT 1543, "Not One Penny Less" 19). He who manipulates has to make detours; whether they will be successful is uncertain; all manipulation is based on speculative anticipation. In the famous Unibos tale (AT 1535) the trickster foresees the reactions of a whole series of persons to be tricked by him and they in turn imitate in series, without realizing its true nature, the model he has created. Here we are dealing with fake imitations, with a coupling of speculative
anticipation and fatal imitation, bound together by deceptive appearance.

The Eating Contest (AT 1088) is simpler: the trickster appears to be cutting open his stomach (in reality a bag filled with noodles or other food). The stupid giant imitates the fake action and dies ("Jack the Giant Killer")\(^{20}\). Even simpler, but at the same time truly absurd and farcical, is the tale of the unsuccessful self-imitation of the soldier who, on captain's orders, is supposed to demonstrate to the colonel how he is capable of eating seven loaves of bread one after the other; the soldier fails and cannot understand why: he says he tried it out an hour before and managed all right.\(^{21}\) In the well-known Schwankmärchen of the three foolish wishes (AT 750A)\(^{22}\) we are dealing with the unsuccessful imitation of another person.

Better known still is the fable of the fox and the crane (AT 60, "Fox and Crane Invite Each Other"). The crane imitates the fox cunningly and successfully, making him the dupe by using his own methods against him. The fox, like so many others (for example, the witch in "Hansel and Gretel," KHM 15) will be vanquished by his own method: he becomes the trickster tricked (the witch wants to show Gretel how to crawl into the oven; what was supposed to be a mere model--anticipation or premitation--suddenly becomes an irrevocable reality). In Aesop already we find, even in two versions, the fable of the wood cutter and the river (AT 729): The wood cutter drops his axe into the river, and the river (or Hermes) shows him first a golden axe, then a silver one, and asks whether it is the one he has lost; the honest man says no both times, and Hermes (or the river) returns the lost one to him along with the other two. The imitator drops his axe into the river on purpose and then claims the golden axe as his own; whereupon he receives neither that nor his own. The saying: Not always does the river give axes, οὐκ ἔδει ποταμὸς αἰγίνας ἔπει, is supposed to derive from this fable.\(^{23}\)

The folk legend (Volkssage) metes out severer punishment to the imprudent imitator. The wicked herdsman who sends his young stable boy to the abandoned hut to deliver him up to sinister spirits learns that they have not harmed the innocent youth but have let him go endowed with a special talent (the ability to yodel, sing, or whistle beautifully); he goes in search of such a gift for himself, but the spirits of the alp tear him to pieces.\(^{24}\) All three genres--fairy tales, fables, and legends--use this model: the innocent man finds grace, the wicked and avaricious imitator is punished. In these cases, the pattern of the unsuccessful imitation satisfies the sense of or wish for justice: it admonishes and it criticizes social conditions. The legend also makes use of the unsuccessful premitation: first attempts at banning a spook fail (because the clergyman is not pure or powerful enough), but the last one is successful.\(^{25}\) In demonic legends that are related to sacred legends the motif of torturing self-imitation appears: the guilty man has to carry a red hot stone round his neck, or to bring about the fall of a cow into an abyss (and to try to pull it up again: Sisyphus!) or to sit at his desk over his fraudulent accounts. Instead of wine he drinks red hot pitch in hell; instead of sitting in a comfortable arm chair, he sits on a red hot iron chair.\(^{26}\) The so-called dualist myths of creation are based on the principle of unsuccessful imitation (more rarely on that of unsuccessful premitation). God creates man, the horse, the pigeon; the devil manages only the monkey, the goat, and the magpie. But sometimes the unsuccessful imitation may be suddenly replaced by
the intentionally destructive one, which does not fail: the devil's animals destroy God's creatures—goats eat grafted twigs, wolves devour dogs, the pike eats the fish created by God. 27

Many of the quoted instances, and countless more that have not been mentioned, show ever new varieties and aspects of the phenomena of imitation and anticipation, and invite more discriminating interpretations. Here space permits only a short conclusion.

If we find a surprisingly large number of imitations and anticipations—some clearly obvious, some concealed—in life as well as in art, it is not because art is a mere reflection of reality. Rather, the omnipresence of imitation and anticipation in both spheres has its real origin in the fact that in art, as in life, the same basic human dispositions take effect. The wish to imitate and the power to assimilate, on the one hand, and pre-view, pre-construction, anticipation, and premition, on the other, are as intensively and extensively at work in the composition of tales as in the shaping of existence. That their negative counterpart, unsuccessful imitation and premition, is particularly evident in the folktale is due to the fact that terse and concise motifs are especially effective from that narrative point of view. Negation is more exciting than affirmation: that is the reason for the preference, in the folktale and particularly in the fairy tale, for negative injunctions. In addition there is the previously mentioned accord of the elements of repetition and contrast, two of the central stylistic features of the fairy tale. And finally there is the experience, repeated continually from childhood on, that imitations often fail, and that as a rule many unsuccessful undertakings precede successful ones. In certain cases the bitter experience of individuals and groups can play a part, as with the Lithuanians, according to Alan Dundes 28; but such things come second to the general causes. In folktales, as in life, successful imitations are seldom striking, but they are more frequent than unsuccessful ones. Repetitions, both of the strict and of the varying kind, serve, in the fairy tale, to counterbalance the departures, the expulsions, the strange adventures. They also provide a contrast to the anticipations. The common denominator of anticipation and imitation is the urge to reach beyond oneself. Imitating, man incorporates the past into himself; he extends himself, as it were, into the past or into the present which exists by his side; anticipating, he pushes forward into the dimension of the future. Correspondingly, in imitation and repetition the past stays alive, and in anticipation the future is at work in the present. Only by reaching beyond himself does man find his true identity.

It should be emphasized most strongly that imitation and anticipation are important forces in the construction of the folktale. These forces work on the listener, as well. Those who compose folktales (particularly fairy tales), those who tell them, and those who listen to them undergo—in telling and listening—a veritable process of learning; or, to avoid sounding like a school teacher, a process of activation. Their ability to assimilate and to anticipate is stimulated, activated, practiced. The formal and formative force emanating from folktales is one of the reasons why they live on, and will probably continue to do so for a long time yet, long after the old oral tradition has died out. Books are not herbaria; the tales stored in them come to new life in every receptive reader, in many cases even to oral life again. They tempt one to retell them. Imitation is involved here, too—as, in a different way, in the whole body of folktales where, again and
again, appear the same or similar motifs, features, themes which are, all at once, echoes of sounds already heard and anticipations of melodies that shape themselves continually.

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Notes

2 Ibid., pp. 113-14.
6 Gray, p. 299.
7 Elective Affinities (1810), part 2, chapter 2.
9 Gray, p. 296; see also p. 299, where he refers to "recapitulation."
13 Lüthi, Das Volksmärchen als Dichtung, pp. 105ff.
14 Ibid., pp. 106-107.
15 Gray, p. 290 (for Olrik), pp. 293ff. (for Parry and Lord).
18 Siegfried Neumann, ed., Volkschwänke aus Mecklenburg: Aus der Sammlung Richard Wossidlos (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1965), #287, pp. 84; #210, p. 60.
20 Ibid., pp. 853-64.
21 Overheard by the author as told by a Swiss army officer in Bern, 1927.
23 Carl Halm, Fabulae Aesopicae Collectae (Lipsiae, 1868), #308b; see also Reinhold Strößberg, Griechische Sprichwörter (Göttingen: Elanders, 1961), pp. 30-31.

SPACE IN FOLK NARRATIVE

W. F. H. Nicolaisen

This paper\(^1\) is a deliberate, and perhaps necessary, companion piece to one on "Time in Folk Narrative" which I presented at the centenary celebrations of the Folklore Society (London) in July 1978.\(^2\) It seemed desirable to examine the same body of material which I had used on that occasion, this time for indications of spatial structure and arrangements, and to test the validity of some of our conclusions concerning the concepts of time, with regard to the closely related notions of space. I have therefore again combed the first ten stories in Stith Thompson's \textit{One Hundred Favorite Folktales},\(^3\) ranging from AT 122 to 314, for all references to matters, perceptions, and symbols of space; I shall base my arguments mainly, although not exclusively, on what I have found in that limited, but not haphazardly chosen, narrative corpus.

This approach, implying a method that parallels my earlier investigation, does not, however, automatically call for similar answers or even expectations. One does not have to study folktales or be a professional student of the human psyche to realize that our understandable preoccupation with the overwhelming dimension of time is much more persuasive (and much more deeply rooted) than our interest in questions of space—despite, or perhaps because of, certain remarkable technological and scientific achievements in that sphere in the last decade or two. Distances measurable in inches and miles and leagues, even when extraordinarily long or short, do not excite us as much as periods of time measurable in hours or days or eons. Our sense of space seems to be far less developed than our sense of time, and our three-dimensional existence hardly ever seems as important to us as does the embeddedness of our lives in the dimension of time. The human dilemma is not so much that we are where we are and that we cannot be somewhere else as well, but rather that our lives are bounded and determined by what we call the passage of time, in all its manifestations and punctuations, that we have to be what we are when we are, and cannot be earlier or later. We are much more eager to discover cracks in time than to effect distortions of space. It would be unreasonable, therefore, to expect any folktale or group of stories to yield the same number of references to, and the same quality of insight into, the concept of space in folk narrative as we were able to extract concerning the handling and view of time.

If, on the other hand, we assume (just as unreasonably) the spatial dimension to be virtually missing, an investigation like the present one would be doomed to fail from the outset. Max Lüthi, more than any other scholar, has taught us to be aware of the fundamental \textit{Flächenhaftigkeit}, the basic two-dimensionality of the \textit{Märchen}, proving it in a dozen different ways and expressing it in ever-new formulations—\textit{a Flächenhaftigkeit} which precludes the depiction of a full-blooded, convincing environment, and instead demands the portrayal of isolation as an essential, typical stylistic device. In essence, however, Lüthi's \textit{Umweltlosigkeit}, his "lack of environment" is a lack of private space, an absence of
inner depth projected outwardly, rather than the incomprehensible total spacelessness which would imply complete insensibility to a feeling of (and a need for) human location.

In the Märchen the strategic deployment of significant, prototypical topographic features is possibly the element most responsible for the creation of structured space as a comprehensible, familiar habitat. This habitat needs no identifying name; in fact it defies naming, because it is not individually pinpointed, but potentially realizable in multiple locations. It is recognizable, but not knowable; its analogues are all around us: three goats "go up the hillside"; "on the way up was a bridge over a burn they had to cross"; in the darkness "under the bridge lived a great ugly Troll"; "a man . . . went into the forest"; "a snake [is] crushed under a large stone"; "a horse [is] . . . tied to an oak tree"; "the fox . . . reached a distant valley"; a woodcutter's wife "found herself . . . in the midst of the woods"; there is a "stone before the entrance to the cave" where the bear keeps his human wife and child; John the Bear and his companions "arrived in a wood" and later walked "through the woods"; the giant's house was on "a steep hillside, like a wall"; on his journey to find the giant's heart (that is in the egg, which is in the duck, which swims in the well, which is by the church, which stands on an island, which lies in a lake), the hero and the wolf travel "over hedge and field, over hill and dale"; two pieces of the magic fish are to be buried "in the yard"; in the realm of the accursed king there is "a grove"; and so on.

These, then, are the ingredients of the landscape of home, the landscape in which the woodcutter's hut, the king's palace, the beautiful castle, the blacksmith's shop, the maiden's tower, are set as human landmarks—the home to which one returns from the neighboring village, the forest, the Troll's bridge, the bear's den, even from the "stream that marks the border of the land of mortals." It is a landscape without frills, and its stylized familiarity signifies primarily shelter and security; it is a landscape where one is oneself.

The most immediately persuasive location of human domination over the wilderness, the ultimate non-wilderness, the outdoor equivalent of the houses, palaces, and castles (with their designated rooms and purposeful passages) is the walled- or hedged-in, neatly arranged garden: "... there were magnificent gardens, trees loaded with golden fruit, meadows sprinkled with a thousand bright flowers," or "they went for a walk in the palace garden," or "as they drove along one of the roads they noticed a beautiful garden," or, simply, "John . . . went into the garden." Gardens are most frequently places of delightful sanctuary, of threat contained. But when they are somebody else's property, gardens may be places of inaccessibility, of pleasures denied—orchards of forbidden fruit. Gardens tempt, but entry requires special permission. The consequences of entering a garden (or, for that matter, a castle or room), unannounced and unauthorized are unknown, since these enclosures are always potentially spaces of enchantment, secluded places from which "none who entered ever returned"—dark forests in stone. When they are not "home," they are foreign elements in the natural landscape, and their walls may hide cruel secrets. They are spaces set apart, where trust is suspended and only motherwit and supernatural helpers can win the day:

[John the Bear] was wondering what to do, when the fairy again appeared to him and said: "If you wish to leave here, take this path which leads to the castle above:
but do not look at the little light which will be behind you; otherwise the light will go out and you will no longer see your way." John the Bear followed the advice of the fairy.

When rooms—smallish enclosed spaces within larger enclosed spaces—are especially declared out of bounds by their absent owners and the doors to them locked, although the key is not hidden, they become attractive objects of heightened temptation, invitations for the breaking of taboos, as we see in these examples:

When [the Devil] had taken his bride home, he presented her with a very tastefully arranged bouquet, led her through all the rooms of the house, and finally to a closed door. "The whole house is at your disposal," said he, "only I must request one thing of you; that is, that you do not on any account open this door." Of course the young wife promised faithfully; but equally, of course, she could scarcely wait for the moment to come when she might break the promise.

[The godfather gave John] the hundred keys to the hundred rooms of the castle. All these he could visit, with the exception of the hundredth.

Bettelheim, like other psychologists, interprets this "motif of the room one is forbidden to enter" as a "test of trustworthiness"—"the female must not enquire into the secrets of the male." Inferring that "the key that opens a door to a secret room suggests associations to the male sexual organ," he regards this motif as symbolizing "sexual temptation" intended "to test ... fidelity," and, since the key frequently is smeared with blood which cannot be washed off, one of the hidden meanings is likely to be that "defloration is an irreversible event." Naturally it would be foolish and simplistic to dismiss such as interpretation, but it would be just as foolish and simplistic to accept it as the only meaning of this motif, if we keep in mind Lüthi's healthy reminders that

The genuine symbol is always multifaceted [and that] the images of the Märchen are not only symbols; in the first place, they mean quite simply themselves. The forest is not only a symbol for the obscure, dangerous world or for the dark subconscious or for the beyond or for the past, but first and foremost it is just a real forest.

We must never forget, accordingly, to listen to or read folk narratives on this surface level in which forests are forests, gardens are gardens, rooms are rooms, keys are keys, and closed doors hide real secrets, for—and here is Lüthi again—"a folk tale is above all a story." Narrative entertainment delights, disturbs, and educates because it overtly maintains deliberate contact with the personnel, actions, and landscapes of our own daily lives. Without these essential analogues it would become incomprehensible, would cease to entertain, and no amount of profound symbolism would make it bearable as a narrative performance. Naturally the images, objects, actions, and motifs have a symbolic function, but it is not their only function.

The notion of space is no exception in this respect. Distances covered in journeys have often been described as outward projections of an inner maturation process, of a finding of identity—and this is undoubtedly true. Folktales protagonists are always on the road. It is, however, surprising and certainly significant, to note how often these distances are not measured in terms of space but in terms of time. Admittedly, there is the occasional "when he had gone six hundred leagues" or "she would be heard for seven leagues in all directions," but much more often we are told that "he had ridden a while" or that "after they had traveled many,
many days, they came at last to a lake" (the location indicated by the giant's "far, far away") or that they were "walking two days and two nights through the woods," or "the mule walked a long time." This perceived temporal dimension of distance makes journeys powerful metaphors of process, change, and becoming, for which the terminology and imagery of space alone would be quite unsuitable.

In contrast to this horizontal journey to distant lands, far-away adventures, and foreign wildemesses, the vertical descent always remains just that—a going down through a hole, a crack, a passage into a dark and unfamiliar and therefore exotically threatening world below. Such descents are usually short and need not be made far from home, although they sometimes are:

John the Bear then started to look about the castle. When he rapped with his cane upon the floor, it sounded hollow; he wanted to know why and discovered a great hole. [His three companions are let down with the help of a rope but, frightened by shrieks, demand to be pulled up again.] John the Bear then descended with his cane. He reached the bottom without hearing anything and saw before him a fairy . . . [Down below he finds a beautiful castle with magnificent gardens.]

. . . the oldest pushed her bed to one side and disclosed a passage to the underground kingdom, for the realm of the accursed king. They began to climb down the ladder. The nobleman quietly rose from his bed, donned his invisible cap, and followed them. [Down below are] a grove where golden flowers grew and a palace where a dance is held.

Or, in another tale not in the first ten, a Norwegian version of AT 480:

[The two stepsisters] agreed that she whose thread first snapped [in a spinning contest] should go down the well. So they spun away; but just as they were hard at it, the man's daughter's thread broke, and she had to go down the well. But when she got to the bottom, she saw far and wide around her a fair green mead, and she hadn't hurt herself at all. [Then, in this underground world, her horizontal journey and quest begin.] 13

Here, then, at the tangible of a rope or a ladder, at the bottom of a well—always below enclosed spaces—are worlds of magic and otherness, of evil intentions and deserving rewards for kindness shown, which the adventurous, the bold, the fortunate, and the sweet-tempered can reach without damage—though not without risk—and from which one can return better, richer, and more favored than ever.

Despite their locations in that dark, unknown, and frightening world down there, these landscapes of otherness are not so "other" as to be unrecognizable or capriciously bizarre. In most respects, they are subterranean replicas of the world above—another castle, a grove and palace, a fair green meadow—although below the forbidden room in the Devil's house there is (not unexpectedly) "a terrible abyss full of fire." In the descent to these landscapes, space—both physical and metaphysical—becomes space as task and as opportunity; menacing space to be successfully conquered, challenging space to be tamed, evil space to be overcome. One does not expect anything good down below—and castle, grove, and meadow, especially when exceedingly beautiful, are pleasant surprises to those designated fortunates who return by path, ladder, or well.

Thus we find in the folktale, instead of flatness, an upper and a lower realm, as well as an inner and outer space. Home is not only nearby in a horizontal sense, but also above ground in vertical terms. It is to this home that one has to return, both
from far away and from down below. Successfully conquered—that is, integrated and manipulated—space is therefore just as subjective and personal as conquered time. Ultimately one can only "live happily ever after" in the acceptably structured space of a familiar habitat, in the landscape of home. Every folktale hero knows that and lives to tell the tale.

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Notes

1 This is a revised version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in Los Angeles, October 1979.
2 To be published in the Proceedings of that conference.
3 Stith Thompson, ed., One Hundred Favorite Folktales (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968). Quotations will not be individually identified.
4 See, for example, Max Lüthi's Das europäische Volksmärchen: Form und Wesen, Dalp-Taschenbücher #351, 2nd ed. (Bern: Francke, 1960), p. 20.
6 Ibid., p. 300.
7 Loc. cit.
8 Ibid., p. 301.
9 Ibid., p. 300.
10 Ibid., p. 301.
13 Thompson, p. 150.
CONCEPTS OF SPACE IN CHILDREN'S NARRATIVES

Elizabeth Tucker

Children are, in many respects, explorers of new territory. They must investigate both safe places and their opposites, which are mysterious and frightening, in order to come to grips with intermittent threats to security. The stylized framework of the folktale is excellently suited to this need for exploration. Within the tale's clear-cut limits, young narrators can express their developing views of the world around them. Like so many folktale heroes, they are curious about unusual places and eager to extend their knowledge. Spatial concepts can be gleaned from the stories of children at various age levels, from about the age of two on, but I have chosen to focus upon pre-adolescent storytelling in this essay. Most girls between the ages of eight and eleven have a substantial repertoire of folktales, whether or not they consent to tell them to adult fieldworkers. The tales that I shall examine here are among those that I collected from pre-adolescent girls in Bloomington and Ellettsville, Indiana, in 1976 and 1977.¹

Pre-adolescent girls' stories show a predilection for space that is vertical or horizontal, heavily shadowed or brightly lighted, extremely dangerous or comfortably benign. In other words, it is space defined by sharp contrasts. Especially in the ghost stories that young girls enjoy telling, there is a distinct tendency to separate frightening from nonfrightening spaces. This kind of cognitive partitioning is quite understandable in light of the fact that danger is not always with us; if we could not separate the dangerous from the nondangerous, we would live in a state of continuous and debilitating fear.² Girls in the pre-adolescent years do not take these distinctions for granted as much as adults do, and their stories reflect a crucial stage of spatial orientation.

At the center of the contrasting spaces found in these stories is the area known as "home." As W. F. H. Nicolaisen points out in his essay "Space in Folk Narrative," home is "a landscape without frills that in its stylized familiarity spells mostly shelter and security; it is a landscape where one is oneself."³ Very young children frequently choose the home as a setting for their stories: it is a place where they feel secure and rely upon the protection of parents or other adults. Good examples of such stories told by two-, three-, four-, and five-year-olds are given in Children Tell Stories, by Evelyn Pitcher and Ernst Prelinger.⁴ By the pre-adolescent stage, however, the security of home has less intrinsic interest; it appears mainly as a defining matrix for strange and frightening things that can happen within the home environment.

Amid many evolving concerns, the home remains the central landmark of interior space. Its characteristics can be better understood through a look at some of the classic folktales of the European tradition. In his illuminating essay "Aspects of the Märchen and the Legend," Max Lüthi speaks of the folktale's preference for "all things whose form approaches the linear." The castle, he says, is a sharp-bordered geometric construct of vertical and horizontal lines that is emblematic of the folktale as a
whole. One cannot say that the castle image occupies quite the same place in children's storytelling, although there are a good many tales of large haunted houses or castles.

Instead, the dominant spatial framework is a substantial house occupied by one family. It is quite an old-fashioned house, devoid of such modern embellishments as sunken living rooms, dining alcoves, or modular sleeping spaces. The rooms are geometrically arranged in linear sequence, and there are at least two (often three) levels connected by stairs. Even though many houses today do not have attics or basements, the typical house of children's stories has at least one of the two. It has hidden places, dark passageways, and unexpected noises. Perhaps children are conservative at heart, clinging to tales of roomier, more complicated dwellings than their own; or perhaps they feel the need to envision a home with mysterious qualities. Whatever this fascination may be, it has kept the basic spatial arrangements of the folktale's castle alive in children's stories. The same linearity and complexity are found in the houses of children's narratives, though on a less grand and more familiar scale.

One such house is the setting for "The Stolen Liver," a story which enjoys great popularity among elementary school children. "The Stolen Liver" is not a title used by the girls in my data sample, but an analytic term for identifying one subtype of AT 366, "The Man From the Gallows." Two crucial actions, one the direct result of the other, give the story its substance: young Johnny's theft of a corpse's liver to be served as meat for supper, and the menacing approach of the corpse's ghost in retribution. While the first action is certainly forbidden and unusual, it does not convey the sense of horrible danger that the ghost's pursuit does. The setting of the theft, a vaguely indicated graveyard, quickly shifts to a more specific locale: the interior of Johnny's house. This building always has at least two floors, so the ghost's approach follows a slow upward progression that warns Johnny well in advance.

In many versions of "The Stolen Liver," the ghost's ascent follows a formulaic chant: "Johnny I'm on the first step, Johnny I'm on the second step, Johnny I'm on the third step . . . Johnny I want my liver back!" Significantly, the upward progress of the ghost is measured and controlled by the flight of stairs. Instead of pouncing upon the hapless child without warning, the ghost mounts each step with rhythmic regularity. The order and clarity of this approach make it bearable for children who are just beginning to gain control over fear. The staircase thus takes its place as a buffer between one space—the frightening realm of the supernatural—and another, the usually safe territory of the child's own bedroom. For this reason alone, it is understandable that so many children's stories and drawings place staircases in a prominent position.

Sometimes it is not just a question of successive steps, but of many floors which the ghost must ascend to reach its victim. Kathy, a ten-year-old resident of the small town of Ellettsville, ended her version of "The Stolen Liver" with a lengthy dialogue:

. . . so he goes to bed, and it goes "Johnny, I'm on the first floor. I want my liver back!" It goes on and on to the twelfth floor, it goes, "Johnny, I'm on the second floor. I want my liver back! Johnny, I'm on the third floor. I want my liver back!"
"I don't have it! Get away! Mom cooked it for dinner." "Johnny, I'm on the fourth floor. I want my liver back!" "Get away! I don't have it, Mama cooked it for supper."
"Johnny, I'm on the twelfth floor. I want my liver back!" [Pause] And, well, on the twelfth floor it goes, "I GOTCHA."
Improbable though it might seem for a young boy's bedroom to be twelve floors up in a single house, this sequence if quite consistent with the need for safe and threatening territory to gradually converge. The dozen floors (presumably connected by staircases) give the house grander dimensions and add to the space between child and ghost. Like Sleeping Beauty's castle and Rapunzel's tower, Johnny's house is high and spacious; but not spacious enough for escape from the ghost to be possible. There is no happy ending, for the crime of graverobbing must inevitably be punished.

In "The Stolen Liver" and numerous other ghost stories told by pre-adolescents, the focus is upon vertical rather than horizontal space. The ghost comes up, not across, to Johnny's room. Since many belief systems hold that spirits come from a different plane of existence—an upper or a lower realm—it is natural to find such an emphasis in children's supernatural narratives. A parallel situation can be seen in young girls' seances, at which spirits are "called up" from an unspecified lower region. Even though ghosts may be playfully summoned in this way, the participants know that beings from a nether world can be frightening and dangerous. Thus, the vertical axis of space is not one to be treated lightly. Danger from above and below is all the more worrisome because it is hidden, not easily perceived, while horizontal space is at least more clearly fraught with supernatural peril.

Because of this acute consciousness of vertical space, the upper and lower extremities of the house receive special attention in children's stories. Both the attic and the basement are places where members of the family do not usually spend much time; they constitute a kind of "no man's land" apart from the rooms where people eat, sleep, and relax. Separation from normal daily activities invests a place with a certain fascination and also a rather intriguing fear: if the usual is excluded, then perhaps something unusual, extra-normal, or violent can happen. Attics and basements are generally not very well lighted, and the combination of shadows with unfamiliar outlines can suggest strange apparitions. Frightening figures who appear in attic or basement settings in narratives are quite hazily visualized. Both girls and boys of pre-adolescent age tell stories about ghosts that take the form of bloody fingers, black or white eyes, and disembodied voices. Not all of these ghosts appear in attics or basements, but there are enough to suggest a close correlation between the form of the apparition and its spatial setting.

Unlike the ghost of "The Stolen Liver," many supernatural figures in young girls' stories are not particularly aggressive. The ghost of "One Black Eye" simply hovers at the foot of the basement stairs, repeating a single phrase until all the members of the family go down to investigate. The mother, father, brothers, and sisters all run shrieking up the stairs, and only the baby has the courage to deliver the perfect putdown: "If you don't shut up, you're going to be the ghost of two black eyes!" In the familiar tradition of unpromising but victorious heroes, the baby walks boldly down into the frightening territory of the basement. He knows that nothing favorable can be expected in the nether regions of the house, but this awareness does not stop him from putting the ghost in its place. The punchline is more than a simple case of one-upmanship; it removes the mysterious aura from the disembodied black eye by implying that it belongs to a whole body (or at least a face) vulnerable to being punched like an obstreperous schoolchild. As a result, the ghost is vanquished and
the basement ceases to be a locus of supernatural threat. The narrator not only recognizes a space-bound fear, but also temporarily banishes it through the story.

It is not enough for the hero of "One Black Eye" to give form to the ghost and defeat it on his own; he must do so in the presence of his whole family. The confrontation between ghost and family members, one after the other, confirms the danger that exists down in the basement and lends an air of solidarity to the proceedings. The older members of the family all react irrationally; only the youngest is able to inject a note of wry common sense. Since the baby is the only representative of rationality, in a satisfying reversal of the idea that adults have more sense than children, he is the sole member of the family who can come to terms with fear. Thus, the point of the Grimms' "Von Einem der Auszog, das Fürchten zu Lernen" (AT 326) applies to this story and others like it: young people must actively seek fearful experiences and dramatically prove to their families that they can deal with them.13

The seriousness of a child's confrontation with fear is sometimes playfully twisted in young girls' stories. What seems at first to be a ghost, monster, or maniac turns out to be something so innocuous that it makes the listeners laugh at the end. One such "funny-scary" story was told by ten-year-old Betsy, an Ellettsville girl who enjoyed some prestige as a storyteller:

There's this mom and dad and little boy and little girl, and the dad said he thought he heard a rat in the attic, so he went up there, and he didn't come back for a real long time, so the mom said, "You two kids stay here, I'll be back in a few minutes." So she went up, she didn't come back for a long time, so the little brother said, "Now sissy, you stay here. I'll be back in a second." He went up, and he didn't come back, so the sister went up, and he saw red--she saw red stuff all over the attic. She thought it was blood for sure. She looked in the corner, and they was all--they was all eating watermelon.14

In this story a mysterious noise comes from the attic, and the parents and children--gathered together in the familiar pattern of solidarity--recognize that something must be seriously wrong. When everyone but the little girl vanishes, she bravely goes up the stairs and finds traces of horrifying mayhem: "red stuff all over the attic." Suddenly, however, she realizes that the red stuff is not blood but watermelon. Her role is not to vanquish a threat, but to convey a feeling of pleasant surprise to the listener. Nevertheless, the story would be less effective without the listener's awareness that the last or youngest child can be the victor. If the noise in the attic turned out to be a ghostly phrase such as "One white eye" or "Bloody fingers," the heroine would be expected to put the ghost in its place right away.

With such an understated heroic role, where does the appeal of this story lie? Other than the playful comparison between blood and watermelon, a substantial share of the story's humor comes from its setting. Instead of being a place apart, a mysterious upper level where people seldom go and from which strange noises come, the attic has abruptly become the gathering place for a merry watermelon feast. Its usual function is completely and incongruously reversed, with the result that spatial perceptions are heightened. The usual fear of what can happen in an uninhabited space is brought into sharp relief, even though the fear is briefly submerged in a laugh at the end.

Another place apart, like the attic and basement but closer to the center of familiar activities, is the one "forbidden room"
of the house: the bathroom. It is not forbidden in the sense that Bluebeard's chamber is barred to the folktale heroine, but invested with a set of social taboos. Polite society forbids speaking openly about going to the bathroom; it is the only place in the house where social interaction is not allowed. Each person must go into the bathroom alone and face whatever happens there without help from anyone else. For an adult, such isolation is not usually fearful, but for a child it can be a terrifying experience. The strange noises made by the toilet, the sudden cascade of water, and the thought of being sucked down through the aperture can all contribute to a feeling of strangeness and threat. Even at the preadolescent stage, girls reveal a fascination with bathroom fears through the playful manipulation of favorite themes in their stories.

A substantial category of pre-adolescent girls' narratives has to do with the emergence of mysterious voices from the toilet. When investigated by a young hero or heroine, these voices prove to belong to such creatures as talking ants and malevolent birds. Two favorite lines are the ants' chorus "Floatin' down the river on the little brown log" (as the toilet is flushed) and the bird's "I see your hiney, all black and shiny, if you don't hide it I think I'll bite it." Child development specialists, notably Martha Wolfenstein, have identified this kind of storytelling as part of the stage of excremental fixation. This explanation certainly accounts for some of the interest, but there is also a concern with upward and downward space. The mysterious ghostlike noises come up from a lower region, all the more fascinating because it consists of a remote and inscrutable series of pipes. When the water goes down, its ultimate destination is uncertain; it may go as far as the basement or even further. Whether or not the child gives this matter much thought, the awareness of upward and downward motion is inevitable.

In the bathroom, the attic, and the basement, as well as on the stairs, vertical space is saturated with ambiguity and danger. It is the principal source of supernatural peril for young heroes and heroines within the home, but less prominent in the house's environs. Once the focus has shifted to the surrounding neighborhood, horizontal space becomes more important. A story told by eight-year-old Jennifer, a child of the Bloomington professional community, illustrates the usage of horizontal space:

Once upon a time there was this man and he lived all by himself. And one day the telephone rang, and it says, "This is bloody fingers and I am six blocks away from your house," and then he hangs up. Then the telephone rings again and says, "This is the ghost of the bloody fingers. I am five blocks away from your house!" And the telephone rings again: "This is bloody fingers, I am now four blocks away from your house." And the telephone rings again, and "This is the ghost of the bloody fingers, I am four, three blocks away from you house," and he hangs up, and then he hangs up and the telephone rings again [giggles]. And this time the ghost says, "I am the ghost of bloody fingers and I am two blocks away from your house." Then the telephone rings again. "This is the, this is the—[Audience: "Ghost of the bloody fingers."]"

"This is the ghost of the bloody fingers and I am one block away from your house!"

Then the doorbell rings. "This is the ghost of the bloody fingers. May I have a band-aid?"

This slow and painstaking movement from six blocks away to the man's door is reminiscent of another sequence: the ghost's progress up the steps to Johnny's bedroom. In both stories the approach of the frightening figure is carefully announced, with an
almost tedious attention to increasing or decreasing numbers. Is, then, horizontal space much the same as vertical space?

To the extent that safe is separated from dangerous territory, both kinds of space are handled in the same way. There is no sudden assault upon the house, just as there is no immediate pounce at Johnny's door. The slow, suspenseful approach, whether it is measured in steps or in city blocks, prepares the hero and the listener for the onslaught of something fearful. Here, however, the similarity ends. A ghost which moves upwards from a mysterious lower region, penetrating into the child's house and inexorably proceeding upstairs, is considerably more frightening than a ghost which prosaically crosses city blocks to reach the house's exterior. Even with all of its dangerous interior spots, the house is a stronghold. As long as it remains the focus of interest in a story, it offers shelter from any serious supernatural threat.

Of course, not all pre-adolescent girls' stories take place inside the landscape of home. As they grow older, girls become more interested in narratives about lovers' lanes, dark forest paths, and other surroundings at some distance from a familiar house. Their heroes and heroines leave the predictably complex interior for a wider terrain, where the problems of sexual maturation can be explored. Nevertheless, the house remains the first definitive spatial setting. It is the child's castle, the sheltering but threatening structure where fear must be mastered before she ventures forth into the outside world.

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Notes
1 This research began with the fieldwork for my dissertation, "Tradition and Creativity in the Storytelling of Pre-Adolescent Girls" (Indiana University, 1977).
3 See W.F.H. Nicolaisen's essay on "Space in Folk Narrative," also in this volume.
9 This story, collected in Elletsville on 26 October 1976, is included in its entirety on pp. 495-96 of my dissertation.
10 See Tucker, "Tradition and Creativity," pp. 399-422.
12 This is the typical punchline for "One Black Eye," discussed at some length in Vlach, "One Black Eye and Other Horrors."
14 Tucker, "Tradition and Creativity," pp. 482-83. This story was collected in Elletsville on 12 October 1976.
17 Tucker, "Tradition and Creativity," pp. 258-69. This story was collected at Cascades Park Brownie Daycamp on 16 June 1976.
HOW NATURAL IS NATURAL NARRATIVE?

Bruce A. Rosenberg

"Innovative" and "brilliant" are adjectives often applied to the research of William Labov; it is among the most important in the field by everyone's agreement, probably (as Mary Louise Pratt assesses) "the only body of data-based research dealing with aesthetically structured discourse which is not, by anybody's definition, literature." More to Labov's credit, his research and his findings have been the stimulus for further narrative analysis by several others in related fields, particularly speech act theory, language acquisition, cognitive psychology, elementary education, and folklore. In our discipline, his work has helped create an interest in the personal experience story. Two essays particularly have been influential in the scholarship on this narrative form, "Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience," co-authored by Joshua Waletzky, and the chapter of Language in the Inner City entitled, "The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax." The project which produced these essays had been undertaken originally to determine whether the reading problems of black children of the inner cities were in any way related to dialectical differences. The conclusions were that they were not, but stemmed from "political and cultural conflicts in the classroom." Labov described his purpose in the earlier essay: "the ultimate aims of our work will require close correlations of the narrator's social characteristics with the structure of narratives, since we are concerned with problems of effective communication and class and ethnic differences in verbal behavior." Labov's excursus into personal experience narratives, then, was undertaken with the intention of discovering how narrative techniques—and the resultant texts—varied among speakers of differing classes and ethnic groups.

In this essay I want to re-examine, from the perspective of the folklorist, one of the basic aspects of Labov's rationale in his study of personal experience stories: that the analysis of simple narrative is fundamental to an understanding of those more complex. I also want to re-evaluate the resultant working hypothesis of his field work—that the "Danger of Death" stories would be "original productions"—and his tentative finding, subsequently utilized by speech act theorists—that first-person experience stories tend to be coherent and lucid, and to contain evaluative clauses, while those that relate vicarious experiences, such as television dramas, are typically confused and incoherent. In all three instances it should be understood that my reservations about Labov's pioneering research are always within the context of appreciation and admiration for his work, as well as with the recognition that his primary concerns were never folkloristic.

In all, about six hundred interviews were recorded in the course of four linguistic projects, and included black and white informants from rural and urban areas, ranging in age from ten to seventy-two. None were high school graduates. The basic narrative unit studied was the clause, though it was occasionally
necessary to refer to cases in which both phrases and individual words were examined. Labov felt that it was important to analyze narrative on levels lower than that of the sentence because previous analyses had dealt with "substantial" blocks of narrative material, defined at various levels of abstraction according to the activity described, as in the case with Propp's Morphology. As Labov says, "most attempts to analyze narrative have taken as their subject matter the more complex products of long-standing literary or oral traditions. Myths, folk tales, legends, histories, epics, toasts and sagas seem to be the results of the combination and evolution of simpler elements...in many cases, the evolution of a particular narrative has removed it so far from its originating function that it is difficult to say what its present function is."  

We will want to ask a few questions about this assumption. First, the fact that Labov and his associates collected relatively simple narratives does not mean that all memorats are uncomplicated. Students of mine at Brown University, for instance, recorded several first-person experience stories of considerable length--recitation took nearly half an hour--and complexity. Secondly, while it is probably true that during its evolution a narrative will also evolve away from its originating function, that statement really only tells us that a different (and more sophisticated?) social context for storytelling may well alter the function the story once filled in its simpler setting. The evolved form will almost certainly have a function different from that of its originating, or seed, story, but that difference is self-evident. Moreover, the function of complicated, evolved stories is often known (as in the case of most myths, histories, epics, toasts, and others), and while it may not bear a close relationship to its simpler parent, knowing the one may be of no help in understanding the other. And, some relatively simple forms have derived from those more complex as, for instance, ballad from romance. Knowing about the function of one does not necessarily help with the other.

Even so, the matter is not this simple. In Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse, Pratt applied Labov's six narrative functions to several lengthy fictions--Plexus, Silas Marner, Jane Eyre, The Fall, The Great Gatsby, and Melville's "Bartleby the Scrivener" among others--and found that the functional structures--Abstract, Orientation, Complication, Evaluation, Resolution, and Coda--can be effectively applied to these literary works, complex and evolved as they are. While it is true, as Labov points out, that some simple narratives are strung together, and complex ones may embed constituent stories to produce longer forms, it is questionable whether the study of function, in Labov's sense, is a substantial aid to understanding longer tales. Labov's assumption seems to be that complex narratives have their historical and structural bases in simple ones, and that memorats have psychological priority. But there is no guarantee that studying simple forms will reveal essential matter about complex ones, which may be radically different in numerous ways. Why should a study of the memorat be a key to understanding, say, an Icelandic family saga, any lengthy oral history, or The Education of Henry Adams?

I am tempted to remark that the study of many folktales of the Aarne-Thompson Type 301A have not been greatly helpful or universally convincing in analyzing the stylistic issues of Beowulf; but of course the "John the Bear" stories are not epic fragments, they are fairy tales, and Labov's research was on personal experience stories. One should not compare artichokes and avo-
caddoes, or oaks and acorns. But is that not what Labov attempts when he says that in order to understand folktales, myths, epics, toasts, and sagas we would profit by studying the personal experience story?

The field techniques of Labov and his associates encompassed two kinds of taping sessions: one in which the speaker was alone with the interviewer, and the other in which the recording was made in the presence of the informant's peer group. It is the type of story which the interviewer elicited, however, that I wish to examine. Assuming that the "fundamental structures" he was seeking were to be found in oral versions of personal experiences, Labov sought the "original productions of a representative sample of the population," being careful to avoid "the products of expert story-tellers that have been re-told many times." At "a certain point in the conversation," the interviewer asked the informant, "were you ever in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed, where you said to yourself--'this is it,'?" Some informants were asked other questions, such as "were you ever in a fight with a guy bigger than you?" But the "Danger of Death" stories were the more frequently used and have been the object of nearly all references to this project: we think mainly, almost exclusively, of the "Danger of Death" tales in relation to this research on the first-person experience narratives.

Labov's seemingly innocuous phrase "original production" is actually quite important in its context, that Labov was seeking "not the products of expert story-tellers that have been re-told many times, but the original productions of a representative sample of the population." Furthermore, "original production" is ambiguous: it could mean an "initial production" or one that is "inventive." But the contrast with the phrase "re-told many times" suggests that the former meaning was intended. So I do not think that I am pedantically or arbitrarily quibbling when I point out that hardly any of these informants would have been recorded telling such a tale for the first time. A narrative situation in which one is in serious danger of getting killed will have been rehearsed often and retold many times, and very likely borrowed from similar tales which the informant has heard. The memorat may be original to the speaker--told in a personal style describing an event in which he or she participated--but is not likely to be infrequently told. We all have a stock, individually varying, of stories that are important to us, but which usually fit some socially structured category: "what we were doing at Pearl Harbor" (or at the time of Kennedy's assassination), stories of our Ph.D. comprehensives or orals, the birth of our child, our first day in the field. Art Buchwald begins an essay with the thought that "everyone has his own favorite airline story from years gone by"; and Robert Graves once listed those episodes he thought that any successful pot-boilder should include: "murders . . . ghosts, of course . . . and kings . . . a little foreign travel is usually needed . . . school episodes, love affairs (regular and irregular), wounds, weddings, religious doubts, methods of bringing up children, severe illnesses, suicides. But the best bet of all is battles . . . ." Roger Abrahams gave a paper at the 1977 American Folklore Society meeting on "The Most Embarrassing Thing That Ever Happened."

As Labov himself observes of his informants, "the narrators of most of these stories were under social pressure to show that the events involved were truly dangerous and unusual, or that someone else really broke the normal rules in an outrageous and
reportable way. Evaluative devices say to us: this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious and wonderful; more generally, that it was strange, uncommon, or unusual—that is, worth reporting.14 Not all of us may have stories for each category or telling situation, but most of us can relate personal experience narratives about many of them. And we have each told these memorats several—many—times, have worked and reworked the style, benefiting from the feedback which we have gotten each time we have told it. The product, after a time, may no longer closely resemble the original (by processes long discussed by folklorists), and this is also to the point. A story relating an event in which we were in danger of death will have been told often, may well be one of the most polished and derivative in our repertoire, and so is hardly the right subject to evoke a tale which will be an "original production," an example of how a teller will "naturally" recapitulate experience.

One final point deserves attention, that concerning Labov's conclusions on the form of narratives of vicarious experiences. "Many such narratives of vicarious experience" were collected, though only one is printed in Language in The Inner City. As Labov notes, this retelling of a television episode from "The Man From U.N.C.L.E." begins in the middle of the action without the orientation section that first-person narratives always contain. Pronominal reference is often confused and ambiguous, but the most important fact of this performance is that none of the events is evaluated:

This kid—Napoleon got shot
and he had to go on a mission.
And so this kid, he went with Solo.
So they went
and this guy—they went through this window,
and they caught him.
And then he beat up them other people.
And they went
and then he said
that this old lady was his mother
and then he—and at the end he say
that he was the guy's friend. 15

The absence of evaluative utterances is important to Labov's analytic scheme because such passages are used by the narrator "to indicate the point of the narrative, its raison d'être: why it was told, and what the narrator was getting at."16 When the speaker does not evaluate his own narrative he indicates that he has no purpose in telling the story, in turn causing its grammatical as well as its functional disintegration.

Significantly, Pratt picks up on this demonstration to show how Faulkner (in The Sound and the Fury) and Camus (in The Stranger) use similar grammatical features intentionally to depict estrangement and a radical disorientation from society and the world, what Sartre termed in Camus' work "discrepancy, divorce and disorientation," ideal for fiction of the absurd. Pratt cites the following passage from Faulkner for her demonstration:

Through the fence, between the curling flower spaces, I could see them hitting. They were coming toward where the flag was and I went along the fence. Luster was hunting in the grass by the flower tree. Then they put the flag back and they went to the table, and he hit and the other hit. Then they went on, and I went along the fence. Luster came away from the flower tree and we went along the fence and they stopped and we stopped and I looked through the fence while Luster was hunting in the grass.17
Pratt's observations of literary style may be helpful to our understanding of these two (and other, similar) novels, but Labov's conclusions are not so clear cut. For one thing, such narratives as an episode from "The Man From U.N.C.L.E." series are not likely to be high-intensity events, and so the narrator is not likely to remember them clearly, nor is he or she likely to relate them often if at all; if Labov had not asked the question, we do not know whether his informant would have ever told this television episode. The discrepancy between clarity in first-hand accounts and disorientation in vicarious ones does not always hold, Labov's findings and Pratt's confirmation to the contrary. For the following example I am indebted to the field work and analysis of Elizabeth Tucker, who collected hundreds of children's narratives, the one below by a Patricia, in the fifth grade, whom Tucker profiles as "an avid reader," whose "two stories from books showed her ability to recapitulate remembered details without difficulty." From Patricia's retelling of a story she had seen illustrated recently on a TV cartoon, I offer the following excerpt:

There's this--there's this one fly out of all the flies in the United States, and it's real strong. The flypaper, uh, flyswatter can't kill him. . . . insecticide can't kill him, and no flypaper can hold him. And well, his girl. . . . his girlfriend lives in this little sugarbowl that cracked, and uh, Fearless Fly stays in this matchbox, and he goes in there and he's known as Herman and when there's trouble he gets into his Fearless Fly costume. And his glasses--his glasses is antennae, they get real weak, he can't do anything. And uh there's these old uh Chinese men that are trying to kill 'im, and the old fat one's acting like that he's dying, he goes, "So--go get Fearless Fly, I wanta pay him my respects and tell him that I'm sorry," so the skinny one goes and gets Fearless Fly, says "Fearless Fly, um, he's dyin', and he wants to pay you his respects." So he um, he looked at his watch, and he found out that it was just a trick, and, um, but he went there anyway, and when he landed on his arm, he landed on the old man's arm, he goes, "I'm here," and he goes, he goes, "I'd like to say I'm sorry," and, um, he said, "here's a token of my grandfather's watch," and so it had a bomb in it. And so he took it and he goes, "I can't take this," and he gave it back and, um, all of a sudden it blew up. And they never have been able to catch 'im."

The story is from a TV cartoon Patricia had recently seen and obviously enjoyed enough to remember, at least in outline. Notice, there is coherence, and evaluation, and a clear plot structure, a climax, and a concluding narrow escape.

We do not know what transpired between interviewer and informant in the "Man From U.N.C.L.E." demonstration, but Tucker (certainly) and I have collected enough contrary evidence to rule out the possibility that vicariousness is the controlling factor in incoherent narratives. Lack of incentive seems to be more important; if the narrator is requested to relate a story he or she has little interest in, so little that it has not entered his or her repertoire of his or her own volition, that story is not likely to be coherent or well told. But if the narrative has been warmly received initially, if the hearer voluntarily decides that it is worth retelling at some future time, or simply that it is a good enough story to remember and an exciting experience to recreate, then the telling is much more likely to be clear, pronoun references will be understood, the story will in general be coherent and purposefully structured.

As I said at the beginning of this essay, nothing can detract from the importance of Labov's research, and it has not
been my intention to try. The insights he has given folklorists interested in personal experience narratives were not in the main line of his purposes, yet they have already had a great impact on several disciplines as well as on folklore. I do want to argue, however, that the idea of "natural narrative" is a questionable one, that as Clifford Geertz has persuasively presented the case, just as the human mind—or the human personality—does not become "human" outside of society, so the inclination, style, and functional structure of relating personal experiences, or simply telling stories, does not occur apart from culture. Before we tell stories, we hear them. We know how they are told, we are exposed to different styles and constantly discern, critically among them, as we develop our own. As Pratt has put it:

We are all perfectly aware of the "unspoken agenda" by which we assess an experience's tellability. We know that anecdotes, like novels, are expected to have endings. We know that for an anecdote to be successful, we must introduce it into the conversation in an appropriate way, provide our audience with the necessary background information, keep the point of the story in view at all times, and so on. And as with any speech situation, literary or otherwise, we form firm judgments all the time about how "good" an anecdote was and how well it was brought off by its teller; in fact, we are expected to express this judgment as soon as an anecdote ends. We recognize narrative expertise when we hear it, and when narrative speech acts fail, we can almost always say why: the experience was trivial, the teller longwinded, or we "missed the point." 20

We tell and retell our own personal experience narratives frequently, even continually, and the human inclination is to improve on our previous versions. If we are to understand and analyze narrative, as was Labov's attempt, we will have to do more than ask informants if they ever had an experience in which they thought they were in danger of death. We will want to know how each individual has first formulated each specific narrative (a nearly impossible feat), how it develops through retelling, and how the subject has been influenced by the style of others. This will never be adequately achieved, of course, but it is the direction that we must continue to travel. Narrative, like narration, is not "natural": to understand how it functions and what it is, we will want to examine it more thoroughly in its social context as a creation of the individual psyche which is a symbiotic part of that context.

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Notes

4 Ibid., p. xiv.
5 Ibid., p. 13.
6 Pratt's corroborations are cited in this essay.
7 Labov describes his methods in detail in "Phonological Correlates of Social Strati-
9 Ibid.
15 Ibid., p. 367.
16 Ibid., p. 366.
17 The opening lines of *The Sound and the Fury*, quoted by Pratt, pp. 182-83.
19 Ibid., pp. 220-21.
20 Pratt, pp. 50-51.
MINIMAL STYLE IN HAITIAN NARRATIVE

Daniel J. Crowley

The deepest bias of folklorists toward publishing their texts, preferably in the original language and literal translation, has been vindicated by the growing use of such primary documents for all kinds of research purposes by linguists, psychologists, philosophers, and epistemologists, to say nothing of the semioticians, structuralists, estheticians, and cognitive anthropologists who sometimes are drawn from our ranks. For instance, the existence of cultural schemata is demonstrated through differential comprehension of translated, synthesized, and sometimes purposely misstructured Eskimo tale texts.¹ Devoted to the preservation of traditions, including our own disciplinary tradition, folklorists cannot help but applaud this new interest and attention, wrong-headed as it sometimes appears. At the same time, we have every reason to hold fast to our original conviction that the text is primarily valuable in its own right, and that it is best analyzed on its own terms before any other. In support of these somewhat archaic dicta, this paper will attempt to analyze the style, content, and distribution of two short folktale texts from a rich but little-studied narrative tradition in order to demonstrate the continued usefulness of our own methods.

In our quest for the beautiful and the significant in folk tradition, we all too often ignore or slight the ordinary performers and their pedestrian offerings in favor of the locally-recognized "star" storytellers whose reputations rightly enough carry great weight with alien collectors. Great narrators such as Suggs, Vinkurova, and Josh Albury are rare in any society and worthy of infinite scholarly attention.² But such attention also serves to distort our view of the total narrative style because it omits or minimizes the majority of the specimens. Because they show much less individual variation than do the texts of the expert narrators, these tales exemplify the stylistic mainstream, at the same time showing the minimal characteristics and sequences that the plot must possess to retain its identity in the tradition.

In pursuit of this narrative mainstream in the Caribbean, I spent the summer of 1972 collecting randomly from anyone who agreed to allow me to record his story in some thirty islands stretching from New Providence in the Bahamas through Trinidad and the Netherlands Antilles all the way to San Andres off Nicaragua; the field trip was partially funded by a University of California Faculty Research Grant. The texts presented here were recorded on 9 July 1972, from two chambermaids employed at the Pension Sendrais in Bourdon, a hill suburb of Port-au-Prince, the capital of the "Black Republic" of Haiti which occupies the western third of the island of Hispaniola. Although the recording situation was far from typical, the narrators were used to telling tales before their mistress and her sister visiting from the States, and were pleased by the attention they received from the junketing collector and his family.

Although they could understand our ungrammatical standard French to converse with us, the two narrators told their tales in
the French-based Creole which is the first language of over 90 per cent of the Haitians. Other French-based Creoles distinct from the Haitian are spoken in South-Central Louisiana, the Lesser Antilles, French Guiana, and the islands of Reunion and Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. Using a modification of the Laubach-McConnell phonemic orthography designed to maximize comprehensi-

ability for readers of standard English, and with no pretense at preserving the French spelling of the words, I translated the texts as literally as possible to preserve the pithy, rather archa-

ic flavor of the Creole. As in other languages, Creole pronuncia-
tion can vary from utterance to utterance, rété becoming wété and li becoming i without altering their meaning. Sounds are more or less as in English, with the following exceptions: j as s in meas-

ure; è as in bet; é as in hey; i as ee in beet; ô as au in taut;
u as oo in boot; nasalization is represented by the tilde ~.3

After a couple of preliminary stories and songs to show how
the recording machine worked, Marcanie Poularde, age 24, of
Miraguane near Les Cayes in Southwestern Haiti agreed to tell a
story. She was a tall, handsome girl with a long face and a
sprightly, almost bold manner. In keeping with the faded ele-
gance of the private-mansion-turned-pension, she wore a maid's
black uniform with white collar, apron, and that indispensable
Creole adornment, a starched white headtie.

Krik Krak. Vwala sé Buki avèk Malis. Kal volé
Cric crac. This is Bouqui with Malice. They are going to steal
zér Kandéli. Malis alé, li pôté yò vyè tì sà
Kandéli's eggs. Malice went, he carried a little old one without
tòt. Buki pôté yò pakòt
a head [i.e., he was brainless]. Bouqui carried a package of
bagaj, makut, sakpai, pàyè.

baggage, a bag, saddlebags, a basket.
Lèl wivé, Malis fin plè tì sò tòt la,
As it happened, Malice finished putting the things on his head,
lalé. Buki mêm tà pul plè sakpai, pàyè,
he went. Bouqui at the same time filled up his saddlebags, basket,
pakòt bagaj. Lé Kandéli rétrè. Kan Kandéli rétrè,
package with things. Then Kandéli returned. When Kandéli returned,
Kandéli mèt yò guò zufé à baïyo .
Kandéli put a big fire underneath ...

Ti Malis, Buki, Madam Buki, Piti Buki. Madam Buki
Little Malice, Bouqui, Mrs. Bouqui, Little Bouqui. Mrs. Bouqui
môté à là. Piti Buki à là,
went up in the air [i.e., in smoke]. Little Bouqui burned up,
Buki à là. Kandéli limé yò guo dufè à baïyo. Lé Piti
Bouqui burned up. Kandéli lit a big fire underneath. Little
Buki fin builé à là. Lé di, "Papa, mé sâti bagai
Bouqui finished burning up. He said, "Papa, I feel something i
été âkò." Papa di, "Lagè kò latè.
can't stand anymore." Papa says, "Let your body fall to the ground.
Madam mwò la, ma fé yò la pitit." I ladi kò
My wife is there, (she) will make me (another) child." His body fell
latè. Épi Kandéli pwan kasè pwanyòt, kasè
to the ground. Then Kandéli took it and broke the wrists, broke the
pwèl, lágil nò bawi pu li màyè.
limbs, put them up in a barrier so he could eat them.
Madam ni pab supòtè âkò. I di, "Buki, mwè sètìm
Madam couldn't support herself anymore. She says, "Bouqui, I feel
pa ka sipòtè âkò, ma plagè kò latè."
I can't hold myself up anymore, I am going to fall to the ground."
Lagé kò latè. Zafé-o! "Gé lot fi, Her body fell to the ground. The fire! "There are other girls. ma fé lot piti." Madam i lagé kò latè. I'll make other children." His wife's body fell to the ground.

Épi Kandèli pwan, i kasé pwanyèt li, i kasé pyèl, li lagèl Then Kandèli took it, he broke the wrists, broke the limbs, he put na bawi pu wajè.

then in a barrier to eat.

Buki rêté. Buki sipstè, i go kòr, i pwò kòr, Bouqui remained. Bouqui hung on, he had heart, he took heart, li wètè. Li pa lagé kò latè. Apwè he stayed. He didn't let his body fall to the ground. After li a fin bwilè, tuné san. Épi Kandèli they had finished burning, they turned to ashes. But Kandèli rêté a dòmi, ë Buki rêté. Li lagé kò latè,

went to sleep, and Bouqui stayed. He threw his body to the ground, nan difé-a. San a volé, nan tut zèr Kandèli, tut into the fire. The ashes flew up, on all of Kandèli's eggs, all fijil, épi tam pul rétyè san a no fijil, épi over his face, and some chickens threw ashes in his face, but Buki lagè, épi Buki lagè kò latè.

Bouqui came down, but Bouqui brought his body down to the ground. Lalè. Lèl lévé, li pa jwè He (Bouqui) went away. When he (Kandèli) woke up, he didn't find Buki akò.

Bouqui anymore.

Buki, mwè té la too, épi mwè fé yò ku ti pyè. Mwè tòbé Bouqui, I was there too, but I gave myself a little kick, I fell la, pu m'bài bèl sistwa sa pu-u.

here, to give this pretty story for you.4

Perhaps because of nervousness or overeagerness, Marcianie's story was not nearly as well told as that of the narrator who followed her. The formulaic opening and closing are in place, and the straightforward, staccato speaking style is the same, but the order and logic of the narrative are in disarray. Although the characters' animal identities are never stated, the fact that Kandèli has eggs to be stolen suggests that he is a bird, an insect, or a saurian. Other data support the last two possibilities: in a Granadian version of this tale collected by Parsons,5 Candlefly has Kandèli's role; on the other hand, Zandoli is the Creole word for "lizard." Ti Malice and Bouqui are popular stock characters in Caribbean tales, and may have animal and/or human characteristics; the name Bouqui (Booky in the Bahamas) is believed to be derived from the Senegalese Wolof word for "hyena."6 Whatever his species, Malice's characteristics are never given a chance to develop because he dies first.

In her hurry to get into the story, Marcianie jumps the gun and kills off most of the characters without explaining that, when caught stealing by Kandèli, they took refuge in the rafters of his house. Rather than constructing a logical plot, she is more interested in giving Bouqui's darkly funny punchlines about getting another wife and making more children as his son and wife drop to their deaths. Predictably, Bouqui the trickster breaks the mold of convention but still manages to escape, leaving the eggs he sought behind. His unconscionable behavior, so at odds with Haitian paternalistic defense of women and children, is in keeping with his "international" trickster characteristics. A second confusion in the plot concerns the dead bodies supposedly put in the
barrier or grill to cook, but which unaccountably are turned to ash; even without the addition of the bodies, the wood used for the fire would have provided enough ashes for Bouqui to blind Kandéli. The much-guarded eggs may not have been Kandéli’s offspring; apparently the hot ashes cause them to hatch fortuitously and humorously, with the newborn chicks joining Bouqui in kicking the ashes into the sleeping Kandéli’s face.

Except for the black humor of Bouqui’s behavior, the tale is simplicity itself, obvious in its actions and flat in its characterizations. But even with its slightly scrambled succession of happenings, one can not fail to perceive the narrator’s intent, and indeed, to sympathize with our early colleagues who were tempted to “correct” such obviously faulty texts. No matter how charitable, no conscientious critic could consider this text as possessing any artistic merit, but that does not in the least destroy its usefulness for studying Haitian values and the esthetics of narration.

After some persuasion, the second tale was told by Octavie Voltaire, a forty-six-year-old native of Port Salut, the southernmost point in Haiti near Les Cayes and Marcianie’s home village. A shy, pretty woman with a heart-shaped face, and wearing the same maid’s uniform and headtie of the pension, she started in a soft, hesitant voice with the formulaic opening, but soon hit her stride and told her story with relish, singing the frequent songs in a clear, piping voice exactly right for their projection.


Köpê Pijò séte bô zami kò Tomâninga. Tomâninga Compère Pigeon was a good friend with Tomâninga. Tomâninga al détèn fi-a.

wants to change the girl’s mind.

Köpê Pijò kai fi-a. Pu Köpê Pijò Compère Pigeon is at the girl’s house. So that Compère Pigeon pa rémé fi-a, pukè sé li ki pu doesn’t make love to the girl, because it is he who is able to rémé fi-a, li ki pu rémé fi-a, li a. love the girl, he who is able to love the girl, him alone.

[she sings:]

Sé Pijò li yè. Li mâjé mai, li buè dlo He’s only a Pigeon. He eats corn, he drinks water Lâ kwi. Li pa kapab rémé avèk li. Sé from a gourd. He cannot make love with you. It’s avèk mè pu rémé.

with me you should make love.

E Tomâninga pa gâyé rad. Sé Köpê Pijò kë pu And Tomâninga has no clothes. It’s Compère Pigeon who can pwètè tut rad. Kan li palè avèk fi-a, lend (him) all his clothes. When he talks with the girl, Köpê Pijò di li pwal règlè Tomâninga, kan Compère Pigeon says he is going to control Tomâninga, when li pwalè kai fi-a, pu règlè. Li pwètè he goes to the girl’s house, to put him in his place. He lent Tomâninga pantâlô, shèmiz, et cetera, tut rad. Tomâninga trousers, shirt, et cetera, all clothes.

Yo Dimòsh li abiye li, li alè kai fi-a. One Sunday he dresses himself, he goes to the girl’s house.
Pâdâ li shita, lapè kosè avèk fi-a. Köpè
While he is sitting, the rabbit chats with the girl. Compère
Pižò mèm mòtè su yò piè bwa. Épi li shâtè, li di:
Pigeon himself climbs up a tree. Then he sings, he says:
Tomalinga kolokoto Tomalinga ... (3 times)
Tomalinga kolokoto Tomalinga ... (3 times)
Mwè sè piò, mājè mai. Tomalinga, mwè bwè dlo lé kwi ...”
I'm a pigeon, eat corn. Tomalinga, I drink water from a gourd ...
Ba m'shapo pu mwè alè.
Give me my hat so I can go.
Rètè rētirè shapo li, i dépos, i ka. Köpè
He took his hat, he put it down, he is going. Compère
Pijò ki madè shèmiz, li palè madè tut bagai,
Pigeon who demands the shirt, he speaks to demand everything,
pu lale kai fi-a. I rētirè shapo, li mètè
to go to the girl's house. He takes back his hat, he puts it
a tê. Köpè Pijò shâtè:
on the ground. Compère Pigeon sings:
Tomalinga kolokoto ... ba mwè shèmiz la pu m'alè.
Tomalinga kolokoto ... give me the shirt so I can go.
Li rētirè shèmiz la, li mètè a tê.
He takes the shirt back, he puts it on the ground.
Tomalinga kolokoto ... ba mwè shèmizèt la pu m'alè.
Tomalinga kolokoto ... give me the undershirt so I can go.
Li rētirè shèmizèt la, li mètè a tê.
He takes back the undershirt, he puts it on the ground.
Tomalinga kolokoto ... ba mwè pantalè pu m'alè.
Tomalinga kolokoto ... give me the trousers so I can go.
Li ba m'pantalè.
He gives the trousers.
Tomalinga kolokoto ... ba mwè sulèyè mwè pu m'alè.
Tomalinga kolokoto ... give me my shoes so I can go.
Li wètirè silyè-a. Li mètè avèk shosèt avèk kalso.
He takes back the shoes. He remains with the socks with shorts.
Tomalinga ... ba mwè shèmizèt (kalso) mwè pu alè.
Tomalinga ... give me my undershirt (shorts) so I can go.
Tomalinga ... ba mwè shosèt mwè pu m'alè.
Tomalinga ... give me my socks so I can go.
Épi apwè li rētè nu su fi-a. Épi Tomalinga
After that he remained naked in front of the girl. When Tomalinga
rèst nu, li pa gâyè rad so li. Le
remained naked, he hadn't earned clothes for himself. When the
fi-a wè li, li sézi, Mmà sézi. Yo di,
girl saw him, she was shocked, Mama was shocked. She said,
"Kòtè yo jwè kalitè mun sa ki rētè nu
"Where did you find this type of person who would appear naked
su piti yo?"
before little you?"
Épi Tomalinga tôbè ëdísposed, yo bat li, yo potè li,
When Tomalinga fell indisposed, they beat him, they carried him,
yo jàtè li dò lamè.
they threw him into the sea.
Yo ba mwè yò t ku piè ě li tôbè la. É fini.
They gave me a little kick, and I fell here. It is finished.

Octavie proved to be a far more logical and precise narrator
than Marcianie, and deftly added a surprising amount of ethnog-
raphy to her simple cante fable whose audience appeal is primari-
ly in its lilting song. Since it can be assumed that virtually
every member of a traditional Haitian audience already knows the
plot of every story, the clarity of this version is impressive: the rabbit Tomaninga is tricked by his love rival Compère Pigeon, each step described in a song using the pigeon's onomatopoeic coo, kolokoto. Although Compère, meaning "co-father" (or godfather of one's child, or father of one's godchild), is a common form of address both in folktales and in everyday life, the close friendship it indicates between the protagonists is denied by the action. Where love is concerned, friendship has its limits. The poverty of Pigeon, who drinks from a gourd because he has no proper crockery, is equalled by Tomaninga who has no proper courting clothes, but Tomaninga's embarrassment is ultimately justified because he had not "earned" any clothes. This short tale has much to say on Haitian attitudes toward friendship, competition, poverty, propriety, and punishment, and all in song. But at best, it is a very minor work of art. The plot unfolds logically, with only one mistaken word (shêmizêt in place of kalso) and one word, too, borrowed from English; but the characters are barely defined, only one is named, and their motivation is never probed beyond the obvious. Nor is any attempt made to give the story breadth beyond the limited entertainment the songs provide. This seeming flatness may simply reflect Octavie's response to the fact that only three of the eight people in her audience could understand her language.

To evaluate the individual styles of these two narrators, we would need many more texts of tales told in traditional audience contexts. Even so, these "minimal" texts are full of clues to Haitian ethnography and values, as well as to the mechanics of tale construction and the esthetics of narration.

The significance of these two texts turns out to be as much in their distribution as in their style, plot, or cultural content. "Refugees on the Roof," to use Parsons' handy catch-phrase title, is Motif R335 which occurs seventeen times in published collections from the Carribean. Seven of these are from Jamaica, three each from Grenada and the Bahamas, and one each from the Dominican Republic, Montserrat, St. Croix, and St. Thomas. In addition, two texts come from South Carolina and at least one from Sierrre Leone, which was colonized by Creole freedmen repatriated to Africa from the then-British West Indies. Rare as it is, such a neat distribution indicates a likely origin for this tale in the Carribean, at least until some zealous collector turns up eighteen or more variants in Java or Slovakia.

The second tale's distribution is only a little less neat. AT 244, "Borrowed Clothes," is just as strongly centered in the Carribean with twenty examples. Four each of these are from Martinique and Guadeloupe; two each from Trinidad, Puerto Rico, the Saintes Islands, and Nevis; and one each from Montserrat, St. Martin, the Bahamas, and Antigua. Two variants are found in South Carolina, and one each in Louisiana and Surinam. Farther afield, two texts were collected in the Cape Verde Islands off Morocco, one each in Gabon and Togo, and three in Nigeria. Just to keep us humble, other versions—more likely explained by uneven collecting than by independent invention—turn up in Spain, Hungary, and Livonia on the Baltic. To strengthen the Caribbean connection, I hasten to add that I have collected and published two more versions of "Borrowed Clothes" and four of "Refugees on the Roof" from the Bahamas. If justification be needed, these Haitian texts deserve publication if for no other reason than that they are
the only examples of these two popular and significant Caribbean tales yet reported from that island nation. 10

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Notes

4 I thank Ms. Annette Sendrais Boswell of Alexandria, Virginia, a trilingual whose first language is Creole, for her help in translating these texts, and Dr. Polly Pope and my wife, Pearl Rencharan-Crowley for other help with this paper.
8 Stith Thompson, ed. and trans., The Types of the Folktale (FFC #184, 1961), p. 78; Flowers, pp. 51-54; Parsons, pp. 86-87.
9 Crowley, pp. 96-97, 204; pp. 66-70, 77-78, 84-85.
FAIRY TALES FOR ADULTS:
WALT DISNEY'S AMERICANIZATION OF THE MÄRCHEN

Kay F. Stone

A friend complained recently that she would soon have to
give up Disney films since her children were growing too old for
her to accompany them. She was surprised when I suggested she
go alone but later she realized that Disney's "family" films are
equally entertaining for adults and children. His fairy tale films
in particular have remained so successful that they are re-
released periodically. Certainly these would not be shown today
if they appealed only to children. Their continuing success
reveals something about adult reactions to fantasy, and about
Disney's understanding of these reactions.

Walt Disney's interest in fairy tales was evident in his
earliest cartoons, done in Kansas City, Missouri, in the 1920's.
He produced six films there, among which are three stories he re-
worked later in his career: Little Red Riding Hood became The Big
Bad Wolf in 1934; Jack and the Beanstalk became Mickey in Giant-
land in 1933 and Mickey and the Beanstalk in 1947; Cinderella,
considered but not completed for a Silly Symphony in 1934, was
released as a full-length feature in 1950.

Comparing his first crude cartoons with the later ones, we
can see Disney's development as an interpreter of fairy tales. The
earliest pieces parody the stories through the use of broad humor
and deliberately absurd modernizations. In his earliest Cinderella,
for example, the heroine goes to the ball in a garbage can trans-
formed into a "Tin Lizzie." The later films of the 1930's are some-
what more serious and considerably more sophisticated. The giants
who confront Mickey Mouse in the two versions of Jack and the
Beanstalk have a menacing quality barely disguised by their silly
stupidity. In neither film are they destroyed, however, as they
are in the traditional tale. Disney was not yet ready for a real
villain. Disney came closer with the Big Bad Wolf, who neverthe-
less remained a humorous character who—like Mickey's giants—was
not destroyed.

Mickey Mouse starred in two other folktale-inspired films,
The Brave Little Tailor in 1938 and The Sorcerer's Apprentice in
1940. In all of his "folktales" Mickey portrayed a hero who was
humorous rather than heroic, succeeding by his wits rather than
his strength. In more ways than one he symbolized Disney's own
fairy tale-like ascent from the poor, unknown young artist to the
king of the "Magic Kingdom."

The great success of his short folktale cartoons and par-
ticularly of Mickey Mouse encouraged Disney to attempt a full-
length feature based on a popular fairy tale. Instead of contin-
uing the pattern of the unpromising hero who has wits rather than
courage, Disney decided on a long-suffering heroine. Snow White
was already one of the most popular fairy tales, judging by its
frequent appearance in fairy tale books, but Disney's project was
still referred to by many as "Disney's Folly." Few believed that
a cartoon based on a children's story, no matter how popular,
would appeal to a general film audience. Not even Disney was
fully prepared for the stunning success of the elaborate Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, finally released in 1937 after four years of careful planning. In it he portrays his first uncompromisingly vicious villain, and allows her to be destroyed. After this success he was encouraged to begin production of a long and equally popular series of full-length cartoons, among them two more based on fairy tales, Cinderella, in 1950, and Sleeping Beauty, in 1959.

Disney's three full-length fairy tales bear little resemblance to his earlier crude works. He now had hundreds of artists who painstakingly created the thousands of handsome drawings necessary for an animated film. He also had a more mature view of the tales, and admonished his artists to take the tales seriously.

As we do it, as we tell the story, we should believe it ourselves. It's a "once upon a time" story, and I don't think we should be afraid of a thing like that.2

Such a statement is unnecessary for children, many of whom already believe the tales. It is adults who must be encouraged to believe in them.

Literate societies usually distinguish between sophisticated and popular forms of literature, and often place folktales very firmly in the popular sphere. Popular writing, of course, is not always taken seriously except by sociologists and psychologists, so folktales are not highly regarded. Furthermore, fairy tales in particular are thought of as "children's reading," a further demotion by smug adult standards. What adults are no longer interested in is considered suitable for children.3 Who but a child could believe in witches and dragons, or most ridiculous of all, living happily ever after? And who but a child would always expect the small and weak to be treated fairly—and not with the justice of a complex legal system or with the "eye-for-an-eye" justice of the Old Testament, but with a natural justice in which villains choose their own punishment or are punished by unknown forces? If Disney had been interested solely in appealing to children, his major fairy tale films would not be available today. Disney was thus adventurous in insisting that his artists and script writers believe in the "once upon a time" stories. He also intuitively understood that a successful storyteller had to adapt tales to an audience varied in age and interests.

Adults have always been an important part of the Disney audience. His earliest Mickey Mouse and Silly Symphony shorts were seen by adults who were waiting for the main feature. His longer cartoons, even though aimed more specifically at children, had an eager adult audience as well. Disney was able to develop a means of realizing his stories that satisfied the differing interests and expectations of both age groups. In the case of the fairy tales children could enjoy the amusing dwarfs, fairies, and various animals, the touches of magic, the clear representation of good and evil, and the ensuing punishments and rewards, just as they did in the traditional tales already familiar from books. Disney's contribution was in reinterpreting the fairy tales in a way that would appeal to adults as well—to adults in this century, on this continent.

Disney chose three popular fairy tales in which bad and good women clash. Having chosen them, he found the heroines rather dull and made them more interesting. It was a conscious decision on his part.

I'd make Cinderella a sparkling, alive girl, even going so far as to give her a few human weaknesses. In this way we can prove that Cinderella really did live and that
she still lives in the heart of every young girl who dreams. (27 December 1939)

A month later he adds,

There is one thing certain, we wish Cinderella to have a certain strength of character quite unlike the fairy story version of the heroine. (22 January 1940)

Disney certainly succeeds in transforming the passive, pretty princesses of the original tales. Snow White is not a naive seven-year-old as in the Grimm tale, but an appealing teenager ready for romance; a girl who is not frightened by the dwarfs, but who instead takes over their untidy household in an efficient American manner. She thus becomes the mother rather than the child. Disney's heroine in Cinderella is alluring even in her rags, and shows considerable spirit—and occasional humor—in dealing with her mean stepfamily. Similarly, the heroine in Sleeping Beauty does not simply fall asleep as in the Perrault version of the tale, but cheerily grows up in the cottage of the three good fairies, and boldly wanders alone in the forest where she meets her future prince democratically dressed as a woodman. All three Disney heroines sing romantic songs, carry on daily activities, and in general come to life in a way that involves the audience in their fates.

The heroes in these three stories are also transformed from the originals: they traditionally appear only in the closing lines, but Disney gives them a fuller role in the story. He also plays down their royal backgrounds. The prince in Snow White, for example, is described in an early planning session as "a Doug Fairbanks type, about 18 years old," with a horse who is "like Tom Mix's horse Tony, the prince's pal." Cinderella's suitor is "just a nice boy that was nice to her." The prince in Sleeping Beauty meets his love in common dress, and falls in love with her even though she is herself in peasant dress. They are both prepared to oppose their parents' plans for a royal marriage, not realizing that they are themselves the prince and princess for whom the wedding is planned. In this film the prince takes a fully active role, even destroying the wicked fairy who has cursed his beloved. Interestingly, Disney had originally planned such a role for the prince in Snow White, but did not develop the idea.

Disney balances his All-American girls and boys with melodramatically menacing villains. They do not tie the heroines to railroad tracks as in early American films and later parodies, but they are equally cruel and vindictive. These women are everything that the heroines are not—coldly calculating, ambitious, sadistic, and not at all romantically inclined. And most important in a Disney film, they are not popular with small, cuddly animals, dwarfs, or good fairies. Disney is so committed to this narrow view of ambitious women that in Sleeping Beauty he creates a villain where there is none. The traditional fairy is not necessarily evil, just angry at being ignored; and she disappears from the story immediately after her curse is pronounced. In Cinderella, Disney lays the whole blame for Cinderella's suffering on the stepmother: "I feel that the stepsisters are under a domineering mother. They are spoiled brats, but it's the mother who is forcing them." In the original tale she has far less power.

The heroines, heroes, and villains carry the main action of the folktales, but in Disney's films there are also secondary characters who provide the humor and who at times steal the scene from the major actors. Disney uses the dwarfs and the non-predatory animals in Snow White, the mice and other animals in Cinderella, and the silly fairies in Sleeping Beauty to lighten the
dark side of these tales. They are placed between the antagonists and protagonists who in the original tales are meant to meet head on, with no humorous mediators to soften the collision. The dwarfs in *Snow White* and the mice in *Cinderella* interfere directly with the action of the story. The former are involved in the death of the wicked queen, and the latter steal the key which releases Cinderella from her attic prison. The fairies in *Sleeping Beauty* are less successful--though no less active--in their attempts to intervene. The prince himself must defeat the wicked fairy and rescue his beloved. But the good fairies have the last word: the closing scene shows the princess's dress changing from pink to blue and back again as the fairies argue over the appropriate color. In addition to comic relief, these secondary characters also extend the plot of the original tales. None of these stories could have sustained feature-length treatment without the development of such characters.

Disney is quite successful in his Americanization of the old European tales. He makes the heroines and heroes more interesting, adds humor, subtracts magic, and downplays royalty. The changes Disney makes are similar to those made by traditional American storytellers, who also had to adapt European tales to the new demands of this continent. American fairy tale heroines, for example, are often more aggressive than those we read about in Grimm's fairy tales. In one tale a girl and her mother confront and destroy a giant, and in another one sister successfully completes an impossible task and rescues her less successful older sisters. Many tales also display a rough native humor, particularly those featuring a lazy hero who brags his way to success and then must prove his exaggerated bravery.

The king of the European tales is often demoted by American storytellers to a commoner. He appears in various tales as a big landowner, a boss, a wealthy merchant, or even as a mayor. Often the magic of the original tale is downplayed in the North American variants. For example, the beast in *Beauty and the Beast* may be simply a man in a fur coat, or even a beastly prize fighter. Despite these changes, however, the American fairy tales do not lose their basic force, for protagonists must still test their selflessness or cleverness against the materialism and cynicism of powerful antagonists, often without the help of amusing dwarfs, fairies, and friendly animals.

While in some ways Disney parallels traditional storytellers in North America, his particular use of cuteness, sentimentality, and humor dominates his films. He diminishes both magic and royalty by poking fun at them, and allows his amusing secondary characters to take over the stories at times. The dwarfs in *Snow White* are funny--almost pathetically so--rather than powerful and a bit frightening as they are in the traditional story. The fairy godmother in *Cinderella* and her relatives in *Sleeping Beauty* are absent-minded bunglers rather than convincing sorceresses. And in *Snow White* even the wicked queen jokes with her raven at the conclusion of her transformation of herself and the apple, thus softening one of the most powerful scenes of the film. Disney had a fine touch for the sinister, but developed absurdly cute characters who overcome any sense of real evil.

By these subtle shifts in plot and character, Disney focuses attention on the romantic aspects of fairy tales. What he believes in, then, is the secular myth of the modern age, the love story. The beginning comments of one of the *Snow White* planning sessions states that, "Of the various angles discussed about the meeting of
Snow White and the Prince, the one chosen to be worked on is the 'romantic angle.' By the simple play of introducing his princes and princesses to each other early in the stories, Disney accomplishes his romantic ends. In the traditional stories the princes appear only at the end. In the folktale versions of Snow White and Sleeping Beauty the heroines have literally never seen the prince before, and in Cinderella she has only danced with him. Thus they cannot spend their time daydreaming and singing songs about their princes, as do their Disney counterparts.

Other sentimental touches not found in the folktales are the interplay between Snow White and the individual dwarfs who in the original tale were not named or provided with amusing personalities, between Cinderella and the mice, and between Sleeping Beauty and the three fairies. Also, in Snow White, by having the wicked queen die before the wedding and by having Snow White awakened with a kiss, Disney emphasizes love rather than conflict. In the original the queen is invited to the wedding and is forced to dance to her death in red-hot shoes, thus diverting attention away from romance and focusing it on justice done. Traditionally the prince does not give Snow White "love's first kiss," but carries her coffin off to his castle as a conversation piece. When his servants slip and the apple-bite is bounced out of her throat Snow White awakens.

With Cinderella Disney's romanticizing task was easier. He rejected the more brutal Grimm version for the already sentimentalized French concoction of Charles Perrault. All he had to do was add a few cute, helpful animals, and he had a ready-made love story, complete with the familiar injunction of modern parents to be home before midnight. In the Grimm tale there is no fairy godmother, no pumpkin-coach or transformed mice, no curfew or glass slipper. And the stepsisters are as beautiful as the heroine, though "vile and black of heart." Thus the conflict is not between mother and daughter, or between beauty and ugliness, but between selflessness and selfishness. As in Snow White, the villains here also attend the heroine's wedding, and are rewarded by having their eyes pecked out by vengeful pigeons. One can certainly understand why Disney did not choose this version, since its brutal passages are often edited out of fairy tale books. It probably was not brutality that caused the folk version to be rejected, but rather its lack of sentimentality. The heroine seems less interested in finding her prince than is the heroine in the Perrault tale.

Disney not only wanted his romantic stories to be taken seriously, but to be taken literally. He has already told us that he wanted to "prove that Cinderella did live and that she still lives in the heart of every young girl who dreams." Similarly, the press book claims that Disney studio researchers discovered "that the teenage Princess Aurora [of Disney's Sleeping Beauty] was once a reigning flesh and blood beauty of medieval courts." In other words, "girls who dream" can really expect to meet their prince and live happily ever after; or, as a nine-year-old told me, "... well, not really a prince, but maybe somebody like a prince." Disney cannot be blamed for forcing a literal interpretation on his audience, for it was one already accepted by many of its members, male and female. For example, another nine-year-old complained that she had to clean house like Cinderella, and never got to go out to parties like her parents. A twenty-five-year-old said more cynically:
I figured Cinderella was pretty lucky...I really figured life would be like that. You just sit around and wait, and something fantastic is going to happen. You go to the right dance and you've got it made! But it never happened.  

An eleven-year-old was a bit more hopeful:  

I like Cinderella, like it should be my story. She started off very poor and then she got rich and very successful, and I thought of myself that way. I thought I'd just sit around and get all this money!  

These reactions concentrate on the happy endings, on the rewards the heroine gets for her virtuous behavior, and for her good luck. The Cinderella of these viewers is an unhappy teenager who is longing for a handsome, rich young man (with a fancy sportscar as a coach) to rescue her from her restrictive family. She wants to live happily ever after in a suburban castle and go to dances whenever she likes without having to worry about midnight curfews. What she will do when her initial passion for the prince wears off is another question. One psychologist assures us that she will continue her passionate affairs with other princes.  

Disney accurately portrays the popular view of fairy tales as love stories in these three films. Because these films are so carefully and beautifully done and thus continue to survive through periodic re-releases, Disney's initial reflection of popular values becomes something more. In giving back to the audience what it already believes, Disney magnifies rather than merely reflects. True love must continue happily ever after, because Disney agrees, and portrays it so compellingly.  

Fairy tales, like dreams, are deceptively simple. The surface story covers layers of meaning available to astute tellers and listeners. This is what has kept the folktale alive from the dim past up to the present; its differing layers of meaning make it relevant to listeners of any age and any level of understanding. Both child and adult can interpret a story superficially or profoundly, and can react on the level of their own understanding and experiences. What modern, literate adults consider simple tales can be seen as unconsciously symbolic retellings of very real and everyday conflicts. For a child, giants and witches are as frighteningly powerful and as unpredictable as their own parents, and the unpromising hero or heroine who somehow overcomes all obstacles is very much like themselves. These conflicts are symbolic rather than literal, as frequently noted by psychologists, psychiatrists, and even by astute readers. A grandfather of nine reflected on his childhood reading and its meaning to him:  

I like all those stories I read when I was young because in that time of life you can't accomplish anything much by yourself. And if you're also the youngest and trampled on, you really need to have impossible dreams and to read impossible stories like fairy tales.  

Similarly, a fifteen-year-old girl told me that she did not really expect to see dragons or giants stalking the streets, but she knew people who were like dragons and giants, and situations that were as challenging or frightening as those of the fairy tales.  

These modern readers understand the deeper appeal of the fairy tale, that it is a "false story with true meaning," whatever meaning the tale may have for any given listener. They would probably agree with literary critic Northrop Frye, and extend his comments to include adults:
The child should not "believe" the story he is told; he should not disbelieve it either, but send out imaginative roots into that mysterious world between the "is" and the "is not" which is where his own ultimate freedom lies.\(^{31}\)

Thus one misses the richness of the tales if they are interpreted literally—as did the disappointed women quoted earlier—or seen only as children's reading. The deeper message of these stories is that the Magic Kingdom cannot exist in the external world; but it can exist in one's mind, not as a romantic fantasy, but as a focus for moral tales in which one struggles to overcome one's own internal stepmothers, giants, and dragons.

The best of the traditional tales deal with the clash of opposites—good and evil, cleverness and brute strength, humility and arrogance. Such clashes cannot be resolved without struggling to find and hold one's identity. Both protagonists and villains are engaged in the struggle. Snow White's stepmother wants to be the fairest in the land, a fairy tale version of "the fastest gun in the west," and equally impossible to maintain. Cinderella's stepmother wants to extend her own power through the social advancement of her daughters. The evil fairy of the folk Sleeping Beauty is furious because she is slighted by the parents; she shows her strength by attempting to destroy the innocent child, just as the other stepmothers mean to destroy, physically or psychologically, their unwanted stepdaughters.

Their stepdaughters, by contrast, are not interested in being the fairest in the land or the most socially accepted; they are not even primarily interested in winning a handsome prince. Their view of the world is not materialistic, as is that of their antagonists. They are concerned with overcoming the cynicism and aggression of their opponents, and with developing a sense of self that does not depend on riches, beauty, or social standing. In order to do so they must submit to threats and humiliations, to imprisonment in towers, or to unnatural sleep. The princes who appear at the end are not lovers but helpers, and the concluding marriage is not romantic but moralistic. The heroine, helped by the hero, thwarts the cynical forces so determined to prevent her awakening and developing. In the end, she is free and mature enough to establish her own domain.\(^{32}\)

Disney's versions retain the basic plot and characters, but shift the delicate balance of the traditional tales. In emphasizing their romantic aspects, he changes the relations between protagonist and antagonist as well as between heroine and hero. The main role of the Disney antagonist is to keep apart the heroine and hero, who must then overcome the villain and live happily ever after. Disney heightens the conflict between the two women: one young, beautiful, and pure; the other old, coldly handsome, and vicious. It is not a Freudian conflict between mother and daughter, because fathers play no great roles in these three tales. It is an open battle between the good, unambitious little girl and the bad, ruthlessly aggressive bitch, a favorite character of Disney's; his male villains are rarely as hellishly horrifying. The heroine is totally lacking in ambition. She seems quite willing to sing happily along through all troubles while awaiting the inevitable prince to rescue her from her unpleasant situation. The right clothes, the right place, the right boyfriend, will make her a queen forever. It is no wonder Cinderella (or Snow White or Sleeping Beauty) still "lives in the heart of every young girl who dreams." As de Rougemont notes in Love in the Western World:
All young people breathe in from books and periodicals, from stage and screen and from a thousand daily allusions, a romantic atmosphere in the hazy of which passion seems to be the supreme test that one day or other awaits every true man or woman, and it is accepted that nobody has really lived till he or she "has been through it."33

His observation is supported by the continuing popularity of the love story in countless forms in North America. It is certainly no coincidence that the crowd-pleaser Eric Segal calls his two creations Love Story and A Fairy Tale.

It is pleasant to think of life as a romance which continues happily ever after, in which the supreme test is falling in love. Our willingness to believe this fantasy accounts for the popularity of Disney's fairy tale films with adults. His richly visual films amuse us, but they do not challenge us. In contrast the traditional stories speak more forcefully to all ages, but particularly to adults. These tales deal with mysterious magic and with real and frightening conflicts with one's self—conflicts not simply resolved with the appearance of a lover. The "happily ever after" meaning of the fairy tale is not finding one's prince or princess, but finding one's self. You will not find that in Disneyland.

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Notes

1 The Sorcerer's Apprentice is one of the sequences in the full-length film, Fantasia.
2 Cinderella notes, 15 January 1940. This and subsequent statements by Walt Disney are from the transcripts of film planning sessions available in the archives of Walt Disney Productions in Burbank, California. I am grateful for the assistance provided by David R. Smith and Paula Sigman.
3 J.R.R. Tolkien observes that adults pass both old furniture and fairy tales down to children "because adults do not want them and do not mind if they are misused." From his Tree and Leaf (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965).
4 For the most recent English translation, see Ralph Manheim, Grimm's Tales For Young and Old (New York: Doubleday, 1977).
5 Charles Perrault published his Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralités in 1697. These heavily sentimentalized reworkings were based on authentic oral tales.
6 Snow White notes, 22 October 1934.
7 For two years the planning notes for Snow White have the prince captured by the wicked queen, locked in her dungeon, and escaping with the help of his horse and other friendly animals. These sequences were dropped from Snow White, but later repeated by the prince in Sleeping Beauty.
8 Cinderella notes, 20 March 1946.
9 See, for example, "Polly, Nancy, and Nunciaeg" in Leonard Roberts, Up Cutshin and Down Greasy (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1959), pp. 119-23.
12 In one oral tale I heard in Winnipeg the King becomes the mayor; in another he is a rich storekeeper.
14 For a thorough treatment of the subject, see Denis de Rougemont, Love in the Western World (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1940). His observations are well supported by the continuing popularity of the love story in North America: witness, for example, the enthusiastic reception of the film Love Story.
15 Snow White notes, 15 April 1937.
16 Again, see Grimm's Tales for Young and Old.
17 "Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper." While Perrault's version is considerably more romantic than the Grimm's, Disney's exceeds even Perrault's. The animals, so important in the film, are not emphasized by Perrault. In the French version, the sisters are not particularly ugly, nor is their mother domineering—in fact, she hardly appears. There is also some dispute about the glass slipper, which is supposedly a mistranslation of the original French "Fur slipper."
18 Grimm's Tales for Young and Old, p. 84.
19 Snow White notes, 27 December 1939.
21 This and subsequent statements are from interviews conducted in 1972 and 1973 for my unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Romantic heroines in Anglo-American Folk and Popular Literature" (Indiana University, 1975). Page references are to this work.
22 Interview with a group of nine-year-old girls, p. 345.
23 Interview with a twenty-five-year-old woman, p. 273.
24 Interview with a group of eleven-year-old girls, p. 348.

Certainly, there is no one in our world to whom the phrase "they lived happily ever after" is meaningless or unclear; for us the "happy ending" is defined once and for all: after many trials, the sacred marriage.

Marriage vows, of course, promise "till death do us part," but a recent film, Heaven Can Wait, is a modern gothic romance in which "love at first sight" is combined with reincarnation, thus carrying love even beyond death.

27 There are now a number of treatments of fairy tales as serious literature, expressing a variety of viewpoints. See, for example, Bruno Bettelheim, The Uses of Enchantment (New York: Vintage Books, 1977); N.J. Girardot, "Initiation and Meaning in the Tale of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs," JAF 90 (1977): 274-300; and Max Lüthi, Once Upon A Time (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976).
28 Interview with sixty-eight-year-old male, p. 336.
29 Interview with group of fifteen-year-old girls, p. 368.
30 These words were used by a Cree Indian to describe his native stories that were not highly regarded by white missionaries. See George W. Bauer, Tales from the Cree (Cobalt, Ontario: Highway Books, 1973), p. iv.
32 For further comments on this topic see Girardot's above-mentioned article on Snow White. Abundant examples of such heroes can be found in the Grimm and other authentic collections of folktales. My own material from traditional tellers in Winnipeg has two fine examples, one of a hero who keeps losing his magic objects to a greedy witch, another of a hero who is commanded to sleep while a clever girl does his impossible tasks for him.
33 de Rougemont, p. 277.
FROM THE TALE TO THE TELLING: AT 366

Sylvia Grider

Since coming to the United States, Linda Dégh has focused much of her research on the legend and its relationship to other genres. In her collection, Folktales of Hungary, she divided the texts according to the most typical Hungarian genres: Märchen, jokes and anecdotes, religious tales, animal tales, tales of lying, and a wide assortment of legends. She concluded the volume with three texts grouped under the heading, "Legends That Have Assumed the Form of Tales." The presence of these hybrid or transitional narratives in this collection underscores one of Dégh's fundamental principles of fieldwork and research: to understand fully the nature of folk narrative, we must look beyond the mere text and on to the narrators and the community within which the text flourishes. Furthermore, the actual performance causes some narratives to shift from one "analytic category" to another.

This essay is a case study of such generic shifting. Just as Dégh isolated some legends that function as tales, the opposite also occurs. One example of a tale which can function as a legend is AT 366, "The Man from the Gallows," as it is told in America, especially by children.

Wandering revenants are the subject of traditional tale cycles which storytellers and audiences alike refer to broadly as "ghost stories." In fact, this theme is so common that one whole section of the Motif-Index is devoted to it ("Malevolent Return from the Dead," E200-299). In America, at least in part through the mass media and the commercializing of Halloween, telling ghost stories is a favorite pastime of elementary school children. The ghost story most widely collected and documented by folklorists is a distinctive sub-category of the traditional tale type assigned #366 in the Aarne-Thompson Tale Type Index:

"The Man from the Gallows." A man steals the heart (liver, stomach, clothing) of one who has been hanged. He gives it to his wife to eat. The ghost comes to claim his property and carries the man off. (NB: The English and American forms are always used as scaring stories; the teller at the end impersonates the ghost or the victim and shouts directly at a member of the audience.)

Ernest Baughman, in the Type and Motif Index of the Folktales of England and North America, elaborates somewhat upon the conclusion:

(Note: The English and American form, except for the theft of a golden or silver arm from a corpse, usually involves the finding of a part of the body by a man who uses it in soup. The owner returns at night and takes the man away. All forms cited are used as scaring stories; the teller at the end impersonates the ghost or the victim and shouts at a member of the audience, "Thou hast it!" or "Take it!")

Of this tale, Thompson says, "Ghost stories have a tendency to be localized and to vary a great deal from place to place. A whole series of such legends (author's italics) has to do with a person who returns from the dead to claim some object which has been stolen from him. One tale (AT 366) is so widely known that it has lost any definite attachment to place and is told as an
ordinary folktale." As told in the English language, however, this narrative has come a full circle: from legend to tale and, at last, back to legend. And the process is dynamic and on-going as the following discussion will demonstrate. Various forms of the tale are positioned all along the continuum.

What is known of the European antecedents of this grisly ghost story? And how did it come to be lodged among innocent elementary school children? Thompson says that the tale is common throughout western Europe from England to Spain, with a heavy concentration in Denmark. Presumably it has been carried throughout the rest of the world by travellers.

As is the case with most traditional narratives, the origins of this story are practically impossible to trace. One possibility lies with the European famine of the fourteenth century which preceded the outbreak of the bubonic plague. As historian Barbara Tuchman relates, "Reports spread of people eating their own children, of the poor in Poland feeding on hanged bodies taken down from the gibbet." The veracity of these "reports" is questionable enough to place them in the category of historical legends. What is lacking is any hint of the supernatural. The contemporary form of the legend emphasizes the malevolent revenant instead of the act of cannibalism. Nevertheless, ghoulish but unsubstantiated rumors totally lacking in supernatural overtones were apparently quite common during the Black Plague. Stories abound to this day of ships that drifted into port with crews of dead men; at that time the fear of being buried while still alive was quite real and justified. Perhaps the supernatural element in all of these legends, including the one about cannibalizing corpses, is a post facto evolution.

In the United States, AT 366 has broken into two separate forms, both of which are in turn divided into two sub-categories. There are thus four reasonably distinct branches of the cycle. This separation is not at all surprising. In their notes for the tale accompanying the Grimm collection, Bolte and Polívka noted that even in its early variants, the tale already had two branches, one focusing on greed and the other on hunger and cannibalism.

The first American cycle—which includes "The Golden Arm" and "The Stolen Liver" forms—deals with deliberate theft of something valuable from a corpse and closely mimics the Märchen in form and content. This is also the form of the tale most often told by children.

The Golden Arm. British storybooks for children picked up versions of this and similar tales as early as the 1860s. But in the United States, attention was first focused on it by two distinguished nineteenth-century authors, Mark Twain and Joel Chandler Harris. In 1881, Twain sent a summary of the tale to Harris, suggesting that the latter use it in some of his Uncle Remus material. Twain mentioned that he had first heard the tale from a family slave when he was a child. Furthermore, Twain frequently told a version of "The Golden Arm" during his public lecture tours and readings. Harris responded that he had not heard the story and requested more information about it. Not long afterward, Harris published a version of the tale in Nights with Uncle Remus: Myths and Legends of the Old Plantation (1881), substituting more logical (and therefore believable) silver coins for the golden arm.

Although Twain and Harris both credited oral sources for their versions of the tale, many contemporary tellers trace their knowledge of it directly to these two widely-read and still popu-
lar authors. Some adult informants even insist that Mark Twain was the original author of the story. The *Uncle Remus* stories were of course intended to be read aloud to children. There were also undoubtedly children in the audiences that flocked to hear Twain's lectures and readings. Many contemporary children's storybooks include synopses of Twain's version of the tale. Nevertheless, in spite of its distinguished literary connections, variants of "The Golden Arm" are common in the oral tradition of most American children. The tale is thus an outstanding example of the interplay between print and oral performance. This English-language branch of the tale, originating in the American South, has gone from oral tradition into print and back into oral tradition on a national scale.

The main question this branch of the tale raises is why a golden arm is the object of the theft. It may very well be that the *Märchen* esthetic is at work here. The *Märchen*, with its focus on primary colors and hard glittering surfaces, is a reasonable narrative matrix in which to find embedded an otherwise inexplicable golden arm. The greed for gold is what makes the heinous crime of grave-robbing plausible. However, this does not mean that all versions of "The Golden Arm" are automatically *Märchen*. Although the distinctive ending is considered by many to be absolutely crucial to the story, variants do exist which omit this bit of audience-narrator drama. Consider the following example, told by an eleven-year-old girl who was very interested in telling ghost stories and discussing supernatural experiences:

... it's about this woman. She had her arm cut off and she had a golden arm. And her husband he wanted that golden arm so much that he killed her. Shot her in the head, you know. And he killed her and everything. Buried her. But then he buried her and everything, and then after everybody had left and everything he dug her up and took her arm. And that night he had it under his pillow and he heard her. She goes, "I want my golden arm." And she was coming up the steps. "I want my golden arm; I want my golden arm." And she got right at the end of his bed and she goes, "Where's my golden arm?" And she, and he, you know, he just was scared, you know, and got out of bed, and she said, "I want my golden arm." And all of a sudden she goes "Boo!" just like that. And she got a knife and killed him and she said, "I got my golden arm, ha, ha, ha." And she put it back on.

The traditional tale ending and its significance will be discussed in detail below.

**The Stolen Liver.** "The Golden Arm" cycle has definite literary ties, but the form which children commonly call "The Stolen Liver" or "Johnny" is firmly rooted in oral tradition and has not found its way into storybooks. This form deals first of all with greed but also interjects the element of cannibalism. The form is widely distributed among American children throughout the country, but few adults are familiar with it. Below is a typical transcript of this popular ghost story told by an eleven-year-old boy:

... this little kid, his mom gives him some money to go get some liver and he always buys candy because she gives him extra money and he always goes and buys candy with it. So he went to the store and he bought, he goes up there and he buys a bunch of candy. And he don't have enough money left to buy liver with. And he goes to this graveyard and digs up this man. He goes, he takes that liver home and his mom fries it and everything and his mom goes, "Johnny, aren't you gonna eat any?" And he goes, "No, I'm not hungry." And so that night that little kid--their whole family was asleep and in bed--he heard something. "Johnny, I'm on the first step. Johnny, I'm on the second step. Johnny, I'm on the fourth step." Finally he gets up there to the top of the stairs. "Johnny, I'm at the top of the stairs. Johnny, I'm
walking down the hall. Johnny, I'm at your doorway. Johnny, I'm by your bed. Johnny, I'm getting closer. Johnny, I GOTCHA!" 11

An examination of this text reveals many aspects which Max Lüthi identified with the Märchen.12 Opening in media res, the story provides no context or explanation for the action, and gives no recognizable setting. The nuclear family provides the main characters, the mother and the disobedient son. Nouns are clear and unadorned: money, liver, candy, bed, stairs. The staircase presents a sharply defined, linear setting. The hall and doorway accent the horizontal and vertical axes which the staircase traverses. The chant as the ghost stalks up the stairs approaches the quality of a cante fable, especially when the audience joins in. The metronomic, formulaic repetition pushes the tension of the impending disaster to its very limits. The punishment visited upon the terrified young protagonist is too terrible to articulate. In esthetic desperation to achieve a sense of absolute climax, the story literally reaches out and yanks the audience into its spell. For a split second, the fantasy becomes reality. The screaming and grabbing of the narrator unleashes a horrific epiphany as the audience shares the punishment of the fictional thief. This is not the happy ending expected of a Märchen. This is instead the kind of retribution associated with the legend.

For contrast and comparison, consider the following text which was told by a timid six-year-old. Very young narrators who are just learning this story often tell it much more literally —replacing the dramatic ending with a more matter of fact statement:

One day the mother says, "Go get some liver." And so he went to the store and he forgot to and he bought candy and so he remembered on the way home so he went up to the graveyard and dug up a man and cut out the liver and then he went home and they ate it and he went to bed and he heard, "I'm on the first step. I'm on the second step. I'm on the fourth step. Give me back my liver. I'm on the last step. Give me back my liver." And he opened the door and killed the little boy.

About this version there can be no question: it is a legend.

The second cycle of AT 366 deals with the inadvertant acquisition and eating of part of a corpse. One sub-division—"The Big Toe"—involves cannibalism of a human corpse, the other—"The Tailypo"—the tail of a mysterious animal. Both branches of the cycle are more often told by adults to children, whereas the "Golden Arm" and "Stolen Liver" versions exist in the child-to-child conduit.14

The Big Toe. The form of AT 366 best known in the oral tradition of the American South emphasizes local cuisine and customs. In this cycle a human toe is accidentally dug up in the garden or potato patch. The poor, hungry hero cooks the windfall meat in a pot of beans or greens and then unexpectedly encounters the wrath of the rampaging ghost or corpse in search of the missing digit. There is also a curious hybrid form which deals with a gold or silver toe.

The localization of this cycle certainly contradicts Thompson's previously quoted claim that this story has "lost any definite attachment to place." Depending on the talent and propensities of the narrator, this story can be told in an entirely believable way. Some versions describe the poverty of the sharecropper, too poor even to afford meat or a bone with which to season his daily fare. Ham and beans or wild greens seasoned with salt
pork were the mainstay of the Southern diet. Hoeing in the garden, digging potatoes, living in a rustic log cabin: these are all familiar Southern scenes. The revenge of the ghost in this cycle is even consistent with the underdog existence of the poor in the Old South. Many slaves and tenant farmers were punished, ranging from whipping to imprisonment, for stealing a ham or a loaf of bread to feed their starving families. So this legend exercises its artistic prerogative by punishing the helpless protagonist even though his "theft" of food was inadvertant. In the legend and in real life the oppression of the poor is inexorable. Only in the Märchen does the underdog emerge victorious.

The Tallyypo. As with "The Big Toe," "Tallyypo" is a Southern, regional adaptation; it is the most legend-like of all these forms because the creature seeking revenge is not supernatural, but rather an infuriated animal in search of its tail, which has been chopped off by accident. In oral tradition, this form is a kind of cautionary tale intended for children, advising them not to abuse capriciously or injure animals. Many accounts of this story play down the climactic ending and emphasize instead the righteous fury of the mutilated animal. The legend has even been adapted as an illustrated children's bedtime story which concludes that the animal "scratched everything to pieces"; this ending directs the audience's attention to the objective actions of the animal rather than to the subjective responses of the reader or of the child being read to. This is apparently a conscious by the authors to subordinate the fear element and supplant it with a kind of moral.

As the title of this essay suggests, we must proceed "from the tale to the telling" if we are to understand fully this story and decide how it functions. As was pointed out above, various texts of this tale meet the esthetic standards of the Märchen. But the performance, or telling, of the story gives it another whole dimension, much closer to the more realistic and fateful legend that to the elegant and graceful Märchen. The ending—it is referred to variously as a jump, scare, or twist ending—is an indispensable component of telling the story. As Twain and Harris both indicated, when the narrator screams and langes at his audience the response sometimes borders on pandemonium as the listeners scream and fall back. They apparently fear, at least for the moment, the tangible reality of the vengeful corpse which has stalked the protagonist throughout the last half of the narrative. Willing or not, disbelief is suspended by even the most cynical and level-headed listener when he encounters the traditional performance of this story for the first time.

John Vlach used this ending as the basis of his categorization of "The Golden Arm" as a "humorous anti-legend." To quote Vlach:

The theme of the anti-legend is the same as that of a "normal" legend; both involve statements of belief. In the former a negative reaction becomes part of the teller's narrative, while in the latter a reaction may come from the listener. The humorous anti-legend is an effective form for a skeptic to use to refute a belief which his peers might not even think of questioning. This is perhaps why this form of legend is so prevalent among children—they are at a level of socialization where the distinction between normal and abnormal, natural and supernatural, is constantly made more definite. However, a denial does not make the belief less viable for the group. In fact, a negative statement serves to pass the belief on to another person. Thus, paradoxically, when one tries to refute a legend, it may only become more secure.
There are, of course, many traditional ghost stories told by children which do mock the very beliefs they are built around. The ending—or punchline—of these stories provides comic relief by allowing the youngsters to laugh at the story and at themselves for being gullible enough to take it seriously in the first place. The story which ends with a monster quietly and incon-gruously announcing, "Tag, you're it!" fits perfectly within this category of "humorous anti-legends." So do all of the stories in which the young protagonist vanquishes a ghost or monster with a smart-aleck remark: "Shut up or you'll be the Ghost of Two Black Eyes," or "Go get a bandaid!"

But AT 366, as it is usually told with the dramatic ending, is never really funny. The story is deadly and it is serious. In fact, proof of this seriousness lies in the parodies of it which have developed. One parody involves a little girl (the main character in all other versions is a boy) who is gruesomely murdered by her mother. The young ghost proceeds up the stairs to confront her mother with the punchline, "Polly wants a cracker." Another way to make fun of the fear which this story usually provokes is for the narrator to whisper "Boo" instead of shouting it at the surprised audience. Even then, the whisper is mocking the ending itself, not the taboos in the body of the text. This mockery, however, places this parody within the realm of the anti-legend.

At a slumber party with all the lights out, during a Halloween storytelling session, or around a campfire, this story assumes ominous proportions. The atmosphere within which the performance occurs conditions the moods and perceptions of both the teller and the audience. During a typical performance, the narrator's voice takes on a sinister tone and the members of the audience usually huddle closer together. A breathless hush falls over the children, especially if there are those present who have never heard the story before. Under these conditions, the sharp esthetic focus of the Märchen blurs and the belief element rises to the surface. This tale deals with very real taboos in our society: various texts involve cannibalism, grave-robbing, lying, and disobedience. The latter are, of course, childhood "crimes" which deserve punishment. But children of elementary school age often know about cannibalism and grave-robbing as well. What they are not sure about is the appropriate punishment for such a heinous crime against society. One group of young rural informants discussed at length their fascination with finding a broken casket in an old, abandoned cemetery. When asked if they had taken any souvenirs from the casket, they shrank back from the interviewer in horror, exclaiming that they were afraid even to touch the casket, lest they risk being haunted. For such children this story functions as a cautionary tale warning them of the punishment they invite upon themselves for breaking society's rules. The momentary fright they receive from the "jump" ending merely confirms the inevitability of this punishment.

Paradoxically, the spell of the legend is both accented and broken by the "jump" ending. After the initial shock of being grabbed or screamed at, the children almost immediately break into laughter and good-natured teasing of those who were most frightened. The whole mood changes with this uproarious release of tension. The screams and scrambling around bring the children back to the present, to reality. Often the lights are switched on. When the storytelling resumes, there is usually a series of jokes,
parodies, or anti-legends told before the session settles back down and gets serious. Sometimes the story even signals the end of the whole storytelling session because the children really do not want to be frightened again.

If we just follow the guidelines of the Type Index, we see that on the printed page, this story may appear to be a Märchen but in actual performance it is more likely to be a legend. The main plot deals with the very real beliefs and the ending acts out the punishment that the protagonist or anti-hero receives for his crime. Depending on the sophistication of the listener, the fictional child is being punished as much for lying and disobedience as for cannibalism and theft from the corpse. The members of the audience share this punishment when they are grabbed, and many are genuinely frightened, at least temporarily. The laughter and giggles that come afterward express relief that the story had not somehow become real. The laughter is certainly not mocking the beliefs associated with the story.

Upon analyzing actual performances of this story, we thus conclude that the way it is told to and perceived by the audience determines the narrative category to which it belongs. AT 366, "The Man from the Gallows," has many characteristics of the Märchen, but it can also be a humorous anti-legend or a legend. It appears to be most commonly performed as a legend.

Through this story children can explore a whole range of involvement with belief and the supernatural. They can make fun of themselves or they can identify with the seriousness of cultural taboos such as those against lying and greed. They can accept the punishment associated with breaking these taboos or they can make light of the whole affair through parody of the normal style of performance. But on all these levels, the ending provides an emotional catharsis and gives the story a dramatic and personal involvement that most other ghost stories lack. No young audience can remain calm and uninvolved for the duration of a performance of AT 366. The seasoned listeners are either tense with anticipation of precisely when the narrator will lunge at them or they are indignant at the unexpected double twist of a pun or a parody ending.

This genuine ghost story, with its myriad interpretations, has become a staple of the pre-adolescent narrative repertoire. As John Burrell says:

If one sees children's lore as a preparation or practice for the responsibilities and realities of adult life, then one might view this tale as conditioning the child to some of the realities of death and to the code, "Crime does not pay." 25

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Notes

5 Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm (Leipzig, 1913-1932; rep. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), vol. 3, pp. 478-80. This separation is also dis-
7 This correspondence is discussed in detail by John A. Burison, "The Golden Arm": The Folktale and its Literary Use by Mark Twain and Joel Chandler Harris (Atlanta: Georgia State College School of Arts and Sciences Research Papers #19, 1968).
9 For example, see Maria Leach, The Thing at the Foot of the Bed and Other Scary Tales (New York: Dell, 1959), pp. 33-36.
11 Grider, pp. 200-201.
13 Grider, p. 188.
14 The term "conduit" to refer to communication channels for the transmissison of various kinds of folklore is developed by Linda Dégh and Andrew Vázsonyi in "Legend and Belief," in *Folklore Genres*, pp. 93-124.
15 This theme is also dealt with in contemporary literature. See, for example, William H. Armstrong, *Sounder* (New York: Harper's, 1969). Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* also concerns such theft and severe punishment.
17 This phrase is used by Dan Ben-Amos in his "Introduction" to *Folklore Genres*, p. xxxvi.
18 This ending is so common and distinctive that it has been assigned a separate motif number, Z13.1.
19 Both are quoted in Burison, pp. 29, 47.
20 John Vlach, "One Black Eye and Other Horrors: A Case for the Humorous Anti-Legend," *Indiana Folklore* 4 (1971): 124-25. Vlach was a student of Dr. Dégh at the time he wrote this article.
21 For a full discussion of this story, see Américo Paredes, "Tag, You're It," *JAF* 73 (1950): 157-58. This and similar tales are also analyzed by Jan Brunvand in "A Classification of Shaggy Dog Stories," *JAF* 76 (1963): 42-68.
22 Both of these tales are discussed in Grider, Chapter 3.
23 Grider, pp. 144-45.
25 Burison, p. 22.
* This essay is a reworking of part of my doctoral dissertation, "The Supernatural Narratives of Children," done under the supervision of Dr. Linda Dégh.
Legend and Belief
STORIES ABOUT DEATH AS A PART OF CHILDREN'S SOCIALIZATION

Reimund Kvideland

The expanding research literature on children's culture and the socialization process has largely overlooked the children's own role, and their use of traditional genres. Parents in the nuclear family, adult friends and relatives, and the school system with its teachers are considered the principal agents in the socialization process of children. In addition, mass media have become an important factor.

It has been maintained by some sources in recent sociological and ethnological research that the principal agents no longer fulfill their duties in important areas. The nuclear family no longer functions satisfactorily. A typical characteristic is the father's physical and psychic absence.\(^1\) It has been claimed that the nuclear family is a pathogenic situation for children because of "the emotionally overburdened seclusion of privacy."\(^2\) The distance between parents and children is nothing new. The problem is, rather, that today parents are often the child's only possibility for contact. The crisis comes when that contact becomes difficult or broken. The socialization provided by the school system is excessively oriented toward the social status quo.\(^3\) This lack of alternatives must be compensated for, and the peer group is one of the few possible agents. As a result, children's own traditions increase in quantity and intensity. Verbal statements—songs, games, rhymes, word play, jokes, and stories—play an important role in the socialization process. Children actively adopt material from adult tradition, and they develop new categories and new types.

My material was collected during the period 1969–1978 in Bergen, Norway, and its environs, and includes several thousand items, some written down by the children themselves, some supplied through tape recordings or notes from interviews. The interviews were conducted at school without the teacher present, or at playgrounds and gathering places in residential areas.

The data show quite clearly that children's traditions play an important role in several aspects of the socialization process, including the acquisition of language competence, shared standards, roles, norms, and values. The social importance of children's traditions manifests itself with particular clarity in areas where other socialization agents are unwilling or unable to fulfill their function, as for example in taboo subjects such as sex and death. These subjects occur in children's traditions in various forms, including songs, jokes, and stories.

Gorer claims that by the early 1940's, and perhaps earlier as well, psychologists were noting that "death had superseded sex as a tabu subject."\(^4\) The French cultural historian Phillipe Ariès has given the background for this change in his analysis of the Western attitude toward death.\(^5\) He claims that death was formerly considered a natural and accepted conclusion to life. It was the thought of dying unprepared, without the necessary ceremonies, that was frightening. Death was conquered, in a sense, if one was warned of its approach, and could arrange for
its arrival. The whole family, including the children, would be gathered at the deathbed.

According to Ariès, a revolution in the attitudes toward death has occurred in the last thirty to forty years. Death has become not only a taboo subject, but something shameful as well. The dying person must be spared the solemnity of the occasion, and relatives and close friends an unnecessary emotional experience. Death is embarrassing. It does not correspond with the ideal of eternal youth and happiness. The burial ritual has been moderated, and sorrow is suppressed, particularly in public.

Certain tendencies indicate that this view is in the process of changing again, but it has nevertheless strongly influenced both children and adults. The question here is how children react to the death taboo. Can children compensate for socialization of which adults have deprived them? If so, how?

Even though society attempts to obliterate all reminders of death, children still discover relatively quickly that death exists, but they do not receive adult help in discussing it. Over thirty years ago the Hungarian psychologist Maria Nagy published a groundbreaking analysis of children's relation to death. She found three stages in its development:

1) Up to age five, death is perceived as a separation, but it is not considered definitive.
2) Between five and nine, children personify death as an individual or a dead person. It is final.
3) At nine and ten, death is definitive and unavoidable. 6

Kastenbaum and Aisenberg claim in their introduction that the concept "you are dead" is developed earlier than the more introspective "I will die." "You are dead" implies that you are absent, and I am thus deserted, leading to the common feeling of separation. The small child has no idea of time and the future and cannot distinguish a short, temporary separation from a final one. This situation is further complicated when children develop a sense of the cyclic patterns in their own lives. The declaration "I will die" involves, on the other hand, an understanding of the fact that death is final. 7

A recent Swedish study shows that children do think about death; among ten year olds, ninety percent said that they think about death. Only half of the children had spoken with someone about death, while one fourth wished to speak with someone. Before the age of eight, children associate death with concrete events, while in higher age groups death is associated with the cessation of vital bodily functions. 8 Sylvia Anthony found similar results in her study from England. 9

Parents often explain death away, as a long journey or as sleep. Children are nevertheless confronted—both through television and in nature—with a different image of death, one which they must incorporate into their cognitive systems. Such understanding is achieved in part through individual reflection; but peer groups also play an important part, similar to the one they have been shown to play in the acquisition of sex roles and knowledge about sex. 10

Because it is difficult to discuss directly or even speak of death, children make use of stories and jokes about death, death warnings, murder, and ghosts. These stories are told mainly by children between the ages of five and fifteen. I have focused here on the age ten-to-twelve group. The material analyzed is quite homogenous. There are about twenty different tale types, and they illustrate various aspects of children's thoughts about death. The
examples presented below were chosen from a large body of similar items.

Children are concerned with advance warnings of death. In one story a boy will not help a skeleton up from a coffin and the skeleton takes revenge:

There were once three boys in a cemetery. Suddenly they heard someone who shouted for help. In an old coffin with a half-lid lay a corpse. They couldn’t see what it was because it was only a skeleton. Then they heard the voice again. They opened the half-lid. Then the voice said, "Help me up from here." But then one of the boys slammed the lid on again. Then the voice said, "One day when you are crossing the street with your mother you will die." One day when he and his mother were crossing the street he stopped and wouldn’t cross, but his mother pulled him along. When they came to the middle of the street he fell dead. 11

Another story tells of a light which appears and moves about in the cemetery. When it comes to the church door it shows the face of the one who will die:

There were two boys. One was following the other home. On the way they had to go past the cemetery. It was a dark night. As they went past the cemetery they saw a light, but nobody was holding it. So the one asked if he knew what it was. He said that it was a light which came every time someone was going to die. The light went among the graves and when it came to the church door it showed the face of the one who was going to die. The other didn’t believe it, and wanted to go over and see. He went and stood by the church door and he saw the light come nearer and nearer, but there was nobody holding it. When it came to the church door he saw a face, and he knew he recognized it, but couldn’t remember who it was. He got scared and ran home. A week later he was sick and got pneumonia. He asked for his friend to come and told him that now he knew which face he had seen. It was his own. He had seen that he would die himself. 12

A third story tells of a boy who sat on his mother’s grave. He heard a voice: "Tonight at midnight I will come and get you." The story can also end in an anticlimax with the father frightening the boy in his bed. Here children have adapted the traditional death warning to their own circumstances.

In both the Swedish study referred to, and Anthony’s study from England, the data show that six- to eight-year-olds consider death to be a result of violence. Ten- to twelve-year-olds are aware of other causes of death, but for children up to the age of fourteen, violence still plays a role in explaining death, and the importance of this role is reflected in the stories told by these children. They describe slit throats, knives in the heart, and coffins full of blood. The element of anxiety is prominent in many of these stories. Studies have shown that ten- to twelve-year-olds are particularly afraid of dying. The scene is often set in the basement, on a dark and stormy night.

There was once a girl who was going to spend the night with her grandmother. There was storm outside, and the wind howled. In the room in the attic where she lay it creaked terribly. Then she heard a voice which said that it would happen at midnight. She went down to her grandmother and told her, but she only laughed and said that they could change rooms. The next morning she found her grandmother with her throat slit and blood running everywhere. 13

There was once a little girl, she was going down in the basement to get the dessert. She heard a voice that said, "Blood on the steps, blood on the steps." She ran up to her mother and told her. "Nonsense," said her mother. The girl went down again. She heard the same, "Blood on the steps, blood on the steps." She ran up again. The girl told her mother. "Nonsense," The girl went down once more, then she didn’t hear anything. She took the dessert and went up again. Then she saw her mother lying with a knife in her stomach. 14
Parents, grandparents, and uncles are given roles as murderers. Is this a result of ignorance concerning the realities of dying? Or is it a technique for decreasing fright by associating it with someone who—however threatening—is at least familiar?

Yah, there was once—there was once a—a girl who was going up to the attic and hang up clothes for her mother. And so she didn't dare to go up and so her grandmother followed her up. And so—and so they came up and so that grandmother said, "Open up that coffin." So there were three coffins there, so that grandmother said, "Can't you open one of them up?" So there lay her mother with a knife in her heart. And so there was another—was another coffin. And so her mother opened up—no, the grandmother opened it up. And there lay her father with a knife in his heart. So—the girl was going to open up the next one and there was nobody lying there. So she said—so she said, "Who is going to lie here?" So—that—that grandmother said, "YOU." So she stabbed her in the heart with a knife.15

Can there be reassurance in dying together with one's parents so that one is not alone in death? The Johansson-Larsson study showed that children associate death with loneliness. In support of this conclusion, these stories express the children's fear of betrayal by those who are closest to them. Relatives die, are killed or disappear, or they pose a threat, giving shape to a previously formless anxiety about death.

Fear is also the theme in stories about cemeteries, death, and ghosts. One tale type with many variants concerns a dead person who appears before a living relative or close friend and asks if the relative will follow him—to the cemetery, into the grave, then into the coffin. But when the dead person asks the living relative to close the coffin lid behind them, the story is concluded with a loud "NO!" Another story tells of two boys riding in a car with a man. He stops at a cemetery and asks the boys to wait. The waiting becomes interminable, so they venture into the cemetery and discovered him down in a grave. There he sits chewing on an arm.

Stories of this kind help to locate death in a child's worldview, but they tend to increase, rather than to decrease, anxiety. This tendency is furthered by the narrative situation. Stories are no longer told in the family circle, where adults offer reassuring protection. The contemporary narrative situation typically features a peer group outside in the dark, in an apartment house stairwell, or in a child's room in the evening. Children therefore use several narrative techniques in order to prevent anxiety from becoming too strong. Stories can be concluded with an anticlimax, can be told as parodies, or can release anxiety through a loud shriek.16 The narrator might begin "Blood on the steps" in a dramatic tone:

There was blood on the steps, all the way up, there was blood on the steps, blood on the steps, blood on the steps all the way up, on all the steps—and at the top was [with a light and happy voice] a blood orange, an orange with reddish pulp.

A child is frightened by a voice which says that at midnight tonight she will die:

There was once a girl who was home alone because her mother and father were at a party. At seven o'clock a voice said, "At eleven o'clock you must go up to the attic and open the old trunk. If you don't you will be killed." It was ten o'clock, ten thirty, and finally eleven. The girl shook as she went up the stairs at eleven o'clock. She opened the trunk and there was a voice which said: "600!"17

A common story with many variants tells of a boy or girl who is supposed to wash the blood out of a piece of clothing by
midnight:

There was once a woman who was at home. Her husband was away on vacation. One day she took an afternoon nap. When she woke, she saw in a closet a sheet covered with blood, and it said, "Must be washed before midnight." That evening she was at a party, and came home at ten thirty. Then she remembered the sheet, so she went down in the basement and scrubbed and scrubbed. The sweat ran. Eleven o'clock, eleven thirty, one minute before midnight, then she heard steps behind her and a voice said, "BLENDA WASHES WHITER." 18

The many variations of The Man from the Gallows (AT 366) also belong in this context:

There was once a girl who was going to buy liver for her mother. Before she went her mother said that if the butcher didn't have liver, "I will kill you." When she came to the butcher, he didn't have any liver. But then she went up to the attic because she knew that there was a trunk full of liver there. She took what she needed and went home with it. When they were eating dinner they heard a voice from the attic which said, "Who took my liver?" Her father went up, but he didn't see anything. When he came down again they heard the same thing. This time her mother went up. But she didn't see anything either. When she came down again they heard the same thing and the girl went up but she didn't see anything. When she was going down again she heard a voice which said, "YOU TOOK MY LIVER." 19

Black humor is particularly common among teenagers, but certain forms of it are also used by younger children:

A boy came running in to his mother and said, "Mother, mother, pappa has hung himself in the attic." "Oh, no, what do you mean, has he hung himself in the attic?" She ran up but came down right away and said, "You are lying, boy. He hasn't hung himself in the attic." Then he said, "April fool, mother, he hung himself in the basement." 20

In both age groups black humor serves to explain death and to provide a necessary distance from it.

The results of this continuing project can be tentatively formulated as follows:

By talking about death in a very concrete manner and lying death and its causes to loved ones he least desires to die, the child employs a therapeutic principle which takes the sting from the fear of death.

Children have created or partially adopted fixed-form narrative types as frameworks for communication concerning death. There are undoubtedly many reasons for this use of narrative; one of the most important is that this communicative form fulfills a necessary double function: providing both the desired distance from death, and the proximity needed for incorporating it into the child's worldview. Children thus express a form of internal protest, or perhaps also a symbolic protest against adults' lack of the will and ability to help. 21

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Notes

1 See, for example, A. Mitscherlich, Auf dem Weg zur vaterlosen Gesellschaft: Ideen zur Sozialpsychologie (München: R. Piper, 1963).
3 Ivan Illich, "The Breakdown of Schools: A Problem or a Symptom?" in Dreitzel, pp. 311-33.
8 Birgitta Johansson and Gun-Britt Larsson, Barns tankar om döden (Children's Thoughts about Death) (Stockholm, 1976).
9 Sylvia Anthony, The Discovery of Death, passim.
11 Collected from Bente Øde, age 13, class 6B at Christi Krybbe school, Bergen; archive reference EFA M. Velure, 1969.
12 Collected from Kjersti Sjøtun, age 13, seventh grade, Jondal School, Jondal (1969); archive reference EFA M. Velure, band 9.
13 Collected from John-Ølafr Arentsen, age 12, class 5B, Christi Krybbe school, Bergen; archive reference EFA M. Velure, 1969.
17 Collected from Wenche Korneliussen, age 12, sixth grade, Christi Krybbe school, Bergen (1969).
18 Collected from Ronny Hansen, age 11, class 4D, Landås school, Bergen (1969); archive reference EFA M. Velure, band 2, side 2.
19 Collected from Ingrid Bergesen, age 10, fourth grade, Fridalen school, Bergen (1969); archive reference EFA M. Velure.
20 Collected from Per Skjold, Jr., age 11, fourth grade, Haukås school, Åsane (1969); archive reference EFA M. Velure.
21 This contribution is a revision of a paper presented at the VIIth Congress of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research, held 12 to 18 August 1979 in Edinburgh, Scotland. A Norwegian version is printed in Tidsskrift for samfunnsvitenskap 5/6 (1979).
CONTEMPORARY RESPONSES TO LEGENDS AND MEMORATS

Leea Virtanen

Little work has been done on the processes of presentation and response which shape stories of the incredible. Such stories are dismissed as belonging to the superstitious past. Even so, contemporary rumor has often been described as a collective product, in which people play various roles: the teller of a rumor connects the news item with its cultural background, the skeptic doubts the authenticity of the account and demands proof, and so on.¹ Linda Déggh and Andrew Vázsonyi have drawn attention to a similar phenomenon that appears in legend narration: belief, disbelief, and many shades of contention and debate are all at work when many people are present.² What kind of response do tales of the supernatural generally evoke today? Is this response determined by the tale contents, the narrator's general attitude toward the supernatural, or perhaps by the general extra-story relationship between narrator and listener? Can the listener's comments be interpreted in terms of personality?

When one is studying people's attitudes toward questions of belief, standardized questionnaires with multiple-choice options do not readily give a complete picture of the phenomenon. A person's reaction to a general theoretical question will differ from his or her reaction to a question about a specific occurrence. One field study showed that some African tribesmen, when asked general questions, considered all deaths to be caused by sorcery; but when asked about two hundred specific cases, the respondents attributed only fifty-five per cent of the deaths to sorcery.³

Stories about supernatural occurrences generate specific attitudes; the researcher who studies these attitudes may find it easiest to present his test material in a natural environment, without mentioning his scientific intention. This can result in a so-called experimental realism in which people will naturally respond as if to the story of a real occurrence.⁴ My research is based on a short test of this kind, in which eight students voluntarily told a set number of prepared stories to their friends—twenty-three people in all, fourteen women and nine men. They were free to support or doubt what they had heard, and to alter the stories accordingly. The stories are as follows:

1. There was a poltergeist-type haunting in a village, where irons and other household items floated in the air. After a prayer meeting, the house returned to normal.
2. A bird came into a boy's room through the open window in the night, and at the same time his brother died.
3. Some young people at a séance asked whether the devil was somewhere close by. "In the bathroom," was the reply. The girl who went to look was found strangled.
4. A Helsinki businessman, traveling in Lapland, saw a grey-bearded and grey-dressed man in his tent during the night. He later told this to a friend, an old folk healer who said, "You slept on a spirit's path."
5. At a meeting of a faith-healing group one lad's skin complaint was healed. "It was like a wave of warmth going through me."
The results do not give a statistically representative picture of peoples' general attitudes to what they hear, because the narrative situation was controlled. But they do give classifiable and interesting information.

The test brought out many different ways of accepting and rejecting a story. A story's truthfulness can be questioned in two ways: the plot itself can be rejected, or its basis can be accepted and a "natural" explanation given to the occurrences described. A story's plot and its meaning were questioned by gesture, smile, laughter, the waving of hands, and by claims that the story was from some sensational magazine. The following types of comments were also used: "There's nothing in that," or "The thing's a lie from beginning to end," or "I'm not so stupid as to believe that."

Each of the five stories attracted its own natural explanation which neutralized its supernatural meaning. Some respondents believed that sleight of hand or some kind of trickery lay behind the case of the haunting. The second story, in which the bird flew inside the house at the moment of death, was seen as a simple coincidence. The listeners often said that the same thing had happened to them, and no one had died: "Birds are so inquisitive." "Just folk beliefs," commented another. The bird's flying inside was asserted to be merely coincidental with the death; the connection between the two was assumed to have been made only later: "People are like that; when something happens, afterwards they think they saw some omen of it earlier." One listener, while accepting the death as a fact, thought the bird an hallucination:

That a bird can sense death is a centuries-old notion. I think your friend knew of this and imagined the bird in some kind of half-awake state. How the girl got the call to her own death is another story, which I can't explain.

The girl's death at the séance and the boy's miraculous recovery were explained as psychic phenomena. Many listeners thought that the boy had clearly believed in the healer's powers and that doctors had already shown his allergies and skin problems to be psychosomatic. The girl had perhaps died of fright, having imagined seeing something, or else she had hanged herself.

The Helsinki businessman's strange experience of a spirit was explained by his mental state. One listener, smiling, commented: "It could happen . . . to a Helsinki businessman on holiday." People thought he had had a bad dream or some kind of hallucination after having one too many, when "a fly can become a spirit."

If the listener accepted the outline of the story, but not its interpretation, his reaction was to look for a rational explanation. The availability of mass communication has significantly changed concepts of what is within the realms of possibility. One of the interviewed said that if a strangling like the one described had happened, it would have been in the papers. Before radio, televisions, and newspapers were a common feature in the home, it was obviously more difficult to estimate rationally the truth of a story. The rational explanations put forward were approximately the same as those appearing in studies of these phenomena. Poltergeist hauntings were explained as sleight of hand or the result of hysteria, simultaneous occurrences as coincidences, faith-healing as a result of belief on the part of the patient, and sights of spirits as caused by an excess of alcohol. C. W. von Sydow thought the small size of spirits to be the result of alcohol's hal-
luminatory effect. This does not reflect very well on the psychological competence of the given interpretations: things seem to be explained with little more than a peasant's common sense.

Listeners accept stories in four ways: 1) by agreeing that there is a lot we don't know in this world, 2) by looking for a general supernatural explanation to cover the stories, 3) by linking what is heard with something similar in our own background, or 4) by demanding documentary proof. Doubting listeners who asked, "No, where did you hear that?" were generally ready to believe the story line if the facts seemed reliable, if the story was heard from a reliable person, or if the storyteller mentioned the main character in the story as his friend (or as the friend of a friend).

The first of these responses could be described as the helpless spreading of one's hands in the face of the unknown: "We don't know enough of this world to explain everything," "What can one say to that?" "Perhaps it could have happened like that; why not?" Some people have accepted the occult or the unexplained as a necessary part of the world, taking the position that since the human mind cannot comprehend everything, it is pointless to try.

In the urban environment, traditional ways of explaining unusual phenomena seem to change to a new kind of explanation, as in this response to story number four:

It could be that the belief of those people who have believed and still believe in spirits is reflected in the physical so that a spirit actually appears. It appears as a reflection of those people's belief, a product of mental energy.

If the listener comments on the story in parapsychological terms for example, by pointing to telepathy, the scholar's intellectual preferences will determine whether the explanation is classified as rational or as supernatural. The most common form of explanation posits an unknown form of energy; this outlook is halfway between magic and science. In the magical explanation, the process of cause and effect is not rigorously examined. Traditional science, on the other hand, is in a state of upheaval; its concepts of space and time have been shaken by such developments as Einstein's theory of relativity and the discovery of nuclear energy. We could imagine a situation in which a scholar who espouses out-of-date concepts of causality and stability might label the latest results of theoretical physics as "magic" or "belief."

The ordinary response of the listener after hearing the story was to tell one of his own, something which came to mind almost as a reciprocal gesture. Every test story produced some spontaneous narrative, some examples of which follow:

1. Story of the poltergeist-type haunting.
   The listeners, a barber and a bank clerk, said that they had read similar cases in Manning's book, Link to the Unknown. 6
   "That kind of thing happens all the time, some kind of physical phenomenon perhaps." An eighteen-year-old girl knew an otherwise pleasant and sensible boy who claimed his dead father still wandered about the house, visited the bathroom, and made noises. The boy saw nothing strange in this, but visitors to the house were shocked.
   Another listener, an eighteen-year-old girl, said she did not believe the story, but afterwards told about her aunt's prediction of the day on which her brother died. When her aunt died, everyone saw the dazzling bright shape of an angel go through the house.
2. Story of a bird appearing at the moment of death.
A twenty-five-year-old male student said that the story could not be true, and gave an example of how this kind of story spreads. At a family wedding a bird came to sit by the altar backcloth and then flew around the groom's head. One of the wedding guests remembered that when the groom's father was still living, he had promised, one way or another, to come to his son's wedding; the bird was thus interpreted as the father's presence.

Another listener, the storyteller's grandmother, told of her brother's death in a car accident. A simultaneous sharp clap had been heard at home, "the spirit walked," and no one was able to sleep.

3. Story of the devil's appearance at a séance.
Many people gave descriptions of their personal experiences at séances. "There had been a séance at a friend's home and the devil had been asked to appear in the candlelight in the bathroom. The devil appeared and everyone there panicked." The listener thought his story was the product of someone's suggestive imagination, but having heard this type of story before, he told it anyway.

4. Story of a spirit appearing to a businessman in Lapland.
One respondent, a sixty-seven-year-old shopkeeper, related how she had slept one night in an old manor house with her husband and youngest child. She woke in the middle of the night to find a man—dressed only in a shirt and braces—in the room beside her daughter's bed. He just stood, stared, and puffed out his cheeks. Suddenly he disappeared out the window. She said to her husband, who had also awakened and seen the figure, "What was it?" He replied, "Yes, what was that thing?" In the morning, while downstairs in the kitchen, they heard the explanation: "That was Harttu. You should have asked what he wanted." He was the manor owner's mentally ill brother who had been locked up in the same room.

"She certainly saw something" was the comment of a thirty-year-old woman who had seen something similar in a railway sleeper—the apparition, failing to find a way out, had just disappeared. Her friend on the bunk below had seen it as well, so she knew it was no illusion.

5. Story of the miraculous cure of a skin complaint.
Links were made to Philippino healers, a Finnish healer named Miilo Yli-Vainio, and other publicly reported cases.

A twenty-five-year-old man had experienced, while serving in the army, a sense of déjà vu in which the scenery was familiar. His mother, in another part of Finland, had had to go into the hospital in a critical state because of a pregnancy problem. He had heard a clear voice say, "Bless your mother and father."

A twenty-two-year-old male student told of a girl with throat cancer recovering by eating tomatoes for two weeks.

A response to a story can thus take the form of a reciprocal narration of a similar type of experience—for example, a simultaneous premonition of death, or a vanishing shape—but the response can also be the presentation of a random collection of strange and inexplicable occurrences. Some of those questioned distinguished between hauntings and omens, some between dreams and supernatural occurrences, and some linked cases in which the death of a relative or close friend was revealed. Attitudes toward this kind of experience reflect individual worldview, as do the links made to earlier experiences. The same analysis of experiences is noticeable in other areas of life. David Sudnow's ethnographical study of the modern hospital environment shows that new nurses and medical students evolve different ways of marking their new experiences and linking them to earlier ones, until those new experiences become familiar. For example, the death of a patient on the morning rounds stimulated connections with similar occurrences in the past. Generally speaking, the social structure of a community provides the background for a discussion, but
presently no clear communal models exist for dealing with supernatural experiences; rather, concepts are formed within small local groups. Some people are able to say how many supernatural experiences they have had in their lives, while for others any such experiences have lost their significance. The supernatural has no stable conceptualization; for some, omens experienced in a dream are "natural," while a poltergeist-type haunting is not, and so on. A memorat is not always a story of an experience which is seen by the narrator as supernatural; people make personal attempts to interconnect these experiences, using the popular nomenclature that refers to different types of experience. These attempts should also be studied, because they show how experience is categorized within the total world picture of the individual.

In general, the stories used as examples presented some problems in their narration. The narrator should indicate a clear and well-based relationship with the person who experienced the phenomenon, if the story is of a memorat type. Subsequent verbal treatment of the stories was not always at a very sophisticated level, and often people near each other in the audience would talk amongst themselves. The general relationship between narrator and listener determined the course of the conversation. A researcher accustomed to results from multiple-choice questionnaires (for example: totally agree/difficult to say/slightly disagree/totally disagree) would have been distracted by the listeners' ready associations; these made it difficult to know whether their attitudes toward the story in question were positive or negative. Finally, the narration of a story can be seen as a sign of trust; the listener, wanting to reciprocate this trust, will tell one of his own.

The following points emerge from what I have said:

1. Observation-psychology studies of tradition have often operated at the trivial level. Many informants rejected the experiences: "He had an hallucination." "He saw something out of fright, which is a common traditional feature." Such comments represent typical, everyday attitudes. They are, for scholarly purposes at least, no more than superficial quasi-explanations.

2. Different types of experience are accepted as credible to different degrees. For example, the description of the devil's appearance at a séance was rejected very easily; the story exists for the most part only in schoolchildren's tradition. Faith-healing, however, was widely accepted while so-called medium-healing was less acceptable.

3. Responses are determined clearly, more so than in other fields of life, by the question of whether the listener has had similar experiences. Someone who has once seen a vanishing shape understands someone else seeing something like it. Community attitudes are of less importance here.

4. Mental classification of experiences, and attempts at understanding them, are interesting points of study, as are the personalities of people who do not respond very deeply to these experiences. What the scholar would classify as a memorat, many people consider completely normal. Not all so-called memorats contain an emotional experience; some are rather simple descriptions of experience. Materials classified as memorats have not much more structure than do ordinary subjective reminiscences; unlike the Märchen, such narratives are not governed by a clear set of traditional rules. In descriptions of supernatural experiences there are traditional features, but such is the case in all subjective recollections. The culture around us determines the way
in which we shape the world, and it provides us with linguistic utterances and images as well as models for the interpretation of experiences.

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Notes

4 In social psychology tests, people are often misled about the real nature of the test, which raises a number of ethical problems. An established relationship can suffer if it is finally revealed that the narrator has told his story for test purposes. Also stories which are told as if true without comments can cause fear and unease in the audience.
AN ANCIENT GREEK GHOST STORY

William F. Hansen

Perhaps the most mysterious if not also the most beautiful ancient Greek ghost story known to us is the story of Philinnion. It is found in a little work entitled On Marvels, compiled in the early second century A.D. by Phlegon of Tralles, a freedman of the Emperor Hadrian. Unfortunately the first part of the narrative has not survived, and the text as we have it starts in mid-sentence. Its incompleteness increases the mystery in a story already devoted to the mysterious. The narrative goes as follows:

... went to the door of the guest-room, and in the light of the burning lamp she saw the girl sitting beside Machates. Because of the extraordinary nature of the sight, she did not wait there any longer but ran to the girl's mother screaming, "Charito! Demostratos!" She said they should get up and come with her to their daughter, for she was alive and by some divine will was with the guest in the guest-room. When Charito heard this amazing report, she was frightened and faint because of the immensity of the message and the nurse's excitement. But after a short time the memory of her daughter came to her and she began to weep, and in the end she accused the old woman of being mad and told her to leave her presence immediately. But the nurse replied boldly and reproachfully that she herself was rational and sound of mind, unlike her mistress, who was reluctant to see her own daughter. With some hesitation Charito went to the door of the guest-room, partly coerced by the nurse and partly wanting to know what really had happened. Since considerable time—about two hours—had now passed since the nurse's original message, it was somewhat late when Charito went to the door, and the occupants were already asleep. She peered in and thought she recognized her daughter's clothes and features, but inasmuch as she could not determine the truth of the matter she decided to do nothing further that night. She planned to get up in the morning and confront the girl, or if she be too late for that she intended to question Machates thoroughly about everything. He would not, she thought, lie if asked about so important a matter. And so she said nothing and left.

At dawn however it turned out that by divine will or chance the girl had left unnoticed. When Charito came to the room she was upset with the young man because of the girl's departure. She asked him to relate everything to her from the beginning, telling the truth and concealing nothing. The youth was anxious and confused at first, but hesitantly revealed that the girl's name was Philinnion. He told how her visiting began and how great was her desire for him and that she said she came to him without her parents' knowledge. Wishing to make the matter credible he opened his coffer and took out the items the girl had left behind—the golden ring he had gotten from her and the breast-band she had left the night before. When Charito saw this evidence she uttered a cry, tore her clothes, cast her headress from her head, and fell to the ground, throwing herself upon the tokens and beginning her grief anew. As the guest observed what was happening, how all were grieving and wailing as if they were about to lay the girl in her grave, he was distressed and called upon them to stop, promising to show then the girl if she came again. Charito accepted this but bade him carefully keep his promise to her.

Night came on and now it was the hour when Philinnion was accustomed to come to him. The household kept watch, wanting to know of her arrival. She entered at the usual time and sat down on the bed. Machates pretended that nothing was wrong, since he wished to investigate the whole incredible matter to find out if the girl he was consorting with, who took care to come to him at the same hour, was actually dead. As she ate and drank with him, he simply could not believe what the others had told
him, and he supposed that some grave-robers had dug into the grave and sold the clothes and the gold to her father. In his wish however to learn exactly what was the case he secretly sent his slaves to summon Demostratos and Charito. They quickly came. When they first saw her they were speechless and panic-stricken by the amazing sight, but after that they cried aloud and embraced their daughter. Philinnion then said to them: "Mother and father, how unfairly you have grudged my being with the guest for three days in my father's house, since I have caused no one any pain. For that reason you shall grieve all over again on account of your meddling, and I shall return to the place appointed for me. For it was not without divine will that I came here." Immediately after speaking these words she was dead, and her body lay stretched out visibly on the bed. Her father and mother threw themselves upon her, and there was much confusion and wailing in the house because of the calamity, for the misfortune was unbearable and the sight incredible.

The event was quickly noised through the city and was reported to me. Accordingly, during that night I kept in check the crowds that gathered at the house, since, with news like this going from mouth to mouth, I wanted to make sure there would be no trouble. By early dawn the theater was full. After the particulars had been explained, it was decided that we should first go to the tomb, open it, and see whether the body lay on its bier or whether we would find the place empty. For a half-year had not yet passed since the death of the girl. When we opened the chamber into which all deceased members of the family were placed, we saw the bodies lying on the biers, or the bones in the case of those who had died long ago, but on the bier on which Philinnion had been placed we found only the iron ring that belonged to the guest, and the gilded wine-cup—objects that she had gotten from Machates on the first day. Astonished and frightened we proceeded immediately to Demostratos' house to see if the corpse was truly to be seen in the guest-room. After we saw the dead girl lying there on the ground, we gathered at the place of assembly, for the events were serious and incredible.

There was considerable confusion in the assembly, and almost no one was able to form a judgment on the events. The first to stand up was Hylllos, who is considered to be not only the best seer among us but also a fine augur and in general has shown remarkable perception in his craft. He said we should burn the girl outside the boundaries of the city since nothing would be gained by burying her in the ground within its boundaries, and perform an apotropaic sacrifice to Hermes Chthonios and the Eumenides. Then he prescribed that everyone purify himself completely, cleanse the temples, and perform all the customary rites to the chthonic deities. (He spoke to me in private about the king and the events, telling me to sacrifice to Hermes, Zeus Xenios, and Ares, and to perform these rites with care.) When he had made this known to us we undertook to do what he had prescribed, but Machates, the guest whom the ghost had visited, killed himself from despondency.

If you now decide to write about this to the king, send word to me also so that I may dispatch to you some of those who examined the bodies in detail. Farewell.1

Some of the mystery can be dissipated immediately, for we chance to possess a summary of the entire text, though unfortu-
ately it is very brief. We owe it to the Neoplatonic philosopher Proklos (fifth century A.D.) in his Commentary on Plato's Republic. Discussing Plato's Myth of Er, Proklos cites a number of instances of persons who have died and returned to life, and concludes with the story of Philinnion.

And the arch-example is Philinnion, during the reign of Philip. The daughter of the Amphipolitans, Demostratos and Charito, she dies soon after she was married. Her hus-
band had been Krateros. But in the sixth month after her death she returned to life, and for many successive nights she secretly slept with a youth named Machates, on account of her love for him. He had come to Demostratos from his native city of Pella. When she was detected she died again, after proclaiming that what she had done was done in accord with the will of the subterranean gods. Her corpse was seen by everyone as it lay in state in her father's house. In their disbelief at what had happened the members of her family went to the place where they had originally placed
her body, dug it up, and found it to be empty. The events are described in letters written to Philip, some by Hipparchos and some by Arrhidaios, which latter had taken charge of the occurrences in Amphipolis. 2

Returning to Phlegeton's text I can make some observations. 1) We do not know how long the missing portion of the text was. To judge from Proklos' summary, it comprised perhaps one-fifth of the whole. 2) In form the text is a letter. The writer is allegedly a city official of some sort, Arrhidaios, who is writing to a higher official of some sort, Hipparchos, who in turn may write about the matter to the king, Philip. 3) The letter itself is not what it pretends to be, a genuine epistle concerning an actual marvelous event, but is an epistolary fraud. 3 It was written probably in the late Hellenistic period, when it was particularly fashionable to compose spurious letters. Phlegeton simply copied it as he found it into his collection of marvels. Some such letters, including perhaps the present one, came into being as school exercises. Like it, many won acceptance as the genuine article. Rohde has demonstrated that several of the narratives transmitted by Phlegeton and Proklos, including the present letter, are probably taken from a Hellenistic collection of anabioses, or accounts of returns to life; and that the fabricator of the collection sometimes cast his narrative in the form of a letter written to a king or royal official by a man who allegedly had been at the scene of the marvel, and so could be deemed a credible witness. 4 4) The setting is Macedonia. The guest comes from the capital, Pella, and the events take place in Amphipolis on the Strymon. The Greek city of Amphipolis was captured by Philip II of Macedon in 357 B.C., after which it was under Macedonian rule. Since Philip reigned from 359-336 B.C., the dramatic date of the story falls in the twenty-year period 356-336 B.C.

Now for the contents of the letter. 5) Some six months before the events of the story, Demostratos' and Charito's daughter Philinnion, who had wed a certain Krateros but died shortly thereafter, was interred in the family tomb. 6) Machates came from Pella and became a guest in the house. This occurred sometime after Philinnion's death, which Machates knew nothing about, but was there at least three days, since it was Philinnion's third nocturnal visit that her parents interrupted. 5 We do not know why he was there. 6 He is regularly referred to as the xenos, which means "guest" or "stranger" or both. 7) On each of her three visits Philinnion arrived at the same evening hour and, except for the third visit, passed the night in her lover's bed, leaving before daybreak to return to her tomb. She told him that she came to him without her parents' knowledge (which was true enough), but she did not inform him that she had died. He in turn evidently assumed that she was the living daughter of Demostratos and Charito and that from her desire for him she sneaked into his room at night and left before daybreak, no doubt to return to her own room before the household arose. During the first (or first and second) evening the lovers exchanged love-tokens. Though we do not know how much knowledge of the lovers' earlier evenings together the writer has, the two rings do seem to be mentioned later as items that are already known to the reader. 7 8) The divine will by which Philinnion was enabled to return nocturnally to life and home, and the significance of the period of three days which her parents' eagerness cut short, are all unexplained.

There are a few discrepancies in detail between the letter and Proklos' summary of it, but they are unimportant and due no doubt to the latter's writing from memory. Proklos moreover writes
carelessly, as when he describes this letter as one of several written to Philip, though strictly it is not. Indeed, the series of letters concerning Philinnion mentioned by him may itself be a careless invention. Taking as he does the present letter at face value, Proklos probably inferred from Arrhidaios’ closing remark the likelihood of an exchange of letters between the two officials and the king.

Where did the epistolographer get the story of Philinnion? Is it sheer invention, or is it an adaptation of traditional material? The events of the letter, from the time when the maid peers into the guest-bedroom to the time of the ghost’s final revelation, are in fact familiar as the central portion of a folktale known in contemporary oral tradition, though the sex of the lovers is the reverse, the revenant being male and the guest female. In an Irish text a servant girl, sent by the mother to peep through the key-hole of the bedroom, looked and saw Máire with a baby in her arms and a man sitting at her bedside. She ran to tell her mistress, who declared that the man was her son. The woman told the servant to tell Máire that it was necessary to store some things in her room; then the farmer’s wife was secretly bundled up and carried into the room. That night she saw her son come and sit down beside the bed. Losing patience the mother threw off the clothes on top of her and caught hold of her son. "May God help us now, mother!" he exclaimed, saying that if she had only waited two hours more, she would have had him forever. Now he must spend seven years in hell because of her. In another Irish text the servant girl, sent by the mother, went to the girl’s room, looked through the keyhole, and saw a handsome young man by the bedside, and Máire in bed with a baby at her breast. The girl ran back in terror and cried to her mistress that Máire was in bed with a baby and there was a gentleman at her bedside; she should come and see them for herself. The woman went and looked through the keyhole, recognized the man as her own son, and drew back in silence. A few days later the servant told Máire that it was necessary to hide something in the room. But the mother disguised herself in straw and a cloak, and had herself carried into the room. At midnight a young man entered, sat down, and began to talk with Máire. The mother lost patience, tore off her disguise, ran to her son, and embraced him. He cried, "Oh shame, mother! That's a hateful thing you have done to me." Had she waited a year and a day, he would have been as well as before, but now he must go back to suffer in hell for seven years more.

It is clear that we are dealing with essentially the same story, or rather portion of a story. It seems especially unlikely that Irish raconteurs got their story from the Greek letter. After all, it is only the middle portion of the narratives that is manifestly parallel. The beginning of the ancient story had long been lost, and the conclusion of it is not obviously similar. On the other hand, there is nothing improbable in explaining the correspondences as the consequence on the ancient composer’s having reworked an oral source that more or less resembled the contemporary oral story. It seems likely that the Hellenistic fabricator of the letter drew upon a tale in oral circulation, adapting it to his own quasi-literary purposes, which included casting the events in the form of a letter written by a fictitious local official, who enters the final portion of the tale as a participant and observer. The contemporary tale (AT 425j) is a subtype of AT 425, the cluster of folktales referred to collectively as the Cupid and
Psyche tale. The plot of AT 425J can be very briefly sketched as follows. 10 Fleeing an unhappy marriage or a lustful priest, a girl found lodging in a farmhouse. One day she encountered the son of the house, who had died and was damned. On his instructions she lodged in his old room, where he visited her at night. She bore him a child. One day when she did not arise, the woman of the house sent a maidservant to her room. Then come the events I have summarized above. When the son revealed that he must now spend seven more years in hell, the mother and the father and the girl offered in turn to go as his substitute. The parents each tried and failed. The son gave the girl a ring that would produce food and drink for her in hell, and she succeeded in reaching hell and staying there a certain number of years. She returned just as the man was about to marry, but he recognized or recalled her by means of the ring, and married her.

While the ancient and modern texts correspond rather closely in the central portion of the story, they appear to differ considerably in the final portion. It is there, of course, that the formula employed by the writer of the spurious letter required him to introduce one or more intrusive characters into the story in order that they might participate in the events and give a first-hand account of them. It is precisely this portion then that the writer himself presumably manufactured and tacked on to the story of Philinnion. Or so one might expect. But it may be that they are not entirely dissimilar. Overall, the main action-elements in the last portion of the contemporary folktale are a) the family's deliberation on what course of action to take, b) the journey of the substitute to hell, c) the return of the substitute from hell to the house of the supernatural lover, and d) the recognition or verification of the substitute's identity. The journey to hell made by the heroine in the contemporary tale is reminiscent of the journey to the family tomb made by the investigators in the ancient account. The death realm is expressed by hell in the Irish tales, and by the family tomb in the Greek narrative. The corresponding elements in the ancient text are a) the public deliberation on what course of action to adopt, b) the journey of the deliberators to the family tomb, c) the return of the deliberators from the tomb to Philinnion's house, and d) the verification that Philinnion's corpse was there. The underlying structural parallelism is striking. A couple of other details may also be significant. One lover gives the other a ring, which is taken to the death realm (hell/tomb) and is subsequently employed as a token of recognition or verification. Finally, the stories end with the performance of rites (wedding/funeral) for the two lovers. These shared features suggest that the Greek story in its oral form may have corresponded rather closely to contemporary texts of this folktale. It appears that the final portion of the letter is less a creatio ex nihilo than a continued adaptation of the same narrative source.

Most of the principal incidents of AT 425J are present in the Hellenistic letter—the arrival of the one lover at the house of the supernatural lover, their entry into a marriage-like relationship, the breaking of the taboo, and the consequent loss of the supernatural lover. Lacking is only the one lover's stay in the death realm as a surrogate for the other, and the eventual reunion of the two, but these elements or something resembling them seem to have been present in the ancient oral version of the story. If that
is correct, the letter gives us our earliest evidence for the existence of stories of the Cupid and Psyche type (AT 425). 11

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Notes


2 Proclus Diadochus, In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii, ed. W. Kroll, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1901), p. 116. This passage, by the way, was unknown to Goethe, whose vampire ballad Die Braut von Korinth, composed in 1797, was inspired by Phlegon's narrative.


4 Rohde, pp. 335-39.

5 Rohde (p. 333, n. 1) mistakenly locates the interruption on the second night. The point of Phleinion's speech is that she was prevented from passing a third night with Machates; that is, it was begun but not completed. Notice that on the final evening there came "the hour when Phleinion was accustomed to come to him" and that she "entered at the usual time." This would be strange language to use about one who had come only once before. The interruption occurs at the last moment because it is more dramatic there.

6 The notion, suggested by Goethe's ballad, that Machates and Phleinion were betrothed and that from consideration for his feelings people had not at first informed him of his fiancée's death, seems to me more incredible than anything in the letter itself: Ludwig Radernacher, Altgriechische Liebesgeschichten, Historien und Schwänke, revised and enlarged by Franz John (Berlin: Academie-Verlag, 1970), p. 79. Generally speaking, the familiarity of this eighteenth-century ballad has hindered rather than facilitated an understanding of the ancient story.

7 The first time Phleinion's golden ring is mentioned it is described as ton te daktylion ton chrysoun (P. 59.15), as though to distinguish it from another ring known to the reader. Similarly, when Machates' iron ring is found in her tomb it is referred to as ton daktylion ton sidrōn (p. 61.21).

8 European Folk Tales, eds. Laurits Bødker, Christina Hole, G. D'Aronco (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1963), pp. 136-42.


10 Available to me are nine Irish texts, which are the two translations already cited and seven summaries in Jan-Ojvind Swahn, The Tale of Cupid and Psyche: Aarne-Thompson 425 & 428 (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1955), pp. 329-33. (Swahn gives eight summaries, but one of them—CI 31—is identical with the text cited in footnote 8, above.) For the central incident, at least, outside of Greece and Ireland, see Walter Anderson, "Eine Märchenparallele zu Antonius Diogenes," Philologus 65 (1907): 606-608. I observe in passing that some texts of AT 425 have reversed the usual genders of the two lovers; on this point see Swahn (p. 347), who explains it, no doubt correctly, as a consequence of a story being made over from a woman's tale to a man's tale. Finally, notice that like the Greek story the Irish texts do not fully explain the fixed period of time which must not be interrupted, preferring to leave mysterious the workings of the other world. 11 Phlegon must have made his compilation before his younger contemporary Apuleius (born c. 123 A.D.) wrote the novel of which the tale of Cupid and Psyche forms a part;
moreover, the spurious letter is not Phlegon's own narrative but rather a simple copy of an earlier document. The different dates of publication do not of course mean that one story, qua story, is older than the other. It is generally supposed by Classicists that Apuleius got the tale of Cupid and Psyche from a Greek source, and the likelihood that the tale comes from Greek rather than Roman oral tradition has been reinforced recently by Megas' study of the present distribution of the folktale: Georgios A. Megas, Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche in der griechischen Volksüberlieferung: Aarne-Thompson 425, 428, & 432 (Athēnai: Akadēmia Athēnēn, 1971). See also Georgios A. Megas, "Amor und Psyche," in Enzyklopädie des Märchens, vol. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), coll. 464–72. If this is correct, antecedents of two contemporary subtypes—A (Apuleius) and J (Phlegon)—were already present in ancient Greek oral tradition. There is perhaps an even earlier trace of the ghost story. The Greek legend of Laodameia's love for her dead husband, or for a statue of him, may be a biform of the story of Philinnion. It was the subject of a play by Euripides. For a discussion see L. Radermacher, "Hippolytos und Thekla: Studien zur Geschichte von Legende und Kultus," Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Phil.-hist. Klasse 182 (1918): 99–111.
BROWNIE INTO BOGGART

Katharine M. Briggs

Farewell rewards and fairies,
Good housewives now may say,
For now foul sluts in dairies
Do fare as well as they.
And though they sweep their hearths no less
Than maids were wont to do
Yet who of late for cleanliness
Finds sixpence in their shoe?

Many a busy housewife with shopping and cooking and cleaning to do, dishes and pots to wash up, and beds to make, may wish she could sacrifice all the conveniences of modern technology for the old-fashioned domestic spirit, the Brownie or Bwbach or Fenoderee, to wash her pots and pans, clean the house, look after her livestock, dig the garden, and mow the crops for no reward but a daintily baked scone or a dish of bread and milk. And if she kept on the right side of her Brownie she would enjoy good luck as well. Yet the relationship between the housewife and the Brownie could break down as easily as a washing machine or a heating plant. A washing machine is insensitive, but a Brownie's feelings are only too easily hurt; and then a Brownie may become a Boggart, bringing in disorder and dirt.

Delicate discrimination must be exercised in rewarding a Brownie, and though food can be left for him to take, and indeed this tribute is considered necessary, it must never be expressly given. Keightley for instance, gives a tale of a woman who had just woven a piece of linsey-woolsey and she thought that she would make a nice new suit of it for the Brownie who had labored so faithfully for her. She laid it in his favorite spot, but unfortunately she could not refrain from calling out to tell him about it. This was a terrible breach of etiquette and that night she heard the Brownie wailing--

A new mantle and a new hood!
Poor Brownie! ye'll ne'er do mair gude!¹

--before he left the place forever. Another old lady dropped an even heavier brick, for she put a piece of money beside his porringer of milk. All night long she heard him lamenting and crying, "Farewell to bonnie Bodsbach!" In the morning he had left forever. ²

Robert Chambers has a rather different version of the Bodsbach Brownie:

The brownie of the farmhouse of Bodsbeck, in Moffatdale, left his employment upwards of a century ago. . . He had exerted himself so much in the farm-labour, both in and out of doors, that Bodsbeck became the most prosperous farm in the district. He always took his meat as it pleased himself, usually in very moderate quantities, and of the most humble description. During a time of very hard labor, perhaps harvest, when a little better fare than ordinary might have been judged acceptable, the goodman took the liberty of leaving out a mess of bread and milk, thinking it but fair that at a time when some improvement, both in quantity and quality, was made upon the fare of the human servants, the useful brownie should obtain a share of the blessing. He, however, found his error, for the result was that the brownie left the
house forever, exclaiming:
Ca', Brownie, ca',
A' the luck o' Bodsbeck away to Leithenhall.
The luck of Bodsbeck accordingly departed with its brownie, and settled in the neighbouring farm, called Leithenhall, whither the brownie transferred his friendship and services. 3

The most widespread motif in the tradition is the departure of the Brownie, or other domestic spirit, after being given a reward. Many different reasons are given for the departure. In such stories as "The Brownie of Bodsbach", the explanation for the departing spirit's lamentation is generally that the Brownie has been divinely appointed to serve without reward, to lighten the weight of Man's allotted labor, in order to alleviate Man's punishment after the Fall. These spirits are regarded as Fallen Angels according to one theory of fairy origins. Brownies and hobgoblins would probably be the least guilty of the Angels who were led astray by Satan. They might, on the other hand, be regarded as ancestral ghosts—who would naturally be distressed at being obliged to leave the houses which had been their homes since the time of their mortal birth.

Another, rather less frequent, explanation is that for some reason—generally a new inmate of the house—the quality of the gift to the Brownie has fallen off; The well-known story of a Lincolnshire Brownie is an example. There was a farmer in East Halton whose farm had been haunted for many years by a Brownie who had done all kinds of work about the place. A well-known story is told of his having rounded up all the sheep in the place for shearing and driven them into the barn. As the farmer began to count them he heard a shrill, squeaky voice from the highest beam above him. "They're all there, but I had more trouble with the little grey lamb than all the rest of the flock." When the farmer counted the flock he found a poor exhausted little hare lying amongst them. 4

As well as working on the farm, the Brownie did as much housework as three maids could do, and all the reward he got was a new linen shirt laid out on the hearth on New Year's Eve. This had been his wages for time out of mind, until at length a more miserly farmer succeeded to the farm, and laid a shirt of coarse sacking (instead of fine linen) on the hearth. That night the Brownie's shrill voice was heard singing over and over again:

Harden, harden, harden hemp.
I will neither grind nor stamp.
Had you given me linen gear
I had served you many a year.
Thrift may go, bad luck may stay,
I shall travel far away. 5

He sang the song so often that they had time to learn it, but it was the last they heard of him, for in the morning the Brownie was gone and the luck of the farm went with him. The better known and shorter version of the rhyme seems to show the same sense of injury:

What have we here? Hempen, hampen,
Here I'll no longer tread nor stamphen!

Reginald Scot, in The Discoverie of Witchcraft quotes the rhyme, but misses the reference to the hemp by making the refrain "Hemton hamton." 6
In Patrick Kennedy's story, "The Kildare Pooka," the Pooka does the farmwork in the form of an ass and describes himself as the ghost of a lazy kitchen boy, whose punishment consists of having to work in the house where he had once idled. Every night when his work is done, he has to stand in the cold yard, with the wind blowing through him. A servant who sits up to watch him and to whom he tells his tale, is sorry for the poor shivering Pooka; he and his fellow-servants make a warm garment to cover him. But when the boy has fitted it on, the Pooka reveals something that he has not yet mentioned: his term of service was ordained to last until he was thought worthy of a reward, so now he is free to go and the servants will have to do the work for themselves.7

A good number of the household spirits feel themselves too grand to do any more work when they have been left new clothes. They go to show their finery in fairyland, as happened in Lady Wilde's charming tale of a pathetic tattered old pooka. He had brought a troop of little ones to work at a farmer's mill after he had made friends with the farmer's son Phadraig; but his leaving did not break the farmer's luck, and the tale ends happily for all concerned.8 The Pixies of Cornwall, who do Brownie work for humans, generally leave for the same reason.

The Fenoderee of Man, who worked like a whirlwind and had the strength of a giant, somewhat the same type as Milton's Lubbard Feind, distrusted the slavery of human clothes. A gentleman, who was building a fine mansion at the foot of Snaefell, felt himself so much indebted to Fenoderee for his almost miraculous por- terage that he ordered a splendid suit of clothes to be made for him. Fenoderee picked it up, bit by bit, saying:

- Cap for the head, alas, poor head!
- Coat for the back, alas, poor back!
- Breeches for the breech, alas, poor breech!
- If these be all thine, thine cannot be
- The merry glen of Rushen!

The Fenoderee is as touchy as the rest of the household spirits. Train, in his Account of the Isle of Man, tells how the Fenoderee was offended when a farmer for whom he was working said that the spirit had not cut the grass close enough. He gave up his grass-cutting; but when the farmer was hoeing, the Fenoderee followed him and grubbed up the roots so fiercely that the farmer's legs were endangered.

The Scottish Brownie of Cranshaws was even readier to take offense. He had worked at Cranshaws Farm in Berwickshire for some years, until people began to take his services for granted. One day one of the farmhands remarked rather ungraciously, "The Broonie's getting lazy the noo. The corn's no sae weel mowed this year nor sae weel piled." The Brownie heard him of course, though he was asleep high up on the rafters. That night there was a tremendous trampling in and out of the barn, and the Brownie was heard muttering:

- It's no weel now'd! It's no weel now'd!
- Then it's ne'er be now'd by me again.
- I'll scatter it ower the Raven Stane,
- And they'll hae some wark e'er its now'd again!

Sure enough, the whole harvest was thrown over Raven Crag, about two miles away, and the Brownie never worked at Cranshaws
again. As far as that farm was concerned he had turned from a Brownie into a Boggart, but not, one must admit, without some justification.

A most unusual and famous pair of Brownies who seem to hover on the edge of becoming Boggarts were Maug Moulach ("Hairy Meg") and "Brownie Clod" so called from his habit of throwing clods of earth at strangers. We find the first mention in Aubrey's Miscellanies.11 It is only a passing reference with a hasty note; for a fuller explanation we have to look to Grant Stewart's Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland, published in 1822. Grant Stewart lived in Strathspey and would have access to the traditions of the Tullochgorm Brownies. A Brownie is usually described as a solitary male fairy, varying in size according to locality from about three to six feet, ragged, shaggy, and of a brown complexion, though as we have seen, other fairy creatures do Brownie work. Maug Moulach and Brownie Clod served the household of the Grants of Tullochgorm in Strathspey. The female spirit was the more notable of them—a creature not unlike the Silky of the North of England. She had a great quantity of hair, hence her name, but she was almost always invisible, so that we hear little of her appearance. She was exclusively devoted to the interests of the Laird of Tullochgorm. She even stood invisibly at his elbow and directed his moves when he played at chess. She was not entirely popular with the servants, for she invariably reported any laziness, pilfering, or waste to Tullochgorm, but she was too astute and formidable for them to take any revenge. And they were saved an immense amount of trouble. The entire catering of the establishment was in her hands. She laid the table faultlessly, with snowy cloths and shining silver. Any dish that anyone desired appeared floating through the air and was set dextrously in its place, to the delight of the Laird and to the unending wonder of his guests. Life was easy in Tullochgorm in those days.

Brownie Clod was a different character altogether. No one ever knew whether he was Maug Moulach's son or her husband, but they were an indissoluble pair. Brownie Clod was a practical joker, and a simpleton—a "dobie" as a foolish, gullible Brownie was called. He liked to trip people up, throw clods at their heads, and laugh at their annoyance, but it was easy to get the better of him in a bargain. Two of the farmhands made a bargain with him that he should thresh as much corn as two men could do working for a whole winter in return for an old coat and a Kilmarnock cowl which he was known to covet. Poor Brownie Clod wore himself to a shadow threshing a whole barnful of corn while the two lazy lurdons basked on the straw. He became so thin and miserable that the two lads pitied him in the end. To encourage him they put out the cowl and hood before he had finished his enormous stint. Brownie Clod threw aside his flail, thrust his long arms into the coat sleeves, tried on the cowl at all angles, and looked at himself in a cracked bit of mirror in the kitchen. Then he made for the door, calling for Maug Moulach.

"Hi! Clod!" they called to him. "You've not finished your night's stint!"

"And what way would I finish it?" he cried, "when you've given me my payment."

Brownie has got a cowl and coat,
And never more will work a jot.

And off he went into the darkness, calling for his mother.
The two went off together and nothing was heard of them for many a long year. It may be that Brownie Clod was not such a fool as he seemed, but Maug Moulach must have regretted the ordered life spent in serving the Laird of Tullochcormor. It seems that during a couple of centuries they drifted towards the Lowlands, for we hear of them next as haunting Fincastle Mill near Pitlochry in Perthshire. The centuries of idle drifting had done Brownie Clod’s character no good, for we hear nothing of any housework done, only of boggartish tricks which gave the mill the reputation of being haunted.12

The following story about Maggie Moulach and her companion was collected by Hamish Henderson from Andrew Stewart, one of the Travelling People of Scotland.

There was a mill at Glen Fincastle, near Tummel Bridge. It was never worked at night. But once there was a girl, and it was her wedding next day, and she had not meal enough to bake bannocks for her wedding. So she asked her father to go to the mill at Glen Fincastle, and get some more ground. He would not, so she had to go herself. The miller would not go in to grind it himself, but he gave the girl leave to do so if she dared. She lit a big fire in the mill and set a pot of water over it, and began to grind the meal.

At midnight the door opened, and in came a wee hairy man, the Broonie of the Mill. “What are you doing here?” said the girl.

“What are you doing yourself, and what is your name?” said the Broonie.

“Oh, I’m Mise mi Fein (ne myself),” said the girl. She stayed sitting by the fire, and the Broonie kept edging up to her, and edging up to her, and grinning, and at last she got frightened, and she threw a dipper full of boiling water over him. He gave an awful yell and went for her, and she threw another full dipper over him, and he ran out of the door yelling. And in the wood was Maggie Moloch. She was either his wife or his mother, I’m not rightly sure which. And the Broonie was dying. And Maggie Moloch said to him: “Who did this to you?” “Mise mi fein,” he cried. “Mise mi fein.” “If it had been any mortal man,” said Maggie Moloch, “I would have taken my revenge on him, but since it’s you yourself I can do nothing.”

So the girl finished her grinding, and she had her wedding, and moved away to Speyside. And one night all the women were spinning together, and they had a ceilidh. And it came to the girl’s time to tell a story, and she couldn’t mind anything, so she told the story of the Broonie of Fincastle Mill.

And when she had finished it a voice said outside the door: “Aye, was it you killed my man? Ye’ll no kill another.” It was Maggie Moloch, and she picked up a three-legged stool, and threw it at the girl and killed her. And after that Maggie Moloch changed her quarters again, and she went to a near farm, and the servants made friends with her, and put her out milk and bannocks, and she did good work about the farm and about the house. But times were hard, and the farmer thought he had more than enough servants about the house, so he paid some of them off. So then Maggie Moloch came for her bannock and her milk, and she said: “If they’re paying off the servants, I suppose I must be paid off too.” So she did no more work, and worse than that, she played the awfulest tricks over the house, spilling the milk, and breaking the crockery, and putting everything to ruin. And the farmer’s wife said: “We’ll have no luck at all till we get all the servants back, every one of them.” And some of them were married, and some far away, and the farmer had to double their wages to get them back. But at last they were all together again, and Maggie Moloch came back too, and all went well again.13

It seemed that Maggie Moulach was a Brownie by nature, and only played Boggart tricks when she was driven to it. She could hardly be blamed for killing the girl who had killed her son—any fairy would do the same—and the Boggart pranks she played at the farm were on behalf of her friends the servants. But there seems to have been a real streak of the Boggart in Brownie Clod’s
make-up. It seems to be as true of Brownies as of children that "Satan finds some mischief still/ For idle hands to do."

An even sadder tale of a Brownie turned Boggart is to be found in Celtic Folklore by John Rhŷs. It is an old tale, set at the end of the Wars of the Roses. A long time ago a Monmouthshire farm began to be haunted by a Bwca—a Welsh Brownie—and his presence caused some consternation among the farm servants, but there was one strong, merry girl who got on with him very well. She was a stranger in the neighborhood; no one knew where she came from, and it was suspected she had fairy blood in her. Some even suspected her of being one of the Bendith y Mamau. However that might be, she struck up a friendship with the Bwca at once. He would do anything for her, washing, ironing, spinning and twisting wool. He was great at the spinning wheel, and he did all his work in the darkness of night so that it was ready for her in the morning. All he needed in return was a bowl of sweet milk and a piece of wheaten bread. She left that for him on the stairs without a word, and it was empty in the morning. So all went well with her and with him, and you would have thought the girl would have been content, but it seems she had a touch of the fairy tricksiness in her, for one night out of pure devilment she filled his milk bowl with stale urine that was kept as a mordant for dyeing. And that was the end of a good friendship. The next morning when she got out of bed he sprang on her back and caught her by the neck and drove her through the house, kicking and beating her and yelling at the top of his voice:

To think that the thick-buttocked lass
Should give barley-bread and piss
To the bogle!

You may be sure she screamed out for help, but the men were sleeping in the barn, and when at length they heard her and came in the Bwca made off, and the maid had to do her own carding and spinning from that time on, and no doubt she regretted her joke, but there was no undoing it.

After some time they heard that the Bwca had settled at Hafod Yr Ynys, another farm in the neighborhood, and had made great friends with the girl there, who fed him like a spring chicken, giving him dainty morsels of white bread and creamy milk at all hours. He would do anything for her, and for a long time everything went well with them. But after a while the girl began to have a great longing to see the Bwca and to know his name. He would not gratify either wish, for there is nothing fairies dis-like so much as for mortals to know their names, and they cannot bear to be watched either. One day the men were all going out, and the Bwca was hard at work spinning in the attic. Now when he spun the girl had sometimes heard him singing far off, but she could never catch the words, so she thought she would pretend to go out and maybe he might sing out his name. So she told him she was going, and called out goodbye as she went downstairs. She opened the door and slammed it again, but she stayed inside. And almost at once the Bwca began to sing,

How she would laugh had she but known
That Gwaryn-n-a-Throt is the name I own.

"Ha! Ha!" called the girl from the bottom of the stairs, "I know thy name now!"

"What is it?" said the Bwca.
"Gwarwyn-a-Throt!" And at that he left the wheel standing and went off forever.

They heard of him after a time at a farm nearby where there was a farmhand named Moses, and they became great friends. Once Gwarwyn-a-Throt gave Moses a sound beating for doubting his word, but Moses owned he was in the right and they became greater friends than ever. So Gwarwyn was happy until someone persuaded Moses to join the army raised by Henry Tudor against Richard Crookback. Henry Tudor won the Battle of Bosworth, but Moses was killed in it, and never came back to the farm.

This third loss was too much for poor Gwarwyn-a-Throt. No other friend took Moses' place; the poor Bwca became more and depressed and began to play all kinds of bogie-beast pranks. He would lead the plowing oxen so that they dragged the plow all astray, and at night he would spill and damage till the farmer was at his wit's end and began to think that the luck of the farm was gone. He consulted his neighbors, and they advised him to call in a wise man. There was one living at Carlem-on-Usk, and he came over at the next full moon, and surveyed the ground. He went up to the attick where the Bwca was hiding. He began to play strange cantrips and to make mystic marks upon the floor with a sharp awl. The Bwca's curiosity was excited and presently his sharp nose was seen peering out of the cupboard in which he was hidden. In a flash the wizard pinned the Bwca to the wood behind. The cold steel held him fast while the wizard's conjurations raised a tremendous wind. Then he adjured the Bwca to depart to the Red Sea and never to return. When he pulled out the awl, the wind rose to a hurricane and poor Gwarwyn-a-Throt was swept away forever. Let us hope that he found some congenial company in the Red Sea, for it must be thickly populated with ghosts and demons. Not many of them would have had so much good in them as poor little Gwarwyn-a-Throt.14

These stories seem to show that a good many of the Boggarts which made themselves so disagreeable to humanity had an unfortunate history behind them.

St. Margaret's Bay
England

Notes

2 Ibid., p. 189.
4 Briggs, p. 191.
DOUBLE VEGETABLES AND MAGIC

Felix J. Oinas

Double vegetables, fruits, and grains, because of their special shape (doubleness) and their rarity, are considered by many peoples to possess special powers. Frequently they have been elevated to the status of fertility divinities.¹

In Karelia and eastern Finland, a double vegetable or the vegetable divinity is called Äkräs (ägräs, ägröi, ägrässie, and so on) or Holy Äkräs. The earliest information (1551) comes from Karelia and is given by Mikael Agricola:

Egres (Äkräs) created the peas, beans and turnips,
And brought forth the cabbage, flax, and hemp.²

Later the term "Äkräs" was used primarily for double turnips and turnip spirits (äkräs, äkränagris). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, after the potato became known in Finland, Äkräs was also associated with double potatoes (ägrä-peruna). In some places in Karelia, Äkräs denotes a flax stem that is wider than usual, as if grown together from several stems (ägräpelvas). The Karelians in Petsamo claim that Äkräs "leads" the growth of such grains as rye and barley as well as vegetables. In its most general use, however, the term "Äkräs" is used for double turnips.³

When a double turnip is found, it is separated from the others and taken to the turnip pit. People believe that Äkräs has the power to protect the turnips against rodents and to increase the turnip crop; therefore they perform numerous magic manipulations to attain these ends.

Several scholars (Kaarle Krohn, Uno Harva, Martti Haavio, Ahti Rytikönen, and others) have studied Äkräs, concentrating on the etymology and the verbal aspects of the prayer to Äkräs. As for the term "Holy Äkräs," its derivation from the name of the Roman Catholic St. Gregorius is most plausible.⁴ This article is concerned primarily with the magical manipulations and their functions. First, we will present some typical memorats which illustrate how Äkräs is taken to the pit.

1. Äkräs is carried on the shoulder (most common).

a. Äkräs. Two turnips are on each other, a tiny (fiber) is in the middle. Äkräs is grabbed by its "navel string" and, with a pretense that it is heavy, is lifted to the shoulder (the informant demonstrates this action):
   I'm carrying, I'm carrying Äkräs,
   Äkräs is carrying the turnip,
   Eight bushels, 
   Nine sleighs [full].
   On the way to the pit, the carrier falls two or three times. . . . If Äkras is found first, it is taken immediately to the pit.⁵

b. The spirit or god of turnip cultivation. A turnip of special shape is lifted to the shoulder and carried to the turnip pit, with the following words:
   Holy Äkräs, benefactor [lit., "nourisher"],
   Acquire a hundred such ones,
   Swell a thousand such ones,
Bring a turnip to our pit when you come.
On the way, the carrier falls three (or ten) times to his knees (or to the
ground), as if exhausted under the heavy burden, and mutters: "I can't carry,
Holy Akrás, benefactor, oh, it's heavy for me." These words are repeated with
each fall.  

2. Akrás is carried on the head.
c. Akráses are ugly turnips with many protuberances. The tops are put into the
mouth, the turnip is flung onto the head and taken to the pit, with the words:
Little Akrás, little Akrás,
Don't go to the pit.  
d. When Holy Akrás is found, the tops are broken off and the turnip is put on
the head. If it falls down, the person falls at the same spot. In the pit,
Holy Akrás is allowed to fall to the corner, and the carrier falls to his
knees at the same place. He says:
Holy Akrás, good Akrás,
From the others' pit to our pit!
After the pit is prepared, four pieces of burned alder are put into the
corners.  

3. Holy Akrás is carried in a bag.
e. Turnips will grow well if you take Holy Akrás, put it into a birch-bark
wallet, and, pretending the load to be heavy, carry it alone to the pit.  

4. Akrás is carried between the teeth.
f. If a double-turnip is found in the field, it is carried between the teeth into
the pit. The carrier crawls turning his body from one side to the other on
the ground the whole way, and recites:
Holy Akrás, good Akrás,
Take and carry (them) under your arm,
Take from the others' pit,
Bring to our pit.  
g. (If the Akrás turnip is found,) while some people are joking, then it is put
between the teeth and, with laughter, taken to the pit. . . . "The turnip sure
has children," (it is said as) the children take it there.  

h. When a turnip is found, the girls take it between the teeth and, wiggling from
one side to the other along the ground, carry it to the pit. . . . They say
that if they do this, "The mole will carry additional turnips into the
pit."  

5. Akrás is dragged along the ground.
i. Holy Akrás is tied to a slender string-like root. It is dragged by the root
along the ground. When it becomes difficult to move the Akrás, they say, "Holy
Akrás is heavy." The one pulling it falls down during the trip.  

6. Akrás is carried by two persons.
j. If a Holy Akrás is found in the turnip field, then two men in fur coats carry
it in a two-handled basket; other people follow them, holding the edge of the
basket, as if the men themselves are unable to carry it.  
k. In Pistojärvi, where women have customarily sowed and gathered turnips, two
women carry Holy Akrás in a birch-bark basket hung on a rod.  

The double turnip, Akrás, appears in these memorats both
as the vegetable and as a mythical being. As a spirit, Akrás is
thought to assume the shape of a mole or mouse. Note the remark:
"The mole will carry additional turnips to the pit" (h). When the
spirit takes the shape of a mouse, it is stated that, "Akrás is a
bigger (than usual) house mouse." Both these rodents are often
found in vegetable gardens and are considered responsible for excessive damage done to farmers' crops. Their habitat under the earth and buildings, their swiftness, and their color suited them well for the role of a chthonian animal endowed with demonic and mysterious powers.17

Akrás is expected to offer protection against rodents: "Holy Akrás, benefactor, guard my pit, so that neither mouse nor mole will eat [my vegetables]."18 In the order given to Akrás--"Little Akrás, little Akrás, don't go to the pit!" (c)---Akrás itself seems to be identified with rodents.

To render help to the spirit in protecting the turnips against moles, the pit is smoked (c), as the people have obviously discovered the repelling effect of smoke. In Suojärvi, before Akrás is thrown into the pit, alder branches are burned in the yard: "the firebrands thus obtained are put crosswise into all corners of the pit." If this is done, the moles do not eat the turnips."19 A similar procedure is followed in Säämajärvi. There the turnip pit is "smoked" with a smoking wet brand.

Akrás' role as the promoter of the well-being of its owner is especially prominent. Akrás is believed to enhance the growth of vegetables, and to bring luck and riches. Akrás in the pit is expected to hoard turnips and, occasionally, potatoes for its owner. Where would it obtain these vegetables? Whenever the source is given, it is "the others" (i.e., the neighbors): "Holy Akrás, good Akrás, bring [turnips] to our pit from the others' pits"; "From the others' pit to our pit!" (d); "Take from the others' pit, bring to our pit" (f). Even the neighbor's name may be given: "[Bring] ten quarter-bushels from Ignat'ei's pit."20 Here we see the concept of limited good or luck, prevalent in traditional peasant society, of which everyone in a village (or a farm group) has his allotted share. If someone by magical or other means succeeds in increasing his share, this causes the redistribution of the luck in the neighborhood, but does not change the total amount of it.21

The double turnip is often taken to the pit first and is kept separate from the others (a).22 The various ways people take it there reflect their beliefs of how turnips should be brought to the pit by the spirit. Especially interesting is the holding of the turnip between the teeth and crawling or wiggling the body from one side to the other along the ground (f-h); this is the most perfect procedure for a rodent-like spirit to follow.23 But the spirit can also take a hint from some other methods used by people: taking the tops into the mouth and holding the turnip on the head (c); or pulling the turnip, tied to a slender root, along the earth (i). Akrás can even be given specific instructions: "Holy Akrás, good Akrás, take and carry them under your arm!" (f). The fact that the carrier establishes a close relationship between himself and the spirit is evident in the following recitation: "I'm carrying, I'm carrying Akrás, Akrás is carrying the turnip." (a).

In some places, the double turnip is taken with closed eyes to the pit. In Suistamo a child grabs it by its "navel string," puts it on the shoulder, closes his eyes, and takes it to the pit in a haphazard manner. Also in Impilahti, the same method is used.24 Occasionally Akrás is carried backwards25 which is basically the same as carrying it blindly. Taking the double turnip to the pit without seeing where one is going is done in direct imitation of the mole, which has only rudimentary eyes and is, in people's belief, considered totally blind.
The turnip spirit is expected to haul a large amount of vegetables to its owner. This is expressed symbolically by Akräs' large size and great weight. If a double turnip was found in Veskelys, it was said, "Look, how big is Holy Akräs; it is bigger than we are." An overriding feature of turnip magic is the attribution of an excessive weight to the load: "pretended to be heavy, the turnip is lifted to the shoulder" (a); "acting as if the load were heavy, you carry it alone to the pit" (e). The heaviness of the burden is demonstrated graphically by these customs: two men carry Akräs, while still others join to support them (j); or two women carry it in a birch-bark basket hung from a rod (k). The difficulty of the enterprise is expressed by the dramatic representation of the weight of the load and by complaint about it: "I can't carry [it]." The carrier moves until fully exhausted and falls to his knees or to the ground. He repeats the fall three to ten times, while groaning: "I can't carry, Holy Akräs, benefactor, it's heavy for me" (b); "Oh, oh, heavy, I can't, oh, oh, heavy, I can't!" or simply panting, "Uh, uh, uh!" On reaching the pit, the carrier falls down, saying, "Holy Akräs defeated us, trampled us down in the pit." Falling to the knees obviously serves two aims; in addition to expressing utter exhaustion, it also suggests the posture common for prayer. While kneeling, the supplicant frequently requests Holy Akräs to bring more turnips.

The purpose of pretending that the load is heavy is magically to influence Akräs to bring to its owner a great amount of turnips. The request to Akräs can even be stated in definite terms: "Acquire a hundred such ones [such turnips as this], swell a thousand such ones" (b); "Eight bushels, nine sleighs [full]" (a); "Ten quarter-bushels from Ignat'ei's pit [see above]."

It is interesting that, according to Joh. Kujola, in Salmi a super Akräs has even developed, called Akräs King (Agröi kuningas). This denotes a big potato, on which have grown two to three smaller ones. Its "task is to bring potatoes in the winter from other pits that do not have such a kind [of potato], to its own pit." Kujola adds that "the potato, about which this information was given to me a long time ago, had three smaller potatoes grown to it, which looked like the head and arms of the body."

A close parallel to the Karelian-Finnish situation is found among the Votjaks, a Finno-Ugric people remotely related to the Karelians and Finns, who live in east-central Russia.

Sometimes a double ear is found among the rye stalks. The one who finds it by chance has to take a stick, wrap a clean piece of linen cloth around it, and place the ear onto the stick in such a way that its two parts are dangling from both sides of the stick; it thus reminds one of a rider. The one who found it has to carry the double rye home, together with his companion, acting as if their load were very heavy. They must carry it to a new empty bin. They also have to take care that no one see or meet them on the way. The person who acts this way will become rich little by little.

What is the relationship between the handling of the Votjak double-ear of rye and of the Karelian-Finnish Akräs (k, j)? Lauri Honko is right in assuming that the Votjak rite of carrying the ear is "a parallel that leaves the possibility open that, in a religious-historical sense, the Akräs tradition belongs to a very old stratum." We cannot, however, think that both these traditions go back to the proto-Finnic-Permian period (c. 1000 B.C.) and that they have been preserved identically among the peoples who have had no connection since then. It is more plausible that the model for both of them has to be sought among the Russians.
It could be stated that there is distinct parallelism between the ideas about double vegetables and double ears, on the one hand, and human twins, on the other. Like double vegetables and ears, twins too are believed to possess extraordinary powers. Among the Ewe in West Africa, twins are credited with special connections to the spirit world: "they are more or less identified with a supernatural being, or with certain of the lower animals whose shape they have power to take." In Lower Nubia and Egypt, twins are believed to have "the power of shape-shifting, to the extent at least of becoming cats at night and stealing milk and food, and eating chickens."  

I will now return to the magical manipulations performed with double vegetables and ears. For a demonstration of the role played by doubling and supernatural size in magic ritual, I will describe the behavior of Yakut hunters in northeastern Siberia. The forest spirit of the Yakuts, Bajanai, is believed to love laughter and to giggle all the time. Bajanai likes the hunter to rejoice over his (Bajanai's) presents, and the Yakuts therefore try to please him by pretending to be exceedingly happy. If a Yakut, for instance, finds a musk deer killed by a self-firing gun, he shouts from afar: "What huge booty Bajanai has sent me!" He intentionally makes a small and brittle lever—a thin stick, with which he attempts to lift the animal. He breaks five or six such sticks. Arriving home, he pretends that the musk deer is too big to take in by the door, and he therefore pretends to smash the door posts with the axe, so as to widen the door. The Yakut's ritual exaggeration of the weight and size of his take is an expression of his homage to the spirit and, at the same time, a plea for the continued bounty in hunting.

In conclusion, I list the sequence of the major rites from the Karelian-Finnish, Votjak, and Yakut areas (all of them need not be present in an individual event):

**Precondition:** acquisition by chance of double vegetables or double ears (game bagged)

**Rite:**

(a) transport vegetable or ear (game) to pit or home
   1. pretend it to be heavy or huge
   2. make a show of great joy
   3. address the spirit in charge

(b) put the vegetable or ear in pit or bin (animal in house)

**Expected result:** personal gain in kind in the future.

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**Addendum**

For the sake of comparison, I will briefly discuss the magic that is involved in the corresponding Latvian notion, Jumis, which denotes "a double ear of flax capsule, a double vegetable or fruit" and also "the fertility spirit." Its function, like that of Akrās, is twofold—to drive the vermin out of the grain, and to give a good harvest. Jumis, which has cognates in Indo-European languages, is mentioned in numerous examples of the daina, or Latvian short folksong.

The songs describe Jumis as an old man walking on fallow land in yellow boots. They depict him also as a rider forging spurs for himself on a stone in the field, so as to ride "proudly" from the kiln to the granary. He is promised a shirt to be made from the finest linen and embroidered as far down as the floor.
It is not without reason that Jumis is clad in gentleman's boots and clothes; the splendor of his outfit has to affect magically the abundance of the harvest.

The same idea is manifested in Jumis' horses and wagon. In a song, Jumis goes to Riga with nine black or five gray horses and is met by gentlemen from Riga who are measuring money with a bushel basket.\textsuperscript{42} In another song, he makes a wagon which has nine wheels, so that he can take rye and barley grain to the granary.\textsuperscript{43} Lena Neuland, who wrote a dissertation on Jumis, has not correctly judged the function of Jumis' horses and wagon. She thinks that "the varying number of horses has no other purpose than [to set the Jumis driver apart] from all other drivers known in peasant life."\textsuperscript{44} According to Neuland, the wagon has been given nine wheels "in order to emphasize [its] mythic significance."\textsuperscript{45} In reality, however, the so-called imitative magic is present here. The great number of Jumis' horses, the Riga gentlemen's measuring of their money with a bushel basket, and the hauling of grain in a nine-wheel wagon to the granary express the farmers' dream of a big crop and rich life. This is the very same idea that lies at the basis of the Karelians' handling of Akräs. As the Karelians try to induce Akräs to achieve their goal by magical rites and recitations, the Latvians use magical songs in an attempt to influence Jumis for the same purpose.

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Notes

1 I am very indebted to my colleague, Professor William F. Hansen, for his suggestions.
5 Korpisellä. Haavio 546. 1933. This and other manuscript materials quoted in this article are taken from the Sanakirjasäätiö collection in Castrenianum, Helsinki University.
7 Korpisellä. Haavio 639. 1933.
8 Suojärvi. Haavio 641. 1933.
9 Vuokkiniemi. Marttini b) 654. 1901.
10 Tulomajärvi. Helainen 3485. 1944.
11 Tulomajärvi. Helainen 2703. 1944.
12 Tulomajärvi. Helainen 2705. 1944.
14 Säämajärvi. Harva, p. 213.
15 Pistojarvi. Harva, idem.
16 Suistamo. Haavio 637. 1933.
18 Suojärvi. K. Krohn, idem.
19 Suojärvi. Haavio, *Karjalan jumalat*, p. 239.
20 Sähämäki. Haavio, idem.
21 Suojärvi. Haavio 641. 1933.
22 Suojärvi. K. Krohn, idem.
25 Additional magic is involved when children carry Åkrus between their teeth to the pit (g). The added comment, "The turnip sure has children," shows that the involvement of children aims at the multiplication of the turnip. Also the laughter of the girls may have a magical significance (see the behavior of Yakut hunters, below).
30 Haavio, *Karjalan jumalat*, p. 239.
31 Tulomajärvi. Helminen 2704. 1944.
32 Veskelys. Rantasalo 280. 1934.
33 K. Krohn, pp. 97–98.
37 Ibid., p. 497.
38 D.K. Zelenin, "Religiozno-magičeskaja funkcija fol'klornyx skazok," in *Sergej Fedorovitch O'ldenburg* (Leningrad: Akademija Nauk SSSR, 1934), p. 227. A piece of additional information is given by V.M. Ionov, who tells that the Yakuts, when they see from afar that an elk has gotten into a trap, begin to run and jump and to shout while laughing: "Ho-ho, hok-hok! Look, the master of the dark forest has given us booty! Hok! Hok!" They also laugh when they have found an ermine in the trap. The explanation is that they want to show their joy and thankfulness to the master of the forest. See Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* (FFC #125, 1938), p. 391.
40 Ibid., p. 21.
41 Ibid., p. 22.
42 Ibid., p. 164.
43 Ibid., p. 167.
44 Ibid., p. 64.
THE BIRDS IN LEGENDS AND MYTHS

Carl-Herman Tillhagen

Folkloristic research has treated man's conduct towards nature in a rather stepmotherly way. This question, however, deserves greater attention than it has yet received, for this branch of our science contains many interesting and significant problems. If, as is the author's opinion, one of the most important tasks of folkloristic science is to shed light on the life and growth of human thought, and if this task is more important than the study and collection of folklore in itself, then the folkloric records of man's relationship to nature provide an invaluable source for investigation and knowledge.

Animals have often been objects of interest in folk belief. The snake and, in certain culture areas, the bear play an important role in folk belief. No animal, however, has been the object of such intense worldwide interest among the folk as the bird. Historical sources from every ancient culture give us proofs of that, and the living folklore of nearly every culture shows us the same picture. The folklore of birds therefore is an integral part of folk belief in all parts of the world.¹

Animals follow their instincts, but primitive human thought follows certain innate patterns. In these patterns, the principles of association form an important part. We can, with good reason, talk about the principle of the unusual.² This principle is particularly distinct as exemplified in popular beliefs concerning birds. Man has singled out those birds with unusual and conspicuous qualities and surrounded them with beliefs, legends, and myths. The birds with these sensational qualities are accentuated: largeness (the eagle), smallness (goldcrest—Regulus regulus, wren—Troglodytes troglodytes), unusual behavior or manner of living (cuckoo, woodpecker), especially beautiful plumage (kingfisher, peacock), sweet-sounding song (nightingale), or frightening and sinister cry (owl, hoopoe). On the other hand, Nordic Folklore Archives do not record a single belief concerning the most common bird in all of Scandinavia, the small and homely willow warbler (Phylloscopus trochilus), found by the millions over the entire area. The raven, by contrast, so rare that most contemporary Scandinavians have never seen one, has inspired many statements, some of them thousands of years old. It is the raven's coal-black plumage, its intelligence, its demonic cry, and its habit of eating corpses on the battlefield that throughout the centuries has drawn the people's attention to him and everywhere inspired legends and myths.

On the following pages I will present a short survey of some of the most interesting and widespread topical categories concerning the folklore of birds. In my conclusion, I will suggest why folk belief has cherished such a keen interest in the birds.³

Birds Should Be Protected and Defended

Among the peasantry of Scandinavia it was (and still is) a very common popular belief that birds ought to be treated with love and consideration. A man's luck was considered to depend to a great extent on his friendly relationships with birds. This
rule extends to all birds, even the ones which were believed to bring misfortune. Therefore, the peasant was very diligent in putting up nesting-boxes and in helping birds find dwelling places. It was believed that the birds protected the home. Swallows nesting under the eaves brought good luck. If a great tit (*Parus major*) found a place for his nest in one of the farm buildings, the farmer's home was protected from fire. If a stork nested on the ridge of the roof, it brought luck and comfort to the home. A farmer who moved to a new place would not find any comfort there, if magpies did not follow him to the new home. At cherry-picking time, parents admonished their children to leave some berries on the trees for the birds. Every Christmas Eve the Swedes put out a corn-sheaf for the birds, a custom which is still very popular, even in the cities.

**Birds Should Not Be Hurt or Thoughtlessly Killed**

One who deliberately hurt a bird brought misfortune upon himself. One who maltreated a bird in any way was cursed with crippled children (*Skåne, South Sweden*). If someone killed a stork, one of two things would happen: he would die before the end of the year, or a member of his family would become insane (*Skåne*). A farmer who purposely killed a wagtail (*Motacilla alba*) caused his best cow to die the next night (*Värmiland, West Sweden*). He who vandalized a raven's nest would lose his best cow. If anyone killed a swan, someone in the village would die, according to a common belief in Ireland⁴; and Siberian peoples consider a man who kills a swan to have pronounced his own death sentence.⁵

**The Role of Birds in Folk Medicine**

Historical sources as well as modern records testify to the important role which birds have always played in the art of folk healing.⁶ Nearly every part of the bird's body has been used in therapy. First and foremost in this regard is the bile, which has gained popularity with the notion, prevalent in folk medicine, that everything that is bitter and unpalatable has a healing power. Scandinavia provides the following examples of the use of birds for healing: soup made of crow-hearts is useful for chest infections (*Jylland, Denmark*); three drops of blood from a magpie, recently shot, is very good against the falling sickness (*Skåne*); sufferers from vertigo should put their heads in the smoke of a burning magpie's nest (*Skåne*); the flesh of a green woodpecker (*Picus viridis*) cures jaundice (*Norway*); cuckoo flesh is very powerful against ague (*Central Sweden*); blood from the horned owl helps against asthma (*Värmiland*); blood from the wild duck is used to cure itching (*Västergötland, Central Sweden*).

**Diseases Can Be Transmitted to Birds**

In Leviticus 14, there is a description of how one can be cured of leprosy by giving the disease to a bird. This method of healing has been common in the Old World to the present day. If you have a boil, you take a little of the purulent matter and rub it on a piece of bread, which you throw to the magpies. When they eat the bread, the boil disappears (*Småland, South Sweden*). Ague is cured in the following way: cut small shavings from the nails of the sick person, put them into an egg, and place the egg on the roof for the birds (*Upland, Central Sweden*). If articles of clothing belonging to the sick are placed in a stork's nest, the bird will take the disease with it in the autumn when it flies south, and the sick will recover (*Skåne*). Jaundice can be cured if one boils an egg in the sick person's water and then gives it to the birds to eat (*Skåne*).
The Role of Birds in Causing Illness

If you imitate a cuckoo, you will become hoarse, according to a very common Scandinavian folk belief. The same will happen if you imitate other birds with hoarse cries. If you imitate a horned owl, you will become seriously ill, or even lose your life. The Ainu of northern Japan have the following conception of the risks involved in imitating the birds:

There are five special birds whose cries should never be imitated by anyone. They are the cuckoo, woodpecker, nightingale, goatsucker, and owl. These birds have a power to bewitch people by means of their cry and sometimes do so. Their cry ought therefore not to be imitated. To do so, indeed, would be a direct calling in of misfortunes.\(^7\)

Many birds are the cause of diseases whether or not they are well treated. If you touch the nest of a magpie, itching results; it can be cured if you bathe the affected area with a decoction of magpie feathers. If you get swallowed dung in your eyes, you will become blind. If a swallow flies under your arm, your arm will become lame. Among the Serbs, it is forbidden to mention the name of the horned owl; otherwise one's child will get a disease.\(^8\)

Birds in Magic

The supernatural powers which folk belief has attributed to birds has given them an important role in magic. The magical powers of birds could be rooted in evil forces or in good ones. Foremost among the "evil" birds are the crows and owls. In certain cultural regions, however, birds elsewhere considered "good" are regarded as "evil." Therefore, the dividing line between the two groups is by no means always distinct. The yellowhammer (Emberiza citrinella), considered harmless in most countries, is regarded as the devil's bird in Scotland.\(^9\) The same bad reputation extends to the greater tit (Parus major) among the Laplanders of northern Sweden, the wheatear (Oenanthe oenanthe) in Scotland,\(^10\) the red-backed shrike (Lanius colurio) in France,\(^11\) the nightjar (Caprimulgus europaeus) in Denmark and South Sweden, the hawk among the Ainu (while the screech owl is regarded as a deity).\(^12\) In Scandinavia, crows, ravens, and magpies are considered to be the devil's special birds, and witches and sorcerers are very often seen in the shape of these birds.\(^13\) The Eskimos believe that the raven possesses the soul of a magician.\(^14\)

In Celtic legends the supernatural beings often appear in the shape of ravens, in Scandinavia as owls or wood-grouse. In Scottish folk belief we meet with Gailleach, a terrible witch in the guise of a raven, which gorges itself upon the bodies of the dead.\(^15\) Wizards write down their secret charms in raven's blood,\(^16\) and witches use a raven's wing to spread the plague.\(^17\) The people of the Far East placed the owl in close connection to death and to the gods of evil. In China the owl was regarded as "a devil in the shape of a bird, whose cry was 'Dig grave! Dig grave!'"\(^18\) The cross-bill (Loxia curvirostra) had the power to prevent witches and evil people from entering the house, and to avert fire and bursts of thunder.\(^19\) Many birds (swallow, starling, wagtail, jay, lapwing, and so on) are able to find a stone which makes them invisible. According to a very widespread folk belief, the woodpecker possesses a "springwort."\(^20\) If a human being gets hold of a springwort, he is able to open every lock and bolt, this springwort being very much like the samir that Solomon used when building the Temple in Jerusalem.

Soul Birds

According to a worldwide folk belief the souls of the dead
will take the shapes of birds. 21 As late as the beginning of this
century, country people here and there in Sweden opened the
windows or made a hole in the straw-thatched roof of the house
in order to enable the soul to leave the sick person at the point
of death. 22 In India people believe that a dead man's soul takes
the shape of a crow. Therefore an old custom states that one ought
to leave some food on the plate for the dead (that is, the crows). 23
The old Greek saying, "to go to the crows," means to die. Many
tribes among the American Indians believed that the soul after
death takes the shape of an owl, a belief shared by the ancient
Arabs. 24 Among the Hurons, the dove is thought to be the keeper
of the souls of the dead. 25 The Serbs believe that after death
the soul appears as a cuckoo. Therefore, we find pictures of
cuckoos on Serbian gravestones, 26 just as we find doves sculptured
on grave monuments in Western European churchyards. According
to Scandinavian beliefs, the soul of a good man or woman will
appear after death in the shape of a dove, while the souls of
people who are sinful or skilled in magic arts will become ravens
or magpies. Irish traditions narrate that young virgins after
death will become swans, 27 and early Scandinavian poetry states
that beautiful young woman after death received a swan as
guardian spirit or fylgia. Behind this conception we find the old
magic tale of the Swan Maidens, spread over many continents, 28
exemplified in Germanic mythology by the medieval myth of Way-
lund the Smith.

Spring Birds Can Bring Misfortune

If a man has an empty stomach when he first hears the cry
of a spring bird, he will be stricken with some misfortune. 29 This
is a widespread popular belief among Nordic, Central European,
Gaelic, and certain Slavic and Siberian peoples. In Sweden, such
a man is said to be "bewitched" (darad), "deceived" (gackad),
or "shit upon" (skiten)—that is, he becomes ill or falls into
misfortune. In order to avoid the effect of the fatal cry of the
spring bird, one must eat something before going out. This bit
of customary food has specific names: in Sweden fægelbit ("a piece
for the birds"), in Denmark gjaeckebrød ("deceiving bread"), in
Estonia linnu-pete ("the bird's piece"), in Ireland aran na
outhaig ("cuckoo's bread") or graine outhaig ("cuckoo's morsel!").
If someone forgets to eat this little piece of food, he must hide in
a living tree as soon as he hears the cry of the bird. He will
then escape the dangerous power of the bird's cry, but the tree
will dry up (Scandinavia, Finland, the Baltic).

The disease communicated by the bird was marked by
symptoms of debility and indolence, causing the affected person
to become pale and weak, sleepy and apathetic. These are all well
known signs of spring tiredness or lack of vitamins—or, in serious
cases, symptoms of incipient scurvy. Such afflictions were very
frequent in ancient times, with the prevalence of poverty and
monotonous, insufficient diets which were lacking in vitamins.
"Deceiving" is the concept with which primitive man seeks to
explain the state of general debility he feels during the change
from winter to spring. The fact that one accused the spring
birds of bringing ill health with them was due, in all probability,
to the folk belief which ascribed the birds a magic power, affecting
all persons who had empty stomachs (nykter) when they first
heard the bird calls. The Swedish word nykter (German, nüchtern)
is derived from Latin nocturnus ("nocturnal"). It is during the
night that folk medical remedies, as well as magic powers, work
most effectively. For a man to hear the disastrous cries of the
birds while he was in this susceptible state was to let the cries have their most powerful effect.

The conception that spring birds, especially, possess an intrinsic supernatural power probably stems from the idea that these very birds had connections with the dead. According to a very widely distributed folk belief, many of the migratory birds spend the winter in the depths of lakes and bogs. They live in the earth, the kingdom of Death. Finnic-Ugric peoples believe that birds on their autumn migration fly along the Milky Way (which these peoples call "The Way of the Birds") to that far distant place where this celestial path touches the earth. It is at that place, according to the myths, that the realm of Death is situated. In the springtime the birds return by the same path, imbued with the fatal power of the dead, a power that flows even from their cries. It is the cry of the bird, not the sight of it, which is dangerous. The primitive mind seems to believe that the cry of the bird is the voice of the incomprehensible forces of life. In primitive society medicine men and priests often imitate the cries of birds when reciting charms and incantations. In the remote Nordic countries men and women, skilled in the art of witchcraft used to sing galdrar ("enchanting songs"). The word galdar has the same stem as the Swedish word gula, which means "to crow, to sing falsetto." When the sorcerers imitated the crowing (Swedish galande) of the birds, they probably thought that they were transferring the intrinsic magical power of the birds' cries to their own incantations.

The Power of the Birds to Foretell the Future

Very ancient conceptions which have remained vital to this day hold that birds have the power to unveil the future. The Sumerians had a special group of high priests who studied the flight, cries, and other behaviors of birds to discover what would be likely to happen in the future. The Romans had their augurs, who interpreted auspicia (from Latin avis spectare) in a similar manner, and who had to be consulted before important state undertakings. These augurs belonged to the most respected officials in Rome, and their collected experiences formed the science of the augurs, codified in Libri commentarii auguris. In ancient Scandinavia, the vikings' augur was called krókukarl, or "crow man." If the crows make noise near houses, someone in the neighborhood will soon die. If a bird pecks on the window of a house where someone is ill, the sick person will die. A woman had two children, and both had fallen seriously ill. She heard a crow cawing in front of her house, and, very frightened, she threw a piece of bread to the crow, saying, "Take this now, and let me keep my children!" (Denmark, c. 1890). The raven is the messenger of death. It is a funeral song that he sings when he flies, cawing, over the farmer's dwelling, according to a common belief in Scandinavia. The wise men among the Kwakiutl Indians were convinced that the raven could foretell the future. Their medicine men had an entire list of words interpreting the various cries of the raven. Pindaros thought that the raven had sixty-four different cries, and the Romans, according to Festus, had a dictionary for the language of the raven.

Birds in Mythology

In the mythologies of many peoples, birds are worshipped or looked upon as the gods' highly entrusted servants. In ancient Egypt, the eagle and the hawk were worshipped as gods. In the first century B.C., Diodoros writes, "Some say that in former times a book of papyrus, bound round with red and purple thread, and
containing a written account of the modes of worshipping and honoring the gods, was brought by one of these birds to the priests of Thebes. The falcon was regarded as sacred in ancient Egypt. One who killed a falcon, even if by accident, was condemned to death. The falcon was the sacred bird of the goddess Atho and of the falcon-headed god Osiris. Another sacred bird was the ibis, consecrated to the god Thoth. "Never," says Cicero, "was it heard that an ibis was killed by an Egyptian," and Plutarch writes that "these priests who were most scrupulous in the performance of the sacred rites, fetched the water they used in their purifications from some place where the ibis had been seen to drink; it being observed of the bird that it never goes near any unwholesome or corrupted water." Other sacred birds were the vulture, sacred to the goddess Neith, the Egyptian Minerva; the kite, sacred to the god Ra; the horned owl; and the white owl. Numerous mummified hawks have been found at Thebes and at other places. A hawk with a human head was the emblem of the human soul.

In Sumerian mythology, Lilith is portrayed as a woman with wings and bird's feet; on a clay tablet from 2500 B.C., she is shown in that form, standing between two owls. Lilith, who is mentioned even in the Bible (Hosea 34:14), has been looked upon by scholars as a goddess, but she is more likely a demon. The word "lilith" has to do with night and has been translated as "owl." In the Gilgamesh poem of 2000 B.C., it is told that Lilith lives in hollow trees, just as owls do. The Sumerian state seal bore the image of an eagle. The dove was sacred to Ishtar, the supreme divinity in the Sumerian pantheon, and was also sacred to Astarte and Aphrodite. In Hierapolis, Syria, doves were considered so holy that no one was allowed to touch them, much less hurt or kill them. Anyone who touched them accidentally was made to undergo a ceremonial lustration. The Assyrians referred to birds as "the interpreters of heaven," possessing "holy tongues." The Persians' highest divinity had the head of a hawk, and the priests who were consecrated to the Persian sun god Mithra were called hawks. In Persian mythology we find the god Homai—who brings luck and blessing to anyone he flies over—and the four birds of heaven, which protect human beings against the light-stealing Dews, sent out by Ahriman. One of the birds of heaven is Eorosh, a raven—far-seeing, wise, and immaculate—radiating light and speaking the language of heaven. In the mythology of India, Brahma rides on the swan Hamsa, the sun god Vishnu on Garuda, a supernaturally huge and powerful eagle. Garuda was hatched from an egg laid by Vinata, the daughter of a hawk and the mother of two monstrous vultures which keep watch over the gates of hell. Garuda is known among Malaysian peoples as the bird Gerda. When the sun is concealed behind the skies, it is said that Gerda is spreading its wings to dry. Chinese myths tell of the Phoenix-like Red Bird and the bird Fung-Wang, the latter having a plume and gorgeous feathers of red, azure, yellow, white, and black, each color representing one of the five principal virtues. The Japanese call the same bird Ho-Ho; they believe that the sun sometimes descends to the earth as a Ho-Ho, a messenger of love, peace, and good will. In the mythology of ancient Japan the bird Isi Tataki taught the art of love to the first divine couple, who in turn brought this gift to human beings.

In Greek mythology the birds are so closely related to the gods, that they may have been worshipped as gods before anthropomorphic gods were conceived. Bird-gods were worshipped as early as 6000 B.C. in Thessaly (see the section on Archeological
Finds, below). An engraved carnelian at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge—which depicts a warrior consulting a woodpecker—lends support to this thesis. Another carnelian in the Berlin Museum shows a woodpecker sitting on a sacred pillar as a ram is sacrificed beneath.\(^47\) In Greek mythology the gods often appear in the shapes of eagles, falcons, swans, cuckoos, and the like. These birds are often associated with different gods. Birds were allowed to nest in the Greek temples, as Solomon testifies in his Eighty-fourth Psalm: "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars."\(^48\) In ancient Greece birds were looked upon as sacred when they nested in the shrines. Aelian narrates that the Athenians slew a man who had killed a sparrow sacred to Aesculapius.\(^49\)

Many peoples—including the Saxons of the sixth century B.C.—have believed in columnna universalis,\(^50\) a world-pillar. In Scandinavia, Lappish myths describe a pillar of heaven erected "so that God does not let heaven fall down."\(^51\) The belief in the existence of such a pillar has survived into the present day among Siberian peoples, who set up symbolic pillars in front of their dwellings. On the top of these pillars perch the rudely carved images of a bird known as "the bird of heaven."\(^52\)

The concept of the world-tree can be found in the records of every ancient mythology. The Persians called this tree "the eagle-tree," because an eagle was said to dwell atop it.\(^53\) The same conception is at work in Scandinavian mythology. The Eddic poem Grimmismál describes Yggdrasil, the world-tree, on whose top an eagle perches. From Yggdrasil's branches fruits fall down to Fensalar, the land of the muddy waters, ruled by the god Hoenir, who is called the King of the Marshes. His domain is inhabited by his sacred birds, the storks. These birds look after the fruits of Yggdrasil and take them to women who wish to bear children.\(^54\) Among Siberian peoples there is a belief that the souls of unborn children live as small birds perched in the world-tree. If a child dies before one year of age, its soul, in the form of a bird, returns to this tree.\(^55\)

The belief in birds as gods, or as creatures close to the gods, is found in many creation myths.\(^56\) Among several American Indian tribes, the raven is a creator or organizer of the present state of things. In certain accounts, he brings daylight or fire to human beings; in others he is considered to be the ancestor of the human race.\(^57\) In the myths of various cultures the goose, woodpecker, thrush, fishhawk, crow, or robin fetches fire from heaven. Burjaet myths state that God ordered a water-fowl from the depths of the ocean to fetch "black earth with his bill and red earth with his feet"—from these substances God created the earth.\(^58\) The Ainu say that a water wagtail used her feet and tail to make earth firm enough to live on.\(^59\)

Myths often tell of monstrous birds possessing frightening size, appearance, and power.\(^60\) Seals from Ur picture a flying bird of prey; this monster, with its crocodilian body and human head, clasps an antelope in each of its giant claws. The ancient Greeks also had visions of supernatural fowls. The Harpies were demons of the wind, half-bird and half-woman. They rushed like the storm wind, carrying all things to destruction. The sirens were "winged maidens, virgins, daughters of the Earth," to quote Euripides. They are pictured as huge birds with female faces. Russians of former times believed in the wind demon Vikhar. When snowstorms whistled over the plains, one could hear Vikhar's voice in the howling of the wind. Siberian peoples believe that thunder is caused by a bird. The Tungu believe that the rumbling of the
thunder is the noise made by the wings of a giant bird. The Samoyeds conceive of the thunderbird in the shape of an enormous wild duck. In Old Norse mythology, the blast of the north wind was said to originate in the flapping wings of the eagle Hraesvelg, which lived in the outermost north. The Finnish Kalevala speaks of an eagle with a beak and claws made of copper.

In the mythologies of North American Indians there are similar supernatural birds. The storm-bird of the Dakota Indians dwells in the upper air, beyond the range of human vision, and carries on its back a lake of fresh water. When it winks its eyes, there is lightning; when it flaps its wings, we hear the thunder; and when it shakes out its plumage, the rain descends. The thunderbird of the Tlingits is much like that of the Dakotas, but this bird does not stop thundering until it catches a whale which it carries up into the mountains. The Navaho believe that four white swans dwell in the four quarters of the heavens and rule the winds. I agree with William H. Holmes’ comment on these myths:

thus highly regarded by the modern tribes, [the bird] must have been equally an object of consideration among prehistoric races. We know that the Natchez and the Creeks included the bird among their deities, and by the relics placed within his sepulchers we know that it held an important place in the esteem of the mound-builder.

The Existence of Bird-Gods Is Proved by Archeological Finds

A cave painting from Lascaux, France, discovered in 1940, shows that birds were already playing an important role in human thought in the Paleolithic Era. The picture features a slain bison, to whose side is depicted a bird-headed man, lying on his back. Near the man there is a bird perched on a pole. Edward A. Armstrong writes:

The bird on the post is of special interest. It is difficult to believe that if the artist had wished to portray a living bird perched on a tree, he could not have painted the tree more realistically. Probably, therefore, the representation is of a cult object. The bird may be carved in wood and affixed to the pole.

Marija Gimbutas furnishes clear proof of the existence of bird-gods in her very interesting study of The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe. She devotes a great deal of attention to "The Bird and Snake Goddess," and presents pictures of that deity, whose image has a dominant place in the pantheon of the culture which flourished in the Balkans c. 7000 to 6000 B.C.

Concluding Remarks

The underlying cause for all these conceptions—so abundantly documented in the mythologies of many peoples—must have been the fact that birds were thought of first as gods, later as the gods’ special messengers, servants, and helpers. Birds possessed the mysterious power of flight and lived among the sun, moon, and stars in the realm of space, from which came the lightning and thunder, the rain and the storm wind. The birds had a language whose very incomprehensibility made it seem closely related to the mysterious forces of life—a language which primitive man must have considered to be a source of knowledge concerning the future, and concerning life in general. In the world of early man, the birds were unique in every respect, and they were therefore invested with all the qualities which were later transferred to the anthropomorphic gods.

The oldest stratum of information on the lore of birds dates from Paleolithic times. Consequently, many conceptions concerning birds are older than every culture known from historical sources. The myths of civilized peoples manifest the higher stages of
development of folk beliefs which were established much earlier, which survived through the Magdalenan culture, and which continue to live in the ideas of the Ainu and the myths of the Siberian peoples and North American Indians. Edward A. Armstrong's conclusion, based on his investigations of the folklore of birds, corresponds exactly with my own:

A great mass of evidence ranging from Paleolithic art to the etiology of mythology suggests that animal or theriomorphic gods preceded anthropomorphic gods; or to put it more accurately, that man thought of supernatural powers in terms of animal qualities before he pictured God in his own image. Therefore, Creation and Deluge myths in which animals are creators or co-creators are probably earlier than those in which anthropomorphic powers are concerned.67

For the contemporary folklorist, the lore of birds is a conglomerate of Paleolithic and modern ideas, of learned and popular thoughts, of dispassionate natural science and ideas from the realm of fancy—a conglomerate which should incite our science to further research. This continuing inquiry is of great importance, for the thoughts and dreams of primitive man form a sounding-board for the voice of modern man.

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Notes


3 For further information on the modern folk beliefs summarized in the first nine sections of this article, see Tillhagen, Fåglarna; idem., "Vögel"; and idem., Folklig läkekonst ("Popular Healing Art"), 3rd ed. (Stockholm: LTs Förlag, 1977). In these works the author has made use of the very rich material recorded in the folklore collection of the Nordic Museum, Stockholm.

4 Swainson, p. 152.

5 Armstrong, p. 49.


9 Swainson, p. 70.

10 Ibid., pp. 9-10.

11 Ibid., p. 48.

13 Tillhagen, Fåglarna, pp. 43-88.

14 Handwörterbuch, vol. 7, p. 452.

15 Armstrong, p. 83.

16 Handwörterbuch, vol. 7, p. 452.

17 Shakespeare, The Tempest, 1:iii; concerning ravens, see Armstrong, pp. 71-93; Tillhagen, Fåglarna, pp. 43-81.


22 Louise Hagberg, När döden gäster ("When Death is Our Guest") (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrands Förlag, 1937), pp. 198ff.


24 Haavio, pp. 62ff.


27 Armstrong, p. 49; Swainson, p. 152.

28 Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folktales (FCC #184, 1961), under AT 455A; Armstrong, pp. 48ff.


32 On this question, see Hopf, pp. 1-51.


36 Handwörterbuch, vol. 7, p. 430. Recall that in ancient folk belief, birds were supposed to possess a language. "Most of all still believe that all kinds of birds, and many (if not all) beasts, have a language," states James George Frazer, "The Language of Animals," in Garnered Sheaves (London: Macmillan, 1931), p. 95.

37 Quoted from J. Gardner Wilkinson, The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians (London: John Murray, 1878), pp. 313ff. In Revue de l'histoire des religions, vol. 1, M. Maspero writes: "It is possible, may, certain, that during the second Theban empire the learned priests may have thought it well to attribute a symbolical sense to certain bestial deities. But whatever they may have worshipped in Thoth-Ibis, it was a bird, and not a hieroglyph, that the first worshippers of the ibis adored." Quoted from Andrew Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), vol. 2, p. 124.


39 Wilkinson, p. 316.


42 Friedreich, pp. 389ff.
43 Ibid., p. 546.
44 Ibid., pp. 368, 524.
45 Ingersoll, p. 206.
46 Armstrong, p. 91; G. Murray, Five Stages of Greek Religion (Oxford, 1925), p. 41, writes, "There is a path open from the divine beasts to the anthropomorphistic god." He points out that several birds are attributed to specific deities: the cuckoo is sacred to Hera, the owl and the snake to Athena, the crow to Apollo, and he concludes: "Allowing for some isolated exceptions, the safest rule in all these cases is that the attribute is original and the god added" (p. 35).
47 In Armstrong, p. 102, a picture of both cornelians is reproduced.
49 Uno Harva, Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaiischen Völker (FFC #125, 1938), pp. 31ff.; Uno Holmberg, "Der Baum des Lebens," Finska litteratursällskapet, series B, 16 (1922).
50 Harva, p. 38.
51 Ibid., p. 43.
52 Uno Holmberg, pp. 51ff.
54 Harva, pp. 165ff.
58 Harva, p. 104; Dähnhardt, vol. 1, pp. 73ff.
60 Concerning these "fabulous fowls," see Ingersoll, pp. 190ff.
61 Harva, p. 205.
62 Holmes, p. 281.
64 Holmes, p. 281.
65 Armstrong, pp. 13-14.
67 Armstrong, p. 91.
FROGS, TOADS, AND RAIN RITUALS

Ilhan Bağ göz

The Data

The frog and the toad are connected cross-culturally with rituals and popular beliefs associated with rain. The frog was a minor rain deity in ancient China, and "the worship of the frog in that country seems to have an antiquity comparable to that of snake worship. The practice may be traced as far back as the Chang period (176-122 B.C.). The ancient Chinese worshipped the frog as well as its images in shrines and temples."¹ A source from the second century B.C. reports a ceremony for conjuring rain which involves five frogs in a pool.²

In Nepal the Newars worship the frog and, in a ceremony called kattik, they offer it rice and butter. When the offerings are in a ritual bowl and ready to be presented, the priest invokes the frog spirit and says "0 Lord of Earth! I beseech you to receive these, our offerings, and send timely rain, and bless our crop."³

Although the rainmaking rituals involving frogs have disappeared among the nomadic peoples of central Asia, beliefs relating them to water and rain survive. The Tukas, a Turkic people, believe that the world rests on a frog and that deluges occur when the frog moves.⁴ The drums of the Altaic peoples of central and northern Asia were decorated with pictures of the frog, which the people considered a rain deity.⁵

Among the sedentary agriculturalists of northwestern India—in Rajasthan, for example—the frog appears to be the most important component of the rain rituals. "In case the rain is delayed, womenfolk of the village assemble at night, catch some frogs and put them in an earthen pitcher. Then, they parade through the whole village, stopping at the door of each house whereupon a bucket of water is poured over the heads of the participants."⁶ During another ritual in the same region, the women of the village carry an effigy of a frog. The ritual is called "giving water to the dying frog."⁷ The Sauras, who live in the same area of India, dig a hole and place a frog in it. The shaman of the village sticks two poles in the ground on each side of the hole and connects them with a string. He then begins to pluck the string, producing a sound like a croaking frog. When the frog in the hole hears the artificially induced sound he also begins to croak.⁸

The following clipping, dated 3 September 1979, from The Deceân Herald, an English daily published in Bengal, indicates the survival of similar rain rituals in contemporary Indian society:

It was a strange marriage to please the God of Rain, Indra, in a village 30 km. from Mahasaund in the drought-hit Raipur district. The bride and the bridegroom were kept in separate pots. They were toads. The wedding ceremonies were conducted by women—men were allowed only to watch—amid chanting of mantras, followed by a community feast for all the villagers. The two toads were then ceremoniously let into a tank.⁹

Hanging a frog on a bamboo stake with its mouth open is also reported in India as a method of conjuring rain.¹⁰
One of the rain rituals performed in Turkey, Iran, and some Arab countries in the Middle East is called "The Frog Bride" (Comce gelin in Turkish, Gelin Gok in Persian, and al Gonja in Arabic). When a drought becomes prolonged the children make an effigy which represents "The Frog Bride" and carry it in a neighborhood procession. They stop in front of each house, sing a rain song, and ask for a donation. The lady of the house pours a jar of water over the head of the effigy while giving food as a donation. In some regions of Turkey, the effigy is replaced by one or more live frogs. In Tasova, Tokat, for example, children collect frogs from damp places, put them in a basket, and carry them during the rain ritual. In Sinop, northern Anatolia, the frogs are placed in a bucket of water, which is periodically shaken during the procession to make them croak. The ritual is called gode or goden, both of which mean "the frog." In Thrace, Turkey, the frogs are kept in a sieve containing green grass and carried on the head of a child. During the ritual water is poured through the sieve drenching both the frogs and the child. Iranians believe that when the skin of a frog turns dark green, or when the frog croaks vigorously, rain is imminent.

Killing a frog in Germany is considered to be a ritual act which brings rain.

In the New World the association of the frog with rain was also present. The Zuni Indians of North America regarded tadpoles and frogs as rain charms. The sacred vessels used by them to clean the spring where the rain god dwelt were decorated with the images of frogs and tadpoles. The Nohua Indians also considered the frog to be a rain deity.

Maya Indians perform a rain ritual during which four young boys are assigned to sit on four corners of an altar. One of the boys impersonates a frog, whose croaking is believed to bring rain. The Aymaras of South America fill basins with water and place frogs in them as a component of their rain ritual. When the heat of the sun evaporates the water, the frogs cry out in distress, and the spirits take pity on them and send rain.

The data associating the frog with rain has not yet been exhausted, and new evidence supporting this association is not hard to gather from the other culture areas of the world. But it is not our intention to do a detailed survey for a comparative study. The material presented here is, I believe, sufficient to substantiate the validity of the analysis to be made.

It should also be pointed out that we make no claim for the structural, formal, or contextual unity of rain rituals disseminated cross-culturally. Even within the same pattern in the same culture, differences among the components of the same ritual can be observed. In Turkey, for example, "The Frog Bride" ritual may be performed by children or by adults. In some cases the effigy is replaced by a child whose body is covered with green branches, mats, or, more recently, even nylon sheets. The effigy can be made of a broom, of two sticks tied crosswise, or of a bowl on which a human face has been drawn. Variables may be as important as constants in helping us study and interpret the ritual. But the involvement of the frog with rain rituals or beliefs all over the world exhibits considerable uniformity. Our documentation has no purpose other than to record correlation between the frog and rain, which is essential to our analysis.

Interpretation of Data

Scholars who have collected, observed, and studied rain
rituals and their relation to the frog have made different analyses of the origin as well as the symbolism of the frog cult.

Wing-Sou Lou, using data from the Chinese and the American Indians for his analyses, proposes a diffusionist theory. For him, similarities of rain rituals involving frog worship in ancient China and the New World are so strong that he believes the cult to have emerged in one cultural area and then diffused to the other. The origin of the ritual must have been Chinese. Either the ancestors of the Maya and Nahua Indians, among whom the frog is considered a rain deity, may have lived side by side with the frog-worshipping Chinese, or the cultural traits adopted by these Indians may have been brought from southwest Asia and China to America by several large, possibly planned, emigrations under organized leadership.\textsuperscript{20}

The weakness of this explanation is that the correlation of the frog and rain is observed all over the world. Data obtained not only from two cultures, but from India and many other areas as well, should be carefully examined in order to justify a single-origin theory for the frog cults.

James Frazer's view of the frog cult can be called polygenetic. He attributes the origin of the rain-frog connection to a primitive belief, probably found in the mythology of the Iroquois Indians, although he does not reveal the source. The Iroquois believed that the water of the world was originally collected in the body of a huge frog, and that rivers and lakes were formed by piercing its body.\textsuperscript{21} Frazer states, "Since the frog has the ability to store a large supply of body water, observation of that fact led the primitive people to believe that it was the frog which caused the drought. In order to restore moisture to the earth, they thought it would be necessary for the frog to discharge its store of precious liquid."\textsuperscript{22}

Such beliefs have not been reported cross-culturally and do not exist in Asia, the Middle East, or Africa; consequently, they cannot explain the origin of the frog cult. Furthermore, it is naive to assume that primitive people expected the body water of such a little creature to restore moisture to the earth.

Frazer considers the child who joins the rain ceremonies naked or with his body wrapped in green branches—as in Anatolia and the Balkan countries—to be a vegetation spirit.\textsuperscript{23} In my opinion, however, the names given to the child clearly indicate that he (or she) was the personification of the frog. In the collected data, many objects can serve the purpose of the branches and green leaves on which Frazer bases his vegetation theory. A sheep skin, pieces of old clothes, an old mat, a beehive, a cauldron to cover the head, or sheets of nylon often take the place of the green foliage. It seems that they are functional more than symbolic and serve to protect the body from the shock of the water, which is poured over the head of the child at the end of the rain ritual.

The structuralists are interested in the frog not as a rain deity but as a recurrent figure in the mythology of the New World. Their interpretation bridges the theories of the diffusionists and the independent inventionists. Lévi-Strauss explains that "the frog presents a wealth of potential distinctive features for sets of contrasts."\textsuperscript{24} Because frogs are seasonal, they are vocal. They are notoriously ambivalent in that they bridge the distinction between water and land and undergo observable metamorphosis. Boon adds, "From the structural point of view they would have persisted throughout diffusion for the same reason that they might have been independently invented: The reason being their capacity to act as an operator in the establishment and maintenance of meaning."\textsuperscript{25}
As will be seen, the cross-cultural presence of the frog in rain rituals has a less sophisticated meaning when the function of the frog is carefully analyzed. We may ask, what are the attributes or behaviors which are considered essential for participation of the frog in the rain ritual. For example, is it its color, its seasonal appearance (especially in spring, when the rain is needed for a good summer crop), its croaking, its wet texture, or the nature of its habitat (water and damp places) that is the inspiration of the frog cult?

The Rig Veda (1500 B.C.), the sacred book of Hinduism, reports that the croaking or the marriage of the frog would induce rain. Reexamination of our data from this point of view shows that the croaking and symbolic marriage of the frog are especially obvious in rain rituals.

The data from India presented above needs no analysis to show that the participants make the frog croak by means of various methods. In Turkey, this is done by shaking the frog. The same element is also found among the American Indians. The Maya Indians believe that it is the croaking of the frog which produces rain.

The common name of the frog symbol as effigy in Turkey is "The Frog Bride," an obvious reference to marriage. In India the marriage of the frogs is the essential element of various rain rituals.

Why should the croaking and marriage of the frog be associated with rain? One possible explanation could be the "sacred marriage" theory of English anthropologists, though I believe the correct interpretation lies elsewhere.

Frazer claims that the symbolic marriage of the tree, the performance of a ritual sexual act in a corn field, and the real or mock marriage of men and women at sowing or harvest time all have the same function as the marriage of Zeus to Hera, and of Dionysus to the Queen. They were done to increase fertility through homeopathic magic. The symbolic marriage of frogs could be included in the same category, as rain is the necessary element of vegetation growth. But Frazer was not aware of the sacred marriage of the frog, so it was not included in his analysis.

The Interpretation

In order to clarify the meaning of the frog in rain rituals, I will depart significantly from the previous approaches and investigate the topic in a relatively new light, using ethology, or the study of animal behavior. Animals of every kind play an important role in all folklore genres, including folk narratives, rituals, folk beliefs, epics, riddles, proverbs, and folk songs. Consequently, the study of animal behavior, which has attracted little interest among folklorists, seems to be of potential use in understanding the symbolism, characteristics, and function of various elements of folklore. Other social scientists, however, had already engaged in ethology, studying animal behavior and habitat to contribute to the understanding of human culture and behavior. The study of vertebrate sexual behavior, which has revealed a strong inhibition against mating with parents, offspring, and siblings, has led to an understanding of the biological origin of the incest taboo. The discovery of a repertoire of stereotyped motor patterns in animal behavior, which showed that animal behavior is not entirely the result of learning, has found a large area of application in the study of human behavior.
In addition, some findings of ethology have a surprisingly direct bearing on folklore studies. Some birds, for example, sing only the songs learned from their parents, while some others, when sexually mature, are able to sing their species-typical song without previous exposure to it. It is surprising to note that animals, like human beings, developed ritualized fighting. Although injuries may occur during these mock fights—during courting, for example—the intraspecific combat in some species means no harm. It is ritualized.

The pattern of courtship and fighting of some birds—such as the crane, the falcon, and the partridge—are essential for an understanding of the basic movements of the folk dances which carry their names. Koroglu, the hero of a famous Turkish epic, is said to have learned fighting from the behavior of a little dog which, when attacked by more ferocious dogs, positioned himself at the corner of a building, carefully guarding his back. In the course of the epic, he saves his own life and precious food by imitating the dog. The behavior of horses, who in Turkish epics never fail to inform the rider-hero of approaching danger, should be investigated.

My investigation of the behavior of the frog, especially of its reaction to external stimuli such as heat or cloudy and rainy weather, gave me the key to understanding the relationship between the frog and rain. It is quite certain that a tripartite correlation exists between the frog’s mating habits, croaking habits, and rainy weather. The following is a selection of field observations which substantiate that conclusion.

The Storm frog (Scaphiopus holbrooki): "Whenever the southeast storms occur at the Autumnal Equinox the surface of the earth is covered with frogs, and their dismal croaking adds to the horror of the howling winds and the deluges of water which pour down from the heavens."

The Oak frog (Bufo quericus): The full chorus, which is ear-splitting, is heard only at night after a heavy rain. "I found two Oak toads by a log near the trestle but still on dry ground. They were paired but not mated. Will they go to water separately or mate on the way without rain or mate with the first rain? Only three days later, many of our queries were answered. About two inches of rain fell and the island seemed teeming with Oak frogs. They breed almost everywhere."

The Southern toad (Bufo terrestris): "The following facts noted: The unmated male toads at nine in the morning were screaming loudly on the edge of the pool, but had not entered the water, while at noon, they were in the water and had mated, but were almost silent."

The Bell frog (Hyla cinerea): They remain quite motionless during the heat of the day, but in the morning or evening or before a shower they emerge from their hiding place, and become very brisk and noisy. But the great choruses came when the storms threatened or after heavy downpours. Humidity is doubtless more important than temperature in inducing calling or choruses. "On May 16, 1921 when we had an immense chorus we made the note that 'the humidity, previous rain and threatening rain must be more of a factor than temperature.'"

The Florida tree frog (Hyla gratiosa): It is not very plentiful anywhere and rarely met with outside the breeding season. During the latter time it comes down from the trees to widely scattered pools to attend to its breeding duties amid the loud calls of the males. The call can be heard for over a mile. On 15 July
1921, on Chesser Island a thunder storm came in the afternoon; that evening the Florida tree frog began a chorus. The following day another storm came and another congress met.  

The Squirrel tree frog (Hyla squirrels). In general this species calls even by day in rain or before an imminent rain; after a downpour of one to five inches of rain they become very active.  

Anna Allen gives us a perfect summary of the field work observations:

There is one time when the spade foot toads make themselves conspicuous. This is when they come out of their burrows, hundreds strong, and go to the ponds or temporary pools for the purpose of depositing the eggs. This time, usually in the spring, is always coincident with a very heavy rain. They are likely to remain in the pond only one night, or two at most, but during this time keep up a continual chorus of loud calls that can be heard at a great distance.

The impact of humidity in making the frog cry is established beyond a doubt: "we concluded from our experiences with that frog that above a certain required minimum temperature plays less role in croaking of frogs than humidity. When the temperature at night became the warmest they might not call if the air had been dry at that period."

The call of the frog at breeding time is known as the mating call, and to it are attributed the following functions:

The breeding calls serve three functions: calling the population to its side from the surrounding countryside; establishing a small territory for each male; and, attracting females. In many species (of frogs) the breeding calls of males at the breeding site are very important. These calls sometimes involve a chorus of hundreds of individual frogs, producing a deafening din that carries over long distances. The calling normally takes place at night or on cloudy days.

Mary Dickerson reports that many frogs and toads, both male and female, give a high-pitched cry when greatly annoyed. According to Wright, the Land frog swells, raises himself upon his four legs, and croaks when irritated.

The primitive people in every cultural area of the world obviously did not fail to hear the deafening frog chorus and to observe the frog mating (achieved when the male jumps over the female, creating quite an interesting scene) and the correlation of this behavior with rain. As a result of such observations, this amphibian is called rain frog, storm frog, or rainy day frog in several regions of the United States. Since rain falls when the frog croaks or mates, there must be a sacred relation between the two, or this little animal—so explains the primitive mind—must have the power to induce rain. The deification of the frog or toad as a producer of rain must have originated from this observation, an observation not limited to a single culture or geographical region. Consequently, the worldwide frog cult is probably the product of polygenesis.

Since rainfall is correlated with frog behavior patterns, these specific behaviors are repeated by primitive peoples to induce rain in times of drought. This is a well known principle of magic: imitation, or like creates like.

The killing and hanging of the frog in rain rituals still requires an explanation, as frogs do not normally practice this behavior in the rainy season. This practice falls into a pattern, which students of religion call "coercing the deity" which fails to meet the request of the people. The punishment of the god or the spirit for failure to grant what the human being desperately
needs is reported by various scholars from many religions: Islam, Buddhism, and the animistic cults.

In China, if the benign methods of producing rain fail, as an extreme act of desperation, the deity was occasionally directly coerced. That is, the supplicant attempted to force the deity to respond to his appeal for rain. In time of the Emperor Chia-ch’ing (1796-1820), because of the unresponsive action of the rain deity, the Emperor decided to revoke the deity's title, denounce it in rank, close up its temple, and banish it to a distant place. Actual violence against deities which did not help the human beings has been reported from various places on different occasions. Punishment of the deity includes ruining its shrine, burying deity in a pit, exposing its image to the blazing sun, whipping the object which embodies the deity.48

Wolfram Eberhard forwards the following explanation for this violent behavior:

The office of the rain God for example is one of the dangerous offices. He may bring rain at the right time as that is his duty. If no rain comes, the population first implores him by prayers and bribes him with sacrifices. But, when the God, after having accepted the sacrifices, still does not give rain, he is unfair and the population becomes angry. Sometimes they take his image and put it into the burning sun to make clear to him how hot the weather is and how much men are suffering; but, other times his image is thrown on the dunghill, and an official complaint to the "Jade Emperor" (God) is written, asking for replacement of the incompetent rain God. Just as all men from the emperor to the commoners had their duties, so too did the deities. It was the duty of a rain deity to provide rain. If it did not, it deserved punishment. On the other hand, deities could behave like high officials; if someone applied pressure on them they might take revenge, whether it was legal or not.49

Similar cases were reported in Islamic areas.50 In Turkey, when the rain does not fall following the rain procession—which includes carrying a doll called "the frog bride"—the children place the symbol at close range and stone it until it is broken to pieces.51 Such violent actions—including killing, hanging, orstoning the object which impersonates the frog, or the frog itself—are punishments of the deity, god, or spirit which is responsible for providing rain, but which has failed to perform his duty. Frightened by the possibility of famine, humans channel their despair into an anger towards the deities, and thus temporarily relieve the tensions in the community.

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Notes

2 Ibid., p. 58.
7 Jagenda Saksena, "Some Rain Ceremonies in Rajestan," in Rain in Indian Life and Lore, p. 64.
8 Saksena, p. 67.
9 I am indebted to my friend Jawaharlal Handoo for this information.
10 Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 9, p. 510.
16 Lou, p. 60.
17 Ibid., p. 62.
18 Ibid., p. 71.
19 Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 9, p. 517.
20 Lou, pp. 91-92.
21 Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 9, p. 519.
26 Sen Gupta, Rain in Indian Life and Lore.
27 See notes 7, 8, 9 above.
28 Frazer, New Golden Bough, pp. 50-57.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., p. 403.
32 The crane dance, falcon dance, and partridge dance are all well known folk dances in Turkey.
34 Ibid., p. 122.
36 Ibid., p. 259.
37 Ibid., p. 263.
38 Ibid., p. 304.
39 Ibid., p. 317.
40 Ibid., p. 298.
41 Ibid., pp. 299-300.
42 Ibid., p. 315.
44 Encyclopedia Americana, s.v. "Frog."
45 Dickerson, p. 22.
47 Albert H. Wright, p. 73.
THE QUEST FOR BURIED TREASURE:
A CHAPTER IN AMERICAN FOLK LEGENDRY

Wayland D. Hand

In the folklore of buried treasure, as in most genres of folklore—with the exception of proverbs and the possible exception of folk song and balladry—it is difficult to connect the American corpus with its European antecedents. This is particularly true of the earliest body of materials, for which documentation is rare.

Through the work of Bartlett Jere Whiting, and others, the early deposit of proverbs of British provenience in America is well documented.1 Whiting and Archer Taylor have shown that this basic Anglo-Saxon stock-in-trade continued in the oral tradition of this country throughout most of the nineteenth century.2 The historical persistence of folk songs and ballads is not as easily documented. Being less literary in quality than proverbs, and longer and more difficult in form, these folk musical creations did not attain wide currency on the printed page—the surest sign of popular documentation. Literary documentation, or even existence in cheap print—almanacs, broadsides, pocket songsters, and the like—however, is also a safe way of attesting the presence of folklore in an historical continuum,3 as Wesselski showed long ago.

As for most genres of folklore, including proverbs and folk songs and ballads, the field collection of treasure lore did not begin in America until 1875. Even so, the basic stock of folklore in most fields had not been recovered until after the turn of the century, and the classification and compiling of lore was hardly underway at the beginning of the 1930s.

Our knowledge of American treasure lore, likewise, rests to a great extent on field materials collected during the last fifty years. The use of such collections, and other important sources, has proved somewhat fruitful for scholars interested in the folklore of buried treasure, mineral lodes, lost mines, and allied branches of legendry. A few good sources of treasure lore, from the nineteenth century and earlier,4 have been laid bare. Most such lore came from Europe; the earliest of it derives from Germany, the British Isles, and other parts of northwestern Europe. Colliers from Wales and hardrock miners from Cornwall brought the earliest mining lore to this country, and with it came a considerable amount of treasure lore as well. A broad substrate of German mining and treasure lore is discernible, of course, in these earliest deposits. Washington Irving, for instance, writing under the pseudonym of Geoffrey Crayon, in his "Tales of a Traveller" and series of stories on "Money Diggers" (1824), has a long tale entitled "Wolfert Webber, or Golden Dreams." In this tale he tells of a treasure seeker by the name of Dr. Knipperhausen who had learned a great deal of treasure lore from miners in the Harz Mountains.5 Knipperhausen insisted that buried money should be dug only at night,6 and that the digging should be accompanied by mystic ceremonies. For this enterprise the seekers must provide themselves with a divining rod.7 To avoid harm from the guardians of the treasure—often evil spirits—the seekers must inscribe
a magic circle around the treasure. Another common motif from this same early period, also relating to the raising of buried treasure, deals with the taboo of silence. An attempt to secure a trove of Captain Kidd's pirate treasure--buried at a site on Monhegan Island, off the Maine Coast--failed upon the violation of a well-known taboo against speaking or uttering other sounds; the treasure was snatched away by the watchful spirits guarding it. In Washington Irving's treatment of a typical Captain Kidd treasure trove, it is the devil himself who stands guard over the booty. In an account reminiscent of German treasure lore, the devil either made a noise, created an apparition, or otherwise carried on in such a way as to frighten away the diggers. In Irving's account the devil is made to preside at the original concealment of the pirate's treasure, and usually does so when the gain is ill-gotten. Treasure tales involving Captain Kidd and other pirates have lived on in modern legendry, and Granger has supplied an excellent list of sources.

Washington Irving (1783-1859) was apparently the earliest major American author to concern himself with treasure lore. Later literary figures fascinated with the seeking of concealed treasure were Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864), Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849), and a lesser-known writer (one of the early local colorists), Rowland E. Robinson (1833-1900). None of these later writers expanded much on the themes found in Irving's series of sketches on "Money Diggers." Hawthorne and Poe exploited literary and creative values, and rarely reported whole treasure legends; Robinson, however, sought out rustics whose accounts often grace his pages. In Danvis Folks, for instance, the prescription of silence while raising buried treasure is confirmed. As we have seen, this is one of the most widely known beliefs connected with treasure lore. Robinson was interested not only in the unusual places where treasure was buried and otherwise concealed, but also in the characters and the circumstances involved in the secreting of treasure.

A body of treasure lore, richer than any found in the early writers of American fiction, came to light in connection with the money-digging exploits of Joseph Smith (1805-1844), the Mormon prophet. As a teenage lad young Smith, following in the footsteps of his father (Joseph Smith, Senior), gained the reputation as a money digger in Ontario County in the western part of New York State. For this purpose he used a peepstone he found while digging a well for one Clark Chase in 1826.

Smith's occult activities fit into the same matrix of adventure and speculation that fascinated Washington Irving, and fall into the same general time frame. Fortunately for the student of these matters, there is a far greater body of treasure lore circulating in the oral tradition of New England, New York, and surrounding states than is adumbrated in Irving's "Money Diggers." The activities of Joseph Smith and his congenere provide a useful point of departure for a survey of this interesting body of folklore. The use of peepstones of various kinds, while not found in Irving's stories, was nevertheless well known in the areas of the Northeast mentioned. This aspect of treasure lore, along with many others, might have remained relatively unknown, had not the Book of Mormon's account of Joseph Smith and the golden plates sparked interest and inquiry. The elucidation of the treasure lore--and supplementary background material--came not from Joseph Smith himself, but from those who sought to expose him.

Smith's apologists, quite as much as his detractors, amassed
(albeit piece by piece) a substantial body of information that shows the treasure lore of Joseph Smith's day reflected to a remarkable degree the folklore of treasure seeking that was common everywhere in northwestern Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. While some contemporary accounts, derived from Joseph Smith's conviction on a disorderly conduct charge involving money digging (in 1826 at Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York), 18 other sources have added treasure lore—and kindred items of folklore—current in Joseph Smith's time, and these have been augmented, bit by bit, down to the present. Two Utah scholars, Jerald and Sandra Tanner, have written the definitive treatise on Joseph Smith and money digging, but their monograph goes beyond its central subject to provide a fine general compendium of treasure lore, divination, and related matters. 19

Joseph Smith's celebrated peepstone—a small, chocolate-colored oval stone about the size of a hen's egg—was found in a well he was digging near Palmyra, New York in 1822. 20 He placed it in a hat to see what lay beneath the surface of the earth. 21 This same stone was later used in translating Mormon scriptures, but for this use it is referred to as the seer stone by church officials. 22 This seer's stone was brought to Utah, and exhibited as late as 1856, 23 but it could no longer be located in the Church Historian's Office by the 1920s when A. William Lund was Assistant Church Historian. 24 The confusion of this stone with the Urim and Thummim—an archaic optical instrument consisting of two transparent, glasslike stones, set in silver bows in a manner suggestive of spectacles—has added to the mystery surrounding the peepstone itself. 25

Ordinary peepstones were somewhat a rarity in Joseph Smith's day, and have remained so to this day, although they are occasionally reported. They have an apparent historical connection with the crystal stones, or crystal balls used for divinatory purposes, especially those used for the recovery of lost or stolen property. 26 In Germany the Erdspiegel, or "earth mirror," retains its reputed power to reveal buried treasure. 27 This use is somewhat modified in the Pennsylvania German country, as Ann Hark's study shows; there the emphasis is mainly on the recovery of lost or stolen property. 28 As late as 1861, however, the Erzspiegel, "ore mirror," or "Peep Stone," as it was called, was used in the same Pennsylvania German area for finding buried valuables. 29 In Cache Valley, Utah, early in the present century, an old woman operating a peepstone claimed to recover lost valuables, stolen articles, and straying cattle; J. Golden Kimball, one of the Seven Presidents of Seventies, recalled many years ago the use of a peepstone in the 1920s to locate cows that had wandered away. 30 Granger lists the use of earth mirrors, but the documentation is not heavy. 31

Dowsing for metal and buried treasure, an art practiced since early times, 32 was a technique perhaps even more widely used than peepstones and earth mirrors during the early nineteenth century, and certainly dowsing has predominated down to the present day. In Vermont, around 1800, the famous "Wood Scrape" brought to public attention a widespread belief in the power of the divining rod, as used in dowsing for money and buried treasure. The followers of Nathaniel Wood, a religious cult leader, made use of the hazel rod—as did a Vermont fugitive named Winchell—not only for money digging, but for other kinds of divination, including the recovery of lost and stolen property. In the hands of Wood himself, the rod was used to determine matters of
sickness and health, and even to predict whether a patient would live or die. Oliver Cowdery's father, who lived at Wells, Vermont, was caught up in the divining rod excitement, and Oliver himself, one of the three witnesses of the Book of Mormon, is said to have acquired the gift, as acknowledged in the Book of Commandments of 1833. Joseph Smith's father lived at Poutney, Vermont, at the time of the Wood movement, and likely knew of the divinatory powers of the hazel rod and forked stick before he learned of peepstones. In the later New York period, Joseph Smith's father was adept in using the hazel rod to "work the money," as he said, adding that one should not speak out loud, but only in a whisper, while manipulating the stick. Like the peepstone, the rod could be used to locate straying cows.

In connection with the use of peepstones and divining rods for the location of buried treasure and mineral lodes, the usual safeguards and other attendant circumstances are found in the early accounts in New England, New York, and surrounding states. The devil as an enchanter and guardian of treasure is mentioned in reports from Windsor, Vermont, and Wayne County, New York. In the Joseph Capron affidavit made in Manchester, Ontario County, New York, 8 November 1833, his "Satanic Majesty" is represented as guardian of a chest of gold watches. The devil, of course, is regarded as a keeper and enchanter of buried treasure.

Belief in the guardianship of treasure by spirits and divinities is attested in the early period. According to an anti-Mormon by the name of William Stafford, Joseph Smith claimed to be able to see the spirits in charge of a certain buried cache of money; he described these guardians as being clothed in ancient dress. Spirit guardians of treasure are, of course, found commonly in the folklore of buried treasure, as are ghostly officiants.

William Stafford mentioned, in his 1833 affidavit, the allegation that an evil spirit was guarding a treasure. Likewise noted was a magic circle of stakes around three kegs of gold and silver which Joseph Smith sought to discover with his peepstone. For this operation strict silence was enjoined, in keeping with the common belief that the treasure will sink if a noise is made. Stafford reported the sacrifice of a black sheep to be part of the ritual of raising the treasure; such a practice is part and parcel of German treasure lore, where not only sheep and goats were used for the purpose, but other animals as well.

The digging for treasure at night, as is commonly prescribed, is noted many times in these early documents. Digging by moonlight, and on Good Friday, are also noted. Summer-time is also mentioned as a favorable time for digging; the reason given is that heat causes treasure chests to rise in the earth.

The rising and sinking of treasures in the earth is often encountered in the early writings about Joseph Smith's treasure digging adventures, even though it is a motif common to treasure lore. In one case mentioned, however, an evil spirit causes the money to sink. Other slippages are reported by the Tanners, including an account by Martin Harris of the slipping back into the Hill Cumorah of some chests after the golden plates had been found. A Book of Mormon account of treasures slipping in the earth is related in Helaman 13: 34-36. Joseph Smith himself does not mention this familiar bit of treasure lore, but as we shall presently see, Brigham Young knew about these matters. Young, moreover, had a lively imagination with regard to the whole complex of buried treasure—whether monetary or mineral—that might be concealed in the earth.
In view of the foregoing treatment, which concerns Joseph Smith's congener more than it does Smith himself, it is somewhat ironic that apart from owning and operating a peepstone, and knowing something about dowsing and witching for water, Joseph Smith did not really possess any encompassing knowledge of treasure lore, at least according to the written record. Smith's successor, Brigham Young, proved far more knowledgeable in this realm of occult theory and practice. Like Smith, Young was an easterner, but it was in Utah, in the year of his death (1877), that Brigham Young recapitulated the treasure lore that he had gained during a long and colorful life. I do not have at my command references to Brigham Young's youth in New England (which coincided with the time of Nathaniel Wood's divining-rod cult), but he could hardly have escaped exposure to the kinds of treasure lore that almost every young person would be likely to hear about from his fellows and from older people. Young's preoccupation with mining the mineral wealth of Utah—even though he was opposed to the exploitation of these resources by outside capital—kept the subject of mineral treasure ever fresh in his mind. In an epochal conference address at Farmington, Utah, 17 June 1877, Brigham Young talked about the movement of treasure within the earth, not only about the familiar matters of the rising and sinking of treasures, but also of their removal from place to place, "according to the good pleasure of Him who made them and owns them." Young's attribution of treasure-guardianship to God departs radically from the usual notion of folklore that the devil and other creatures of lower mythology, including dwarfs, have dominion over the earth's mineral treasure. Young's ideas on the motion of treasure stored in subterranean caves, however, accords with German treasure lore, and possibly is the basis for Bishop John Koyle's fanciful notions of large galleries and rooms piled high with ancient Nephitish treasure in Salem, Utah's celebrated Dream Mine.

The aspects of treasure lore treated in these pages do not convey any adequate notion of the stock-in-trade of American treasure lore that has come down to us; this article is intended simply as a survey of materials documented at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Because of the limitations of space, I have not attempted to cite modern examples of these early American specimens, resting content merely to indicate bibliographical sources. Granger's references, reduced from actual treasure legends to an ingenious system of individual motifs, would at once show the richness of deposits. Unused categories in her classification, and the European survey of Schatz, Wünschelrute, Erdsiegel, and so on, together with tributary references in the monumental Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens of Bächtold-Stäubli and Hoffmann-Krazer, give a presentiment, at least, of how much basic taxonomic work still needs to be done.

Even with much industry, and a lot of good luck, it will not be possible to create for treasure lore—or for other categories of folk belief, folk legend, and custom—the kind of literary documentation that one is able to do for proverbs, which I used as a gambit to approach a present-day problem of folklore scholarship. If one can trace individual proverbs back to early sources, including Alfred the Great himself, through a succession of manuscripts or published collections, one would have to make similar efforts for at least a couple of hundred years to trace certain essentially undocumented kinds of material, of the
sort we have been examining in this paper. Along this general line of reasoning, the credit for expanding our knowledge of early nineteenth-century treasure lore from a totally unexpected source belongs to Jerald and Sandra Tanner, not to the writer of this article. In another paper I might be tempted to try to show the kinds of treasure motifs not yet found, that the student of these matters in the historical continuum should be aware of. Even so, the works of Granger, Hurley, and Probert are quite adequate for the purpose, and well demonstrate how rich American treasure lore really is when properly marshalled. It should be a matter of great satisfaction to everyone to know that Linda Dégh and her students are enlisted in this important effort.

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Notes

3 The occurrence of folk songs and ballads of British ancestry in early pocket songsters, broadsides, and other forms of cheap print can be glimpsed in W. Roy Mackenzie, Ballads and Sea Songs of Nova Scotia (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1925); and H.M. Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1940). Ray B. Browne has added valuable new evidence of the extent to which these popular treatises were known: The Alabama Folk Lyric: A Study in Origins and Media of Dissemination (Bowling Green, Ohio: Popular Press, 1979).
4 Among the few scholars especially concerned with treasure lore should be mentioned J. Frank Dobie, with two book titles: Coronado's Children (Dallas: Southwest Press, 1930); Apache Gold and Yaqui Silver (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1928); and a substantial body of treasure lore in Legends of Texas (Austin: Texas Folklore Society, 1924). See also Gerard T. Hurley, "Buried Treasure Tales in America," Western Folklore 10 (1951): 197-216, which contains an excellent general bibliography; Byrd Howell Granger, A Notif Index for Lost Mines and Treasures Applied to Redaction of Arizona Legends, and to Lost Mine and Treasure Legends Exterior to Arizona (FFC #218, 1977); Thomas Probert, Lost Mines and Buried Treasures of the West (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977). Probert, for example, contains no fewer than sixty-three references to Dobie's writings on treasure lore.
6 Granger, motif h 1.5. See also the HandWörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens, 10 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927-1942), vol. 7, p. 1006. Hereinafter cited HDA.
10 HDA, vol. 7, p. 1004; Granger, motif g 3.4.
11 "Kidd the Pirate," Geoffrey Crayon Edition, vol. 4, p. 448. See the HDA, vol. 7, p. 1010, where the devil-fakes a fire at the mill, in the village, or in the forest, to make the diggers break silence.
12 Irving, vol. 4, p. 449.
13 Granger, motif c 4.2. See also Hurley #24, 34, 48.
15 Granger lists a full range of those who bury treasure, from various kinds of individuals to groups and even fleeing armies, together with the circumstances of hiding the treasure from view, including places chosen (pp. 174-211), motifs sections a, b, c, d. Cf. Hurley, pp. 198-200.


17 Joseph Smith's principal early detractor was E.D. Howe, a contemporary writer, who published Mormonism Unvailed [sic] (Painesville, New York, 1834).

18 For the text of the charges, see Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), Appendix A, pp. 405-407.

19 Jerald and Sandra Tanner, Joseph Smith & Money Digging (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Company, 1970).

20 The finding of treasure or other valuables while digging a well is a motif listed in Granger, motif n 1.5.1.

21 Tanner and Tanner, p. 4.

22 Roberts, vol. 1, p. 129; also thus denominated and described by John A. Widtsoe and George Q. Cannon. See Tanner and Tanner, p. 5.


24 Tanner and Tanner, p. 13.

25 Ibid., pp. 9-10.


27 HDA, vol. 7, p. 1002.


30 Tanner and Tanner, p. 11. Other examples of the use of peepstones and seer stones are found on pp. 10-11, passim.

31 Granger, motif h 8.8; see also h 8.5.2 (philosopher's stone), h 13.6.7 (speculari).


34 Chapter 7:3.

35 Affidavit of Peter Ingersoll, Palmyra, Wayne County, New York, 2 December 1833, as reproduced in photo-offset by Tanner and Tanner from E.D. Howe's Mormonism Unvailed, p. 232.

36 Ibid., p. 234.

37 Wayne Sentinel, 16 February 1825 (reprinted from the Windsor [Vermont] Journal), and 22 December 1825, as quoted in Tanner and Tanner, pp. 2, 4.

38 Howe, pp. 259-60.

39 HDA, vol. 7, p. 1004; Granger, motif g 3.4; Hurley, p. 205, #13.

40 Affidavit made in Manchester, New York, 8 December 1833, as quoted in Howe, p. 238.


42 Howe, p. 259 (Ghosts and infernal spirits); HDA, vol. 7, p. 1004; Granger, motifs g 3.1, g 3.1.1; Hurley, p. 201.

43 Howe, p. 238.

44 HDA, vol. 7, pp. 1009-1010. This silence must be observed until one has safely returned with the treasure and is under his own eaves (Col. 1009). See also Granger,
motifs h 3.1, h 3.1.1, h 3.1.2, h 3.1.3.

45 HDA, vol. 7, p. 1007; Granger, motif h 19.6 (and h 19.6.1, h 19.6.2, h 19.6.3).
46 Howe, pp. 237, 239, 249. See HDA, vol. 7, p. 1006; Granger, motifs h 1.5, h 1.1, h 1.2.1.
47 Howe, p. 238. See Granger, motifs h 1.6, h 1.5.1, h 1.5.2.
48 Howe, p. 238. See HDA, vol. 7, p. 1006; Granger, motif h 1.8.1.
49 Howe, p. 233.
50 Ibid., p. 239.
51 Tanner and Tanner, p. 2.
52 Ibid., p. 15. In the legend at the beginning of Chapter 13, there is an entry "Slippery Treasures."
54 HDA, vol. 7, p. 1004. At Judgement Day, it is said, all treasure not raised will fall to the devil by default. See also Granger, motif g 3.4.
56 Entries in the files of the Dictionary of American Popular Beliefs and Superstitions at UCLA indicate our efforts to fill out the canon. French and Spanish materials from throughout the United States, Canada, and Mexico are slowly being added to the corpus of Anglo-American and German treasure lore already in place.
THE HANGED FIDDLER LEGEND IN ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADITION

D. K. Wilgus

He took the fiddle into bainth his hands
And he brak' it o'er a stane
There nae body will play on her
While I lay dead and gone.

To some extent the legend of the hanged fiddler may be viewed as a part of the larger tradition of "last goodnights," farewell songs of condemned persons reputedly composed and sung by them. Execution ballads have been fairly common in Western European tradition since the seventeenth century, and in most cases we can assign authorship to professional ballad makers whose productions were printed on broadsides and sold to crowds witnessing the execution. Although we recognize the confession ballad as a convention, we are in no position to state categorically that no criminal ever composed his own "goodnight." The ascription of authorship is, like the legend of the lovers' leap, a Sage. But people have a habit of living up to their legends. As lovers may leap off a cliff because they are expected to, so may a criminal compose a "farewell" because he feels it is customary and therefore necessary. I have found attested examples of prisoners who remodeled older songs to fit their experiences. We must, therefore, approach each legend as we approach each folksong, as an object of study in itself within the larger study of an entire tradition. And the study of the "hanged fiddler" might become a study of a large part of the entire "goodnight" tradition.

The oldest recorded Anglo-American example of the hanged fiddler tradition is the well-known story of "Macpherson's Farewell." James Macpherson, a gypsy said to have been an illegitimate son of the Macpherson family of Ivernesshire, Scotland, became a freebooter and was executed 16 November 1700, at the Cross of Banff. Macpherson seems to have been a celebrated fiddler, and tradition has it that, according to the best-known account, "before his execution he played a 'rant' or dirge on his favorite violin, offered the keepsake to anyone in the crowd who would think well of him, and receiving no response, broke it and threw it into the open grave by his side." One version has it that "he played the tune to which he has bequeathed his name" and offered the fiddle "to anyone of his clan who would undertake to play the tune over his body at the lyke-wake; as none answered he dashed it to pieces on the executioner's head, and flung himself from the ladder." According to an historian of Banff, Macpherson performed both "the 'Rant' and pibroch of his own composition," and a still more generous version credits Macpherson with the rendition under the gallows tree of three of his own compositions, "Macpherson's Rant," "Macpherson's Pibroch," and "Macpherson's Farewell." There are many other interesting details of Macpherson, including his betrayal and capture and the advancing of the town clock so that the execution could be accomplished before the arrival of a reprieve, but our interest lies
in the story of the fiddle and the attendant textual-melodic traditions.

Of the three musical compositions attributed to Macpherson, only "Macpherson's Farewell" (although it is sometimes titled "Macpherson's Rant") is known, and usually in the rewritten form which Robert Burns sent to Johnson's Musical Museum. Texts now in oral circulation in Scotland seem naturally influenced to some extent by Burns' version, and they also incorporate details not in the broadside "The Last Words of James Macpherson, Murderer," printed apparently in 1701. I can agree with the accepted position that the broadside is the ultimate basis of the present texts, though not with the statement that the broadside is in part an imitation of the "farewell" of Captain John Johnson, hanged at Tyburn in 1690. Be that as it may, further doubt has been cast on the traditional story of James Macpherson's authorship by the supposedly earlier Irish legend of a Jack Macpherson of Leinster who, as he was carried to the gallows, played a fine tune of his own composition on the bagpipe, which retains the name of Macpherson's tune to this day. William Harrison Ainsworth, who tells the tale in his Rookwood, gives as his source The History of the Rapparees, Belfast. This may be the chapbook A History of the Rogues and Rapparees which—according to T. Crofton Croker—was in the early 1820s "one of the most popular books among the peasantry." I have not been able to locate an item of that exact title, but have, through the courtesy of Leslie Shepard, seen passages from a chapbook The Lives and Actions of the Most Notorious Irish Highwaymen Tories and Rapparees, from Redmond O'Hanlon to Cahier Na Gappul. printed in Dublin, probably during the period Croker refers to. The section "Some Passages of the Life of Strong John Macpherson, a notorious Robber" relates that Macpherson at age nineteen inherited a pretty little income... which he made a shift to spend in the company of pert women and gamesters, in less than three years, during which he was always a leading man at hurlings, patrons, and matches of foot-ball. He was accounted in his time the strongest man in the nation; he could hold a hundred weight at arms' length in one hand, and would make little or nothing of twisting a new horse-shoe round like a gad; yet notwithstanding all his activity he was soon reduced to poverty, and so, from one step after another, brought to the gallows...

He was never known to murder anybody; nay he was very cautious of striking unless in his own defence; though in his time he committed more robberies single handed by far than Redmond O'Hanlon did, with whom he was acquainted, but with none of his gang. However, he was at last taken by treachery, and after being tried and found guilty was despatched by the common finisher of the law about 1678. As he was carried to the gallows, he played a fine tune of his own composing on the bagpipe, which retains the name of Macpherson's tune to this day.

While the publication of the chapbook does not antedate the Scottish Macpherson, the traditional date of the Irish execution does. And some information must have been available to W.E. Henley and T.F. Henderson, who commented in 1897 that the Macpherson "legend may derive from an Irish story." Confirmation of an Irish tradition is found in a "Clan March" noted in 1904 from an Irish fiddler in County Antrim. Its collector, Hubert Hughes, reported—

Tradition has it that once upon a time, about a hundred years ago, a man was going to be hanged for stealing something—a sheep, maybe. He was asked what he would like before he died. So he asked for his pipes, and marched to the gallows playing this—the war march of his own clan. He was a MacVillain. Some people consider this to be a march of the Macphersons.
The traditional date of 1804 might imply that this is an Irish reflection of the Scots Macpherson legend, but it is assuredly connected, as the second strain of the "Clan March" is a variant of the second strain of "Macpherson's Farewell." One wonders indeed if this is not a wider Celtic tradition. The Italian physician Girolamo Cardano commented in his Somniorum Synesiorum of 1562:

But as for fortitude, the Highland Scots are the most wonderful. They, when they are led to execution, take a piper with them; and he, who is himself often one of the condemned, plays them up dancing to their death.\textsuperscript{15}

The ballad of "Macpherson's Farewell" was not recovered from tradition in North American until 1961, when a two-stanza fragment was found in Vermont,\textsuperscript{16} but the legend of the hanged fiddler has an interesting if curiously confined tradition in the United States.

In 1909, Katherine Jackson French on a collecting trip near London, Kentucky, found two boys who "played and sang Callahan's Confession—a local example of the old Goodnights—modeled, unconsciously, after Macpherson's Farewell or Lord Maxwell's Goodnight, which were composed, when existed the fashion of celebrating in historical song—the scene at the gallows when an outlaw sang his confession, urging his hearers to live rightly, and broke his fiddle across his knee if no one cared for it as a memorial before he was hanged.\textsuperscript{17} But the first published report seems to be that of E.C. Perrow, who commented in 1912 that "Some years ago an outlaw named Callahan was executed in Kentucky. Just before his execution he sat on his coffin and played and sang a ballad of his own composing, and, when he had finished, broke his musical instrument over his knee. The situation is, of course, the same as that of Burns' 'Macpherson's Farewell.'\textsuperscript{18} Jean Thomas also reported the tradition in 1931,\textsuperscript{19} and extensive textual and melodic records were collected by Alan and Elizabeth Lomax in 1937 and 1938.\textsuperscript{20} The melody of Figure 1, which agrees essentially with that recorded by the Lomaxes, is from an unpublished collection from Brown County, Indiana, deposited in the Library of Congress c. 1965-1966.\textsuperscript{21}

One of the fullest "Callahan" legends accompanying this tune was given to Alan Lomax by Oscar Parks of Deuchars, Indiana, 1938. Parks, originally from Livingston, Kentucky, reported that he learned the tune from an old man by the name of Bob Lehr, in Jackson County, Kentucky. A John Callahan was being hanged for the killing of a man during a feud. While on the gallows, Callahan offered his fiddle to anyone who would "come up there and sit down with him and play that tune..." No one would comply, for fear of being shot, and in his last moments Callahan "busted that fiddle all to pieces over that coffin." Parks also recounted Callahan's marriage, while in prison, to a girl named Betsy Larkin who then lived with him in jail, from four to six months, in Manchester, Clay County, Kentucky. Parks dated the event between 1898 and 1908. In a later interview 30 December 1963, Parks told a similar story, but gave as a reason for the killing a fight over the attentions of Betsy Larkin. Parks sang two stanzas to the tune, one in 1938--

What are you gonna do with the pretty Betsy Larkin
Whenever John Callahan's dead and gone?
What are you gonna do with the pretty Betsy Larkin
Oh, fare you well my pretty little one,
Oh, fare you well, my darling.
FIGURE 2

What you gonna do with the pretty Betsy Larkin? The jury says I've got to be hung.

What you gonna do with the pretty Betsy Larkin?

Fare you well my pretty little one.

Oh, fare you well my darling.
--and one in 1963 (see Figure 2).

A complete identification of the actors and the date of the actions in this legend is not yet possible. Oscar Parks' reference to a feud would place the action not in Clay, but in Breathitt County, Kentucky, the center of the Callahan-Hargis and Callahan-Deaton "wars." (A change of venue could, of course, account for an execution in Clay County.) Breathitt County descendants of noted feudist John Abe Callahan insist that he was shot, not hanged. "None of them ever got hung unless the other side caught them out in the woods somewhere and just wanted to amuse themselves." The legal hanging of a feuding Callahan would have been a well-marked event. Other testimony seems to point to a different and earlier background.

On 6 March 1944, Mrs. Herman R. Santen of Paris, Kentucky, wrote to the Archive of American Folksong requesting a copy of the words and music of "Callahan." Mrs. Santen noted:

As the story goes one Isaac Callahan was accused falsely and condemned to death for a crime of which he was innocent. Knowing he was to hang, he built his coffin, and taking his fiddle he played while his sister danced upon his coffin. Later the tune was called "Callahan." This man was a brother of my great grandmother Charlotte Callahan.

In a later letter, 6 March 1947, Mrs. Santen repeated the legend, which she had learned from her father (himself a fiddler) and from Charlotte Callahan's granddaughter (who died in 1940 aged 91). We also learn that Isaac Callahan was the son of an Ed Callahan and "the grandson of a full blooded Cherokee Indian chief, Tenn Brock," that Charlotte Callahan had a daughter married in 1822 and a grandson born in 1858. Thus Mrs. Santen's conjectural dating of the Isaac Callahan as "at least 100 years ago" seems plausible, agreeing with the note by A. Porter Hamblen:

Callahan was convicted of murdering a Jewish peddler and legally hanged at Barbourville, Kentucky, May 15, 1835. At the hour of his execution he requested to be allowed to play a farewell on his violin. While seated on his coffin he played this tune which since has borne his name. He then handed the violin to the sheriff, was lead onto the gallows and the trap sprung, sending Callahan to his maker.

Mrs. Santen rightly suggested searching the records in Manchester, Clay County, for "the date of the marriage of Callahan to Bessie Larkin."

Betsy Larkin is remembered in a game often beginning:

Steal, steal, old Betty Larkin, (3)
Also my dear darling.

This play-party song has been reported in the Southern Appalachians, the Ozarks, and as far west as Oklahoma, with the name sometimes appearing as "Betsy Diner," "Rosa Betsy Lina," and so on. Whenever I have encountered it, the tune seems to be a worn down set of the "Callahan" air. Only documentary evidence will discount the conjecture that Betsy Larkin entered the legend because her name coincidentally occurred in a game-song variant of the fiddle tune, but I believe it more likely that the game-song stems from the song associated with Callahan, the hanged fiddler, which Oscar Parks recalls his father singing when he returned from town.

The instrumental tune titled "Callahan" roughly parallels that of the game-song. (It has been reported by title from the Ozarks.) In West Virginia it is apparently called "Calloway," (although I have not been able to verify that the tune is
"Callahan"):

The title Calloway was named for an important event which took place in Madison,
Boone County, West Virginia around 1950. A man named Calloway was to be hanged for
the crime of murder. Before the hanging took place, Calloway asked for a fiddle
and played a tune which was remembered by those in attendance, and which has been
handed down to the present day.26

Alan Lomax did record "Callahan's Reel" at St. James, Beaver
Island, Michigan in 1938 (AAFS 2269B1). This occurrence could
be due to the presence of "Callahan" in the repertoire of hillbilly
performers on radio and phonograph recordings in the 1920s.29
But Beaver Island is in many ways a "Little Ireland,"30 and
it is tempting to postulate that an Irish tune called "Callahan's
Reel," bearing with it the hanged fiddler tradition, became at-
tached to the Kentuck ray Callahan. I have been unable to discover
the tune in Ireland under a "Callahan" title, but the Beaver
Island tune, a version distinct from the Southern tunes I have
heard, supports the postulation.

Remaining to be noted is an interesting development in the
"Callahan" form of the hanged fiddler legend. Marion Theede com-
ments on the western incidence of "The Last of Callahan":

... the fiddlers in Arkansas and Oklahoma couple it with the demise of a horse
thief. The story goes that he had been caught by the posse and was unwillingly
standing up in a wagon under a tree. A rope had already been passed around his neck
and thrown over a limb. When he was asked if he had any "last words," he said he
wanted to play the fiddle one last time. In his standing position he played an un-
named tune and then handed the fiddle down to one of the bystanders ... and the
likeness of his tune became The Last of Callahan.31

The disposition of the fiddle is more specific in the version given
to Alan Lomax by the former Kentuckian Pete Steele at Hamilton,
Ohio, in 1938:

He was a violin player ... an' he killed a man and when they went to hang him
why he had his coffin brough and he had his violin with him and he sit down on
his coffin and when he told 'em, he says, "I want to play 'Callahan,' and if there's
anyone in the crowd that can play 'Callahan,' I'm a-gonna give him the fiddle."
... Somebody played it, but I don't remember my daddy said it was, and anyway
he give the fiddle to him, and they took him on out and hung him.32

Leaving the identity of John or Isaac Callahan "hanging,"
we are on firmer ground when we consider the case of the western
malefactor Edward Alonzo Pennington. Under a transparent dis-
guise he was celebrated by James Weir in a local novel of 1850,
Lonz Powers, or the Regulators. Lonz Pennington's Christian
County, Kentucky, career as a sharp business man, horse thief,
passer of counterfeit money, and murderer came to a close in 1845
when, to escape from the "regulators," Lonz fled to Texas, where
he was recognized a year later by a Kentucky visitor. It seems
that Pennington was a noted fiddler and was apprehended in
Lamar County, Texas, while playing the fiddle at a camp dance.33
Although other accounts, including Weir's novel, make no mention
of the tradition, Otto A. Rothert, in his A History of Muhlenberg
County writes:

There is a tradition to the effect that when Lonz stood on the scaffold with the
hangman's rope around his neck he asked for his old violin, which was handed to
him, and he played a musical composition of his own, entitled "Pennington's Fare-
well." ... One version has it that the day Pennington was hanged he not only play-
ed "Pennington's Farewell" on his violin but also recited what has ever since been
Old Joe Coleman killed his wife, Old Joe Coleman

killed his wife, Old Joe Coleman killed his wife with a

great big butcher, great big butcher knife.
referred to as "Pennington's Lament":

Oh, dreadful, dark and dismal day,
How have my joys all passed away!
My sun's gone down, my days are done,
My race on earth has now been run. 34

This stanza of "Pennington's Lament" not only parallels the standard incipits of seventeenth-century "goodnights," but is a variant of the opening stanza of the ballad of "Frankie Silvers," the "farewell" of a Toe River, North Carolina, murderess hanged 12 July 1833.35 If "Pennington's Lament" was performed, as one might expect, to a form of the "Frankie Silvers" tune, the latter is not melodically related to any "hanged fiddler" tune known to me.

Local historians searched in vain for "Pennington's Farewell," the tune he reputedly fiddled from the gallows. Gayle Carver, then of the Kentucky Library of Western Kentucky State College, told me that an old Negro fiddler of Muhlenberg County said that he knew it and had played it, but he was unable to perform it for Carver. However, in 1955, Henry L. Trice of Madisonville, Kentucky, reported to me that his great-aunt, a distant relative of Alonzo Pennington, once played "The Last of Pennington." She was no longer able to fiddle, but she remarked that the tune was really "Blackberry Blossoms." (She confirmed this when I interviewed her in 1965.)36 The remark was revealing indeed, for the tune usually titled "Blackberry Blossoms" is not only a well-known Irish-American tune, but is clearly a variant of "The Last of Callahan."37 When in 1965 I was able to record performances titled "Pennington's Farewell,"38 I found that the tune association was correct, though the performers recalled no story associated with the tune. Whether or not it was associated with either Macpherson or Callahan in Scotland or Ireland, "Blackberry Blossoms" seems to carry with it a hanged fiddler tradition.

From legends of eastern and western Kentucky, we now turn to south-central Kentucky for the legend of Joe Coleman, the only white man ever hanged in Cumberland County (24 May 1847). According to The Herald Almanac for 1899 (Burkesville, Kentucky), Coleman was accused of killing his wife at Slate Fork, Adair County.

His wife went to the woods to get some bark, after she had gone he took his shoe-knife—he was shoemaker—and went to the woods also, as he said, to cut a "rock." He came in after a while with her in his arms, dead, and claimed that he had found her dead and murdered. The shoe-knife was found close to the place of the tragedy with blood stains on it. Upon this and other evidence purely circumstantial he was convicted. His wife's sister lived with them at the time and she was the main witness against him... Coleman was granted a change of venue from Adair to Cumberland County.

Clarence Rush, a great-grandson of one of the jurors, told me in August 1956 that Coleman's mother-in-law lived with the Colemans. Joe had smothered her with a pillow and feared his wife knew about his crime. Old John Rush said that Coleman on the witness stand kept repeating he did not kill his wife but knew who did. And Old John Rush said, "Any man who knows who killed his wife and won't tell it ought to have his neck broke." The other jurors apparently agreed. According to Louise Sartin, formerly of Willow Shade, Metcalfe County, "The story goes that around fifty years later, an old lady confessed on her death bed that she had killed Joe Coleman's wife." In 1959, J.O. Bolton, who had a country store near Coe Ridge in Cumberland County, told me that he had read in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat about twenty-five years before that
a man had confessed to the killing of Coleman's wife. "They hung
Joe Coleman for nothin'." Though the printed account in the
Burkesville almanac relates that Coleman's body was taken back
to Adair County for burial, Clarence Rush had heard that after
the execution, Coleman was taken away by relatives, revived, put
on a steamboat on the Cumberland river, and taken to Nashville.
He later went out west. It may be but coincidence that not only
does J.O. Bolton move the legend west, but another account of the
confession places it in the mouth of a "woman out west." At any
rate, Joe Coleman is still remembered in Cumberland and adjacent
counties in Kentucky. But of immediate interest is the account of
his execution. I have reports from recent oral tradition, but here
is a continuation of the report in the Herald Almanac:

He was driven from the jail... on a two wheel ox-cart and sat on his coffin and
played "Coleman's March" on the violin as he was taken to the gallows.... There
was no scaffold and the rope was adjusted and the cart driven from under him and
left him dangling.... He met death without a tremor and pled innocence to the
last.... Tonnie low beat the drum and Evans Shaw played the fife.

What did Joe Coleman play as he was driven to the gallows? The
consensus of opinion in south-central Kentucky is that "Coleman's March" is essentially the tune shown in Figure 3, which was performed on a commercial hillbilly recording (Page 501) by the late Finley "Red" Beicher 40 who probably learned it traditionally in
his native Monroe county (adjacent to Cumberland) in Kentucky.

Lynwood Montell and I have heard variants of this melody
as a fiddle tune41 and as a song as well. The tune in Figure
4 was performed at Bowling Green, Kentucky, 6 July 1956, by
Louise Sartin, who learned it from her grandmother, Polly Jane
Sartin of Willowshade, Kentucky.42 Intensive field work in south-
central Kentucky has yielded variants of this stanza43 and also
two more stanzas, indicating that the ballad (for this is a bal-
lad, whatever its length) must—as a number of informants have
insisted—have been more extensive:

Joe Coleman, what have you done (3)
That now they say you must be hung?
I've killed my wife, that's what I've done, (3)
And now they say I must be hung. 44

Furthermore, the fieldwork confirmed my suspicion that there was
more to the Joe Coleman legend than has been related. In August,
1956, Ernest Coop of the Pea Ridge section of Cumberland County,
while arguing with his wife over the length of the song, remarked
that before Joe Coleman was hanged he offered his fiddle to any-
one who could play the tune as well as he. "So Franz Prewitt
stepped up and played the tune, and he gave him the fiddle."
Franz Prewitt's son, John, who lived near by and was active and
alert despite his years, knew only that his father had been a
fine fiddler. The fiddle John "heirred" from his father is supposed-
ly now in the possession of John's daughter in Indianapolis,
Indiana, but no member of the family I interviewed knew of the
legend.

It is clear that the legend of the hanged fiddler is not tied
to a single tune. "Coleman's March" is a variant of neither the
"Macpherson's Farewell-Clan March" tune nor the "Callahan-
Pennington-Blackberry Blossoms" tune, but appears as "New Rigg'd
Ship, or Miss Findlay's Delight" in Neil Gow's A Second Collection
of Strathspey Reels &c (Edinburgh, 1788), as "The Raw Recruit"
in The American Veteran Fifer (rev. ed. by Henry Fillmore, Cincinnati, c. 1927), as "Old Hickory" in Ira W. Ford's Traditional Music of America (New York, 1940). Samuel P. Bayard collected it about 1932-1934 as an unnamed instrumental piece in the repertory of Samuel P. Losch, a seventy-year-old fiddler of Centre County, Pennsylvania. Alan Jabbour has encountered it in central North Carolina usually titled "Chapel Hill Serenade" and in Patrick and Carroll Counties, Virginia, as "Joe Dobbins," "Green Willis," and "Jackson's March." Marion Thede collected it in Oklahoma as "Coleman Killed His Wife," without words or legend, but it is another interesting connection of Joe Coleman with "the West." However, another interesting facet of the legend of "Coleman's March" was revealed 4 April 1960, by the late Pat Kingery, leader of a hillbilly band in Glasgow, Kentucky.

Kingery was originally from Nobob, Barren County, and said that he learned "Coleman's March" from an old time fiddler many years ago. He performed two versions, one containing a "third part," which he could not quite remember. His first version is transcribed in Figure 5. After he played the tune, he told the following story:

Well it was written in—this fellow was connected with the spy service some way, and evidently he must've been an officer of some kind. And these men that was detailed to go with him to get whatever information he wanted was killed. And of course they captured him. And of course in those days they didn't bother to shoot you. They made an example of you by hangin' you. So at sunsrise or whenever the appointed time was for his execution, y'know, and they were fixin' to march him down to this place where they were goin' to hang him, why this band strikes up this ad lib piece, y'know, and plays it more or less in mockery of him to start with, y'see, and then they said, "All right, we'll just call it 'Coleman's March.'" That's the tale on it. Now true it is remains to be seen.

Thus we have not only a tradition that attaches itself to different tunes, but a tune that gathers to itself different traditions, even if Kingery's was but a sudden inspiration. Nor is this the only interesting thing about "Coleman's March." I naturally asked most every old time fiddler I met during Kentucky fieldwork if he knew tunes such as "Callahan," "The Last of Pennington," and "Coleman's March!"—and if he knew stories about any of them. On 6 April 1961, I asked Gene Connors of Bowling Green, Kentucky, if he could play "Coleman's March." He could and did (see Figure 5). This "Coleman's March" is obviously not a variant of the tune associated with Joe Coleman, but related to "The Jaunting Car," best known in the United States as the tune to "The Bonnie Blue Flag." Yet it is the tune known as "Coleman's March" to a number of performers in Warren County, Kentucky. Effie Wilson, of Marrowbone, Kentucky, once told me that there was a published "Coleman's March" tune differing from the one associated with Joe Coleman, but I have not discovered it.

In my investigations of the "fiddler's farewell" tradition, I felt that there might well be a belief in the magical character of music underlying the legend. When I discussed the matter with Linda Dégh, she immediately pointed out to me that I was dealing with a form of a well known Hungarian legend of the tenth-century warrior Lél (Lehel) captured by the Germans. Brought before the German emperor, Lél was given his choice of deaths. He asked for his horn or bugle (Kürt) to blow once before he gave his answer. He approached the Emperor as if to blow the horn, then struck the emperor so hard that he died instantly. Lél then said
FIGURE 6

(To begin)

(To repeat)

(To continue)

(To end)
that the emperor would therefore walk before him and serve him in the other world. 50

The exact relationship of this thirteenth- or fourteenth-century legend to Scots-Irish tradition is not yet clear. The tradition seems attached to French-Canadian fiddle tunes 51 and may well be found in many other areas. The Anglo-American pattern seems to have diffused from Ireland to Kentucky and then east and west, attaching itself to different tunes, 52 but collection is far from adequate. My experience has demonstrated that much can be found if one searches diligently and asks the proper questions. I must confess that I now suspect the incidence of the "hanged fiddler" behind every conceivable title. There has been recorded in eastern Kentucky a tune called "The Last of Sizemore," 53 and a collector may find an informant whose legendary account will add yet another tune to our array of "fiddler's farewells." But the association of tune and legend remains an important field of investigation.

University of California
Los Angeles

Notes

1 This article is a revision, extension, and correction of "Fiddler's Farewell: The Legend of the Hanged Fiddler," Studia Musicologica (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae) 7 (1965): 195-209. For aid in developing both the original article and this revision I am indebted to Samuel P. Bayard, Ed Cray, Marianna D. Birnbaum, Linda Dégh, Pat Dunford, Yvonne Gregory, Wayland D. Hand, Joseph Hickerson, Alan Jabbour, Leslie Shepard, L. Wayne Smith, and Marlon Theede.

2 Dictionary of National Biography (Great Britain), s.v. "Macpherson, James (d. 1700)."

3 Robert Hartley Cromek, Select Scottish Historical Songs (London, 1810), vol. 1, p. iii.

4 James Inlach, History of Banff (Banff, 1668; reprint, 1908), p. 28.


6 See also The Miscellany of the Spalding Club 3 (1846): 175-91; Alexander Mackenzie, Historical Tales and Legends of the Highlands (Inverness, 1878), pp. 25-31; Robert Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland (Edinburgh and London, 1861), pp. 233-34.


9 See James Maidment, Scottish Ballads and Songs (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 29-34. This

10 So the note in The Poetry of Robert Burns, ed. W.E. Henley and T.F. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1897), vol. 3, p. 307. The judgment seems influenced by the presence of "Captain Johnson's Last Farewell" in Maidment (pp. 87-91), which the editors consulted for the text of "Macpherson's Rant." Johnson's "goodnight" is part of a related group beginning at least with "The Lord Russell's Last Farewell to the World" of July 1863, printed in the Roxborough Ballads, ed. J.W. Esbworth (Hertford, 1885), vol. 5, pp. 690-91. Among other members of the group are "Rebellion Rewarded with Justice; or The Last Farewell of the late Duke of Monmouth . . . July 15, 1685," ibid., vol. 5, p. 692; "The Sorrowful Lamentation of the Widows of the West," ibid., vol. 5, p. 724; "Captain Johnson's Love's Lamentation," The Pepys Ballads, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929-1932); "The Traitor's Trouble" (1690), ibid., vol. 5, pp. 329-32; "The Murtherer's Moan; or the Penitent Lamentation of J.B. Gent' for the Murther of his Wife Elizabeth" (1691), ibid., vol. 5, pp. 119-21; "Captain Whitney's Confession" (1 February 1693), ibid., vol. 6, pp. 322-23; "The Notorious Robber's Lamentation; or Whitney's Sorrowful Ditty," The Bagford Ballads, ed. J.W. Esbworth (Hertford, 1878), vol. 2, pp. 556-61, where it is dated December 1694 (Rollins, Pepys, vol. 6, p. 315n, presents convincing evidence for the earlier dating of Whitney's execution); "Francis Winter's Last Farewell" (17 May 1693), Bagford, vol. 1, pp. 230-38; "Fateful Love; or the Young Maiden's Tragedy" (1704), ibid., pp. 47-48. In addition to the "goodnight" commonplace, these ballads share 1) a tune and 2) a tendency (with the exception of "Russell's Farewell," "The Widows of the West," and "Fateful Love") to employ the same half line (sometimes with a slight variation) to close each stanza with a type of refrain: "Rebellion Rewarded with Justice" ("to strike the fatal blow"); "The Notorious Robber's Lamentation" ("Stout Whitney lies in hold"), "Captain Johnson's Last Farewell" ("The Laws are most severe"), and so on. The broadside text of "Macpherson's Rant" employs, though not consistently, "to hang upon a tree." For a discussion of the tune "Russell's Farewell" and accompanying ballad texts, see Claude M. Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1968), pp. 621-24. There were certainly models later than "Captain Johnson's Farewell" for the writer of "Macpherson's Rant" to imitate. Maidment's printing of the broadside includes no designation of tune.

11 William Harrison Ainsworth, Rookwood, 2nd ed. (London, 1834?), Book 1, Chapter 9, p. 63.


13 Ibid.

14 Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society, nos. 2-3 (July-October, 1904): 51.


16 Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England, compiled and ed. by Helen Hartness Flanders (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960-1964), vol. 3, p. 189. The singer recalled the stanzas from his childhood in Wick, Scotland, and associated them with Child 173, although he sang them to a differing tune (which is not printed).


18 JAF 25 (1912): 153n.

19 Devil's Ditties (Chicago: W. Wilbur Hatfield, 1931), p. 54.

1938. A 1976 recording of the tune from Mr. and Mrs. Jessie Sheilor, Meadows of Dan, Patrick Co., Virginia, is available on Folktracks TFS-USA-30-903 (cassette).

21 A COLLECTION of violin tunes popular during the early 1800s as played by David Russell Hamblen (1809-1893) and his son Williamson (1846-1920) arranged and copied by A. Porter Hamblen (1875-195-), son of Williamson. According to the manuscript David Russell Hamblen moved from Cumberland Gap, Lee County, Virginia, to Brown County, Indiana in 1857. "Callahan" was translated from the performance of his son Williamson in the 1890s by John Marshall Gillaspie (1887-1952), a grandson of David R. Hamblen's brother, and by A. Porter Hamblen. I have included only the treble line from the piano arrangement by Hanly A. Cartwright.

22 AAFS 1728A2; cf. Lonax, Our Singing Country, p. 56.
23 Recorded by Patrick Dunford and Art Rosenbaum, 30 December 1963.
24 Letter from Ethel Owens, 29 May 1959.
25 A COLLECTION of violin tunes popular during the 1800s (see note 21, above).
29 Dykes Magic City Trio, "Callahan's Reel," Vocalion 5181; Fiddlin' Powers and Family, "Callahan's Reel," Victor 19450; Roane County Ramblers, "Callahan Rag," Columbia 15570-D. On 13 January 1930, Fiddlin' Doc Roberts and Asa Martin recorded an unreleased master (16087) for Gennett Records. Identical printings of "Callahan" are found in Frankie Moore and Cousin Emmy's Chimney Corner Songs (John Lair, Chicago, 1936) and Renfro Valley Keepsake (c. 1940, Renfro Valley Enterprises, Kentucky). (A recent bluegrass recording is "Fiddler's Farewell" by Mac Martin & the Dixie Travelers, Rural Rhythm RRM 201).
32 AAFS 1707A. Steele's banjo rendition of "Callahan" is copied by Art Rosenbaum on Folk Banjo Styles, Elektra EKL-217. Steele also tells a tale connected with a "Harlan County Farewell Tune" in which a banjo picker leaving by train for army service improvises a tune and then gives his banjo away. The "Harlan County Farewell Tune" is copied by Art Rosenbaum, and Steele's performance and tale are preserved in the collection of Ed Kahn.
33 William Henry Perrin, County of Christian, Kentucky (Chicago and Louisville, 1884), pp. 72-81; Charles Mayfield Meachen, A History of Christian County, Kentucky (Nashville, Tennessee, 1930), pp. 74-77; The Life Flight, Capture, Trial and Execution of Edward Alonzo Pennington (Pembroke Review, 1898; reprint of pamphlet issued by Hopkinsville Gazette, 1846). A typescript of the original pamphlet is in the Western Kentucky Folklore Archive, University of California, Los Angeles.
36 The tune association was also volunteered on 21 August 1965, by an unidentified informant (who stated that her great-great-aunt had married Lonzo Pennington's son). The informant also recalled words to the tune:
I think I'll stay here tonight
And go see the hangin' by broad daylight
(or: Go see the hangin' in the sunshine bright.)
She also recalled other facets of the Lonzo Pennington legend, such as the breaking of the rope when he was being hanged. (Western Kentucky Folklore Archive, UCLA, T7-134.)
37 The Complete Collection of Irish Music as Noted by George Petrie, ed. Charles W. Villiers Stanford (London, 1902), #475. Not all tunes titled "Blackberry Blossom" are the tune we are concerned with; on the other hand, references to the "correct" tune
(especially those on recent sound recordings) would be immense. Therefore, the follow-
ing limited notes: Francis O'Neill, The Music of Ireland (Chicago, 1903; reprint New-
York: Oak Publications, 1976), #1295; Elizabeth Burchenal, Rince Na Eireann (New York,
1924), p. 40; The Robbins Collection of 200 Jigs, Reels and Country Dances (New York,
c. 1933), p. 40; R.P. Christie, The Old-Time Fiddler's Repertory (Columbia: University
of Missouri Press, 1973), p. 101; William Quinn, Columbia 3566 (1922); William Quinn,
Crown 3403 (1932); Burnett and Rutledge, Columbia 15567-D (1930); Ed Morrison, AAFS
S00A (Ashland, Kentucky, 1934); Tommy Hunter, Prestige/International 13026 (1961); Uncle
Charlie Higgins, The 37th Old-Time Fiddlers Convention at Union Grove, N.C., Folkways
FA2434 (1962); John Kelly, Topic/Freem Reed 12TF 5504. French Carpenter performs the
tune under the title "Yew Piney Mountains" on Traditional Songs and Tunes from West
Virginia (Folk Promotions, Charleston, West Virginia, 1964). Carpenter told me on 25
July 1964 that he also performs "Blackberry Blossoms," which he considers another tune.
38 Street Butler and Roosevelt Phelps, Todd County, Kentucky, 17 August 1965 (WKFA,
T-7-131); Street Butler and Lucien Stokes, Todd County, Kentucky, 18 August 1965 (WKFA,
T-7-123).
39 Nancy Buchanan, Cumberland County, Kentucky, September 1959. (Typescript, WKFA.)
The tale of the supposedly dead criminal who is spirited away is (like the tale of the
rope breaking at Pennington's execution) a Sage. For example, Michael Hegarty, arrested
for the murder of Lord Leitrim in County Donegal, Ireland, in 1878, supposedly died
of "typhus fever resulting from a cold." But legend has it that the death and burial
were staged and that Hegarty was spirited away to America (Irish Folklife Collections,
University College, Dublin, Ms. #619, pp. 208-212; Ms. na Scoil, 1083, pp. 64-65; 1085,
pp. 163-64; 1090, pp. 184-87, 480-83; 1091, pp. 23-30. Ballads and other traditions
concerning the assassination of Lord Leitrim are too numerous to cite here.
40 See also Red Belcher's Song Book and Picture Album (New York: Dixie Music, c. 1940);
and an identical printing in Buck Beeman's (The Fiddlin' Fool From Kansas) and his Western
41 WKFA, T-7-75 (Barren County, 1961). A fiddler in Monroe County was unable to perform
the tune because it was the only piece he played in a particular tuning which he had
forgotten.
42 WKFA, T-7-7.
43 WKFA, T-7-23, T-7-25, T-7-32, T-7-66, T-7-86, T-7-101, T-7-102, T-7-103; Donnie Polston,
Cumberland Co., Typescript, 1962. J.O. Bolton, referred to above, also performed the
stanzas, which we did not record.
44 Nora McGee, Glasgow, Kentucky, 3 August 1961; also in the Buchanan typescript.
45 The Bayard Manuscript, Instrumental Music Collection, State College, Pennsylvania.
46 Ibid., p. 36.
47 WKFA, T-7-42.
48 WKFA, T-7-66. Both Conners and Will Howell recall learning it from a "Squire" Sam
Harmon.
50 Jenö Pinter, Magyar Irodalomtörténet (Budapest, 1930), vol. 1, pp. 75-77.
51 "Hangman's Reel," Jean Carignan, Elektra EXL-266/EKS-7266; "Reel du Pendu," Louis
Beaudoin's tale, in which a non-fiddler on the gallows is told he will be freed if he
can play a tune, and does so, is close to AT 592.
52 In 1965 I received from Patrick Dunford a taped performance of "Callahan" recorded
from a fiddler in Virginia. This tune agrees with none of the others associated with
the hanged fiddler.
53 Boyd Asher, Hyden, Kentucky, 1937, AAFS 152581; Luther Strong, Hazard, Kentucky,
1937, AAFS 135782. The tune is known throughout the southern United States as "Green
Corn" ("Hot Corn, Cold Corn, Bring Along Your Jimmy-John"), "Sook Pied," and so on.
GENRE STUDIES
GENRE, SUBJECT MATTER, AND CULTURE: 
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF 
ENGLISH AND GERMAN JOCULAR BALLADS AND TALES

Klaus Roth

The genres of folklore and the concept of genre have received much attention in the past.1 Despite various recent shifts in research interests this trend will certainly continue; after all, as Toelken admits, genres are useful categories because they allow us "to group similar items together for purposes of analysis and discussion."2 Whether we conceive of genres as heuristic, noetic, or ontological categories, as variable or as permanent forms, they will remain a necessary prerequisite and tool for theoretical work in folklore.

One of the major problems in genre research is the question whether folklore genres have specific properties that attract certain subject matters and reject others, or, in other words, whether the same narrative content may occur in a Märchen, a legend, an epic, a ballad, or in other genres. One possibility of testing that assumption and of thus elucidating the nature of genre is the comparative analysis of narrative themes in different genres. The present contribution concentrates on the thematic relationship between narrative songs and prose tales.

The comparative study of prose and song traditions dates well back into the nineteenth century. Francis J. Child, for example, made numerous comments on prose parallels in his edition of The English and Scottish Popular Ballads.3 Like most scholars of his time, he was primarily interested in the origins and sources of the ballads; this interest also guided Arthur Beatty, who wrote the first comparative study of "Ballad, Tale and Tradition" in 1914.4 The first systematic comparison of ballad and prose themes was made by Gene Morokoff. who researched "Whole Tale Parallels in the Child Ballads as Cited or Given by Child or in FFC 74."5 Though Morokoff only stated the parallels and did not discuss generic problems, these issues are touched upon in the comprehensive studies of Hinrich Siuts, Archer Taylor, David Shuldiner, and Oldřich Sirovátká.6

In view of the fact that ballads are usually defined as folk-songs that tell a story,7 one is led to assume that the thematic relationship between ballad and tale should be quite strong. The evidence presented in these studies, however, appears to be proof of the contrary: Morokoff, Siuts, Taylor, and Shuldiner demonstrate that the number of whole tale parallels in the ballads is actually rather small. For Archer Taylor, who also summarizes Siuts' findings, this "rather small number of either English or German parallels is not surprising. Ballad and tale differ greatly."8 Shuldiner elaborates on these differences and attempts to prove the more comprehensive hypothesis that in English ballads and tales there is "a tendency toward complementary distribution of subject matter."9 He claims that most of the few whole tale parallels Morokoff gave have unknown English versions and must therefore be discarded as proper parallels—if we remain within the boundaries of one ethnic tradition. English ballads and tales differ greatly in
their structure and are subject to "two different processes. . .
bearing on the selection and presentation of narrative content," so that "the two diverge in narrative style, form, and content." Like Morokoff and Taylor, Shuldiner based his analysis on the Child ballads; the English prose parallels were drawn from Baughman's *Type and Motif Index*.11

There can be no reasonable doubt of the validity of these results. They have to be judged, however, according to the restrictions and on the premises which the authors imposed implicitly or explicitly, on their analyses. First of all, the authors apply a rather narrow definition of the ballad. Morokoff, Taylor, and Shuldiner limit their study to the corpus of ballads sanctioned by Child. Child--as is only too well known--had a predilection for tragic and love ballads and excluded many humorous or allegedly "rude" songs.12 For a more comprehensive comparison of ballad and tale, the ballad will therefore have to be defined more loosely as a "dramatic narrative song" in the broadest sense; thus for the English tradition all ballads listed by Laws,13 as well as many broadside ballads of the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries that have survived only in print will have to be included in the analysis.

Secondly, the *Types of the Folktale* and similar indexes are compilations which include "only those tales which collectors have found in modern oral tradition," whereas "medieval religious narratives. . . exempla, anecdotes, legends and miracles are virtually completely lacking" in such publications.14 Since the historical and printed material is largely missing, these indexes can only serve as a basis for the synchronic study of thematic relations in recent oral traditions. Modern ballads or tales, however, may well have close parallels among tales or ballads that are now extinct in oral tradition. Diachronic influences, namely the flow of themes from one genre to another over longer time periods, will escape our attention unless we include tales and legends, jocular tales and jests, romances and exempla, fabliaux and novelle, anecdotes and facetiae in printed or manuscript originals dating from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries. The numerous jestbooks common during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries --to give but one example--offer a wealth of popular narrative material related to the ballad tradition. Unfortunately the English jestbooks have as yet received much less scholarly attention than have their German counterparts.15

Thirdly, the study of the thematic relationship between ballad and tale cannot be confined to whole tale parallels, but must encompass all common themes and motifs, be they central or marginal. Morokoff left this motif analysis to future scholars, and Taylor and Shuldiner give only occasional references to the *Motif Index*; only Siuts offers a detailed motif analysis of ballads, but only of the German material.

Finally, the generic differences between the categories of the folk tale (*Märchen*, religious legend, *sage*, jest, and so on) need closer attention. Morokoff never, and Shuldiner seldom, differentiates among these classes of narratives, whereas Siuts and Taylor are aware of such differences. "*Märchen* in particular are not suited for use in folksong. A *märchen* consists of several episodes . . . a ballad, novella, jest or *sage* consists typically of one incident," so that "the resemblances of *märchen* to ballads are largely confined to incidents. Whole tale parallels to folksongs are largely confined to genres other than *märchen*.16 Sirovátká states similarly that "Die Balladenhandlung ist für das 'richtige'
Märchen allzu schlicht und der Komplex der Märchenmotive für die Ballade wiederum zu kompliziert." Considering the predominance of Märchen in the Types of the Folktales, the small number of parallels seems only natural.

The shorter narrative forms thus appear to be more suitable for the structural and thematic requirements of the ballad. These genres share with the ballad not only their brevity and focus on one incident and dramatic conflict, but also a marked tendency toward realism and toward the presentation of individuals in extraordinary situations. Siuts stresses the frequent exchange of themes and motifs between ballad and saga, an observation that is supported by Röhrich who writes, "Ein grosser Teil der Sagenballaden bringt Stoffe, die auch in der Volksprosa, d.h. als 'Sage' vorhanden sind." Brednich, Taylor, and Sirovátka express the same view, but all authors point out that in the transition from saga to ballad the narrative content usually suffers specific changes. Many sagen are merely short accounts of beliefs and as such cannot be turned into full dramatic ballads.

Humorous narratives thus seem to be the kind of prose tales that are closest to the ballad. "Ballads and jests or novelle have much in common," so that jests and novelle "can be turned into ballads very easily." It is no coincidence then that one of the very few proper parallels which Shuldiner acknowledges "comes under the general heading of 'Jocular Tales';" in this jocular ballad (Child 275), "the joke . . . serves as the raison d'être of the narrative, subordinating narrative content and technique to the presentation of the 'punch line.'" Brednich emphasizes the close thematic relationship between German jocular ballads and tales; he groups these ballads according to their varying degrees of mutual thematic relations. Taylor and Sirovátka also stress the affinity of the two genres.

The present comparative study of the narrative content of jocular ballads and tales starts from the above premises and is based on the following source materials:

a) All obtainable dramatic narrative songs in the English and German languages from the fifteenth century to the present that deal with the theme of adultery in a comic way. Altogether, 59 English and 53 German jocular ballads of this kind with over 2000 variants could be found in manuscript collections and archives, in songbooks and chapbooks, on broadsides and broadsheets. As for their structure, content, comic and erotic elements, origins, and sources, the English and German ballads are very similar and have a very high proportion (30%) of close parallels. The ballads in general differ widely in form, means of transmission, and popularity.

[Since popularity, that is the extent to which these songs have been accepted by tradition bearers, will play an important role in the following analysis, a few words must be said on this point. Due to the lack of song collections prior to the late eighteenth century, the popularity of earlier ballads cannot be satisfactorily determined. Therefore, the style of the ballads, the number of extant printed versions, and the number of oral variants were all taken as indicators of a ballad's popularity or non-popularity.]

b) All obtainable jocular tales, jests, novelle, fabliaux, facetiae, and anecdotes from various printed sources and from oral tradition dealing with the same subject of adultery. The tales range from the Middle Ages to the present; most are from German, French, Italian, Dutch, British, and North American tale collections, from archives, and particularly from jestbooks of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. In addition, Thompson's and Baughman's tale type and motif indexes were evaluated.
The theme of adultery appears to have been extremely popular in tale and ballad from the late Middle Ages up to the nineteenth century. Not surprisingly therefore a large proportion of jocular songs deals with this subject. Such a massive amount of material can not be presented here in detail; I therefore refer the reader to my longer study. However, the results of the thematic comparison of jocular ballad and tale are summarized in the paragraphs which follow.

After the inclusion of all extant ballads and tales, the total number of prose parallels for the ballads is very high, even considering the affinity of the two genres. Thirty-five German ballads and thirty-three English ballads have either whole tale parallels or partial or similar prose parallels. Morokoff, Siuts, Taylor, and Shuldiner found it difficult to find exact tale type and motif numbers for the majority of the ballads; Siuts and other scholars therefore advocated the creation of corresponding indexes for ballad themes and motifs. For the jocular ballads, however, the indexes proved to be quite helpful. Twenty-three English and twenty-seven German ballads are fully or partially represented in Thompson's index.

Parallels in The Types of the Folktales

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Parallels</th>
<th>English Ballads</th>
<th>German Ballads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whole Parallels</td>
<td>20 (34%)</td>
<td>24 (45%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial Parallels</td>
<td>13 (22%)</td>
<td>11 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Parallels</td>
<td>26 (44%)</td>
<td>18 (34%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whole Parallels</td>
<td>13 (22%)</td>
<td>16 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial Parallels</td>
<td>10 (17%)</td>
<td>11 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>36 (61%)</td>
<td>26 (49%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thompson's Motif-Index provided even greater help in identifying the ballad motifs, partly because it includes historical material and partly because it contains some explicit ballad motifs (like K1549.4). The central motifs of 43 English and 39 German ballads are exactly or approximately identified in the index.

Parallels in the Motif-Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Motif</th>
<th>English Ballads</th>
<th>German Ballads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exact</td>
<td>31 (52.5%)</td>
<td>32 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar</td>
<td>12 (10.5%)</td>
<td>7 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Central Motif</td>
<td>16 (27%)</td>
<td>14 (27%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In many cases, the determination of thematic identity or similarity is difficult, because every transition of narrative content is bound to effect further changes. Therefore, though some of the correspondences I have drawn may be disputed, the quantitative evidence of close thematic relations between the two genres is nevertheless impressive.

Among the German ballads, only 17% have no past or modern prose parallels whatsoever. However, it is precisely within this small group that we find the most popular ballads, that is those with the largest numbers of printed or oral variants and displaying a traditional style. The following list of ballads with more than 20 variants is arranged by the number of extant variants.
These twelve ballad types account for 83% of the variants of all 53 German ballads. Most of them have been in oral tradition (and in print) for several centuries; D18, D23, D26, D16, and D1 date back to the sixteenth or seventeenth century—or even earlier—and are still popular. With the exception of D16, which has late medieval parallels, these five types have no German prose parallels, tale type numbers, or motif numbers. D21 is a late eighteenth century translation of "Our Goodman" (Child 274) which also appears below among the list of English versions as E16. Most versions of D12 and D39 are *cante-fables*, prose tales interspersed with song stanzas. The remaining motifs (D31, D32, D52) are fairly close to the ballad stories, but they are not exact parallels.

Many of the ballads with whole tale parallels, on the other hand, have very few variants and a literary or non-traditional style: these ballads, most of which are short-lived, probably never entered the oral tradition. It must be added that virtually all whole tale parallels of German ballads are also extant in the German tale tradition, particularly in jestbooks.

As for the English jocular ballads and tales, the situation is confusing at first sight. Again, only a small proportion of the ballads (24%) have no exact or similar prose parallels. In the English tradition we find that even the most popular ballads have far fewer collected variants than the most common German items. Furthermore, the ballads with many variants appear to have closer than average thematic relations with prose tales. The English ballads with over ten variants are here arranged by the number of their variants.35

The variants of these twelve ballads account for 70% of all English variants. The above list of the most popular ballads with
its surprisingly high number of tale type and motif numbers deserves a detailed analysis, because it may help to clarify some generic problems. It must be noted that the English song tradition is not as well documented as the German; the number of English variants is therefore a less reliable indicator of these ballads' popularity. The English ballads are generally younger and more viable than the German ballads and may thus correspond more closely to tale type indexes which are primarily based on the modern oral tradition. The motif K1549.4. was, furthermore, made up to fit the ballad "Our Goodman." Yet these reasons can only partly explain the close thematic relationship between these ballads and the prose tradition.

Another type of evidence, however, suggests that the relationship between prose and ballad stories is less close than it first appears. Significantly, the above parallels disappear if we stay within the English prose tale tradition. None of the above English ballads has an English prose parallel; for E35 (AT 1380) the *Types of the Folktale* lists one American Negro variant. We thus reach the same conclusion as Shuldiner—that many international tale types have no or extremely few English language prose variants, but frequently have song variants instead. Themes which in most European countries take the form of prose tales are turned into ballads in Britain (and in Scandinavia as well). Cases in point are the ballads "The Old Woman of Slapsadam" (E36), "The Boatsman and Chest" (E28), and "The Twasisters" (Child 10) as well as those ballads which Shuldiner rejected. In the same manner, *cante-fables* tend to be turned into full ballads in Britain, whereas in other European countries and in North American they remain *cante-fables* or tend toward prose tales. "The Untrue Wife's Song" (E12), "Little Dicky Milburn" (E37), and "The Parson's Wether" (E38), on the one hand, and their German counterparts on the other, are good examples of these diverging tendencies.

These observations and the results of earlier studies lead to some tentative conclusions about the relationship between genre, subject matter, and culture.

1) English and German jocular ballads have a much closer thematic relationship to prose tales than do non-humorous ballads. This is due to a) a mutual affinity among the humorous genres, particularly in terms of their concentration on one comic dramatic conflict and b) the existence of a very large body of late medieval and early modern European literary humorous narratives on which both genres in both traditions largely drew.

2) This general quantitative result is misleading, however, because it conceals rather important aspects of thematic selection.

A) The most popular ballads in both traditions which most purely display the specific character of the genre tend to have themes for which there are no prose parallels in the same culture.

B) Ballads with close prose parallels within the same culture tend to remain non-popular; usually these parallels are prose tales in verse.

C) During their transition from prose to ballad and from ballad to prose, the themes must be thoroughly adapted to the requirements of the genre or, in Ranke's words, the
genres must "transform this element into their respective particular expression and form," if the new ballad or tale is to be accepted.

3) In support of Shuldinier's hypothesis, we may thus conclude that within a given culture or culture area there exists a "tendency toward complementary distribution of subject matter." Sirovátká speaks of the "Affinität zwischen dem Stoff und der Gattung" and concludes that genres are not merely poetic forms, but also noetic categories. This means that jede poetische Gattung . . . eine eigene Thematik, ein eigenes Innenleben, eigene Probleme, eine eigene Stellung zum Leben hat und auch einen eigenen Gesichtswinkel, und dass jede Gattung ganz besondere, spezifische Aussagen über den Menschen und die Welt gibt. [emphasis mine]

As far as the selection of subject matter is concerned, this conception of genre does not seem to have universal validity, but can be applied only to the folk traditions of individual cultures or culture areas. In Europe the adoption of themes through ballad or tale occurs in a geographically complementary way: the same theme is typically used in a ballad in one culture area (like Britain and Scandinavia) and in a prose tale in another (like continental Europe). Individual cultures apparently show a preference for certain genres, so that we may speak of an affinity between genre and culture. One possible reason for this affinity may be that the perception of the world inherent in a specific genre corresponds more closely to the worldview of the host culture (in a particular historical period) than do the perceptions inherent in other genres; this "sympathetic" genre consequently becomes a preferred means of expressing narrative content. Once this preferred form of expression is established in tradition, it may persist as a stable pattern and attract subject matter for many centuries. Generally speaking, the relationship between genre and subject matter thus appears to be determined both by the more universal characteristics of the genres and--indirectly through preference for genre--by the worldview, the history, and the narrative tradition of a culture.

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Notes

5 In JAF 84 (1951): 203-206.
8 Taylor, p. 112.
9 Shuldinier, p. 267.
10 Ibid., p. 280.
13 G.M. Laws, Native American Balladry (PAFS, Bibliographic & Special Series, #1, 1964) and American Balladry From British Broadsides (PAFS, Bibliographic & Special Series, #8, 1957).
14 Taylor, p. 112.
15 The sixteenth-century jestbooks have been edited with extensive scholarly annotations. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century jestbooks are being collected and evaluated by Elfriede Moser-Rath for the Enzyklopädie des Münchens; see E. Moser-Rath, "Literature and folk tradition," JFI 5 (1968): 175-86.
16 Taylor, p. 112.
18 Ibid., pp. 163ff.
19 Siuts, pp. 72ff.
23 Ibid., pp. 114ff.
24 Shudiner, pp. 269ff.
26 Taylor, pp. 114ff.
27 This analysis of jocular ballads and tales is based mainly on the findings of my study Ehebruchschanke in Liederform: Eine Untersuchung zur deutsch- und englischsprachigen Schwankballade, Motive vol. 9 (München: W. Fink, 1977).
28 I discuss reasons for the popularity of this theme in the above study, pp. 118ff.
29 See Brednich, 1973, p. 193; R. Wehse, Schwänklied und Flugblatt in Großbritannien (Frankfurt and Las Vegas: Peter Lang, 1979) catalogue 522 jocular songs from British broadsides of which one hundred have the theme of adultery.
30 See note 27.
31 The number of English prose parallels may actually be higher, because historical prose materials are not fully available. See note 8.
35 The following English and German ballads have common themes: D1 and E1, E12 and D12, E16 and D21, and E37 and D39.
36 The German Folksong Archive in Freiburg has a collection of far over 200,000 folksongs.
38 Shudiner, pp. 269ff.
39 Concerning the similarities and differences between the British and Anglo-American narrative traditions, see W. Hugh Jansen, "Anglo-American Folk Narrative: A Common
41 Shuldiner, p. 267.
42 Sirovátka, p. 168.
43 Sirovátka intimates a similar view at the end of his article (p. 168); cf. Ranke, p. 29.
LIFE HISTORY: A NEGLECTED FOLKLORE GENRE

Juha Y. Pentikäinen

The World of the Tales and the Life of the Narrator

Linda Dégh belongs to that group of folklorists who have strongly emphasized the importance of the reciprocity between the contents of the tales and the world of their narrators. I quote her opinions about "combining tale and reality":

The narrator always has his roots in the circle of experience of his social stratum; his figures behave as he assumes the people of his village would behave under the same circumstances; their problems coincide with those of the community; and even the landscape and the surroundings conform to the milieu of the community in which the Märchen is created. Even when the talk is of great rulers or supernatural monsters, they behave like the gentlemen of the well-to-do peasants in the village—in their actions and in their way of speaking. The two hostile camps, the two antagonistic worlds of the tale, express in their milieu the contrast between rich and poor, between the mortal and the superhuman, the powerful and the weak. (For the narrator this is "my world," and "their world.") Correspondingly, the narrator thus identifies with the tale hero and his surroundings, and adds personal experiences and elements to the tale. The narrator is never impersonal, nonpartisan, or uninterested; he is the passionate representative of a subjective truth, and he depicts the better reality which is expected. The peasant narrator takes sides when he solves the conflict between the poor hero and the mighty figure, who is at the center of the tale, in favor of the poor one. We do not agree with the researchers who considered the Märchen the "wish poetry" of the poor. Yet, even if the narrator embeds his wishes in his tales, it is, in reality, more than pure longing. The narrator weaves his own person into the tale, he imparts his own point of view when he tells the tale. His own fate is involved in all the situations of the tale; he identifies himself with the tale action; and he interprets all the life expressions of his people. Every narrator does this, but the means depend on his personality.

In her classic work, Storytelling in a Hungarian Peasant Community, Linda Dégh gives a carefully drawn picture of the four story tellers in the village of Kákasd and their personal effect on their stories. The lives and stories of Mrs. Zsuzsánna Palkó, Mr. György Andrásfalvi, Mrs. Anna Sebestyén, and Mr. Márton László are described in such a warm and understanding way that these persons have, in the course of the years, become like old and good friends to many folklore scholars and students, in the Old and New Continents. In Linda Dégh's scholarly work, these competent storytellers are viewed not only as gifted persons, but also as representatives of their milieu and community. Linda Dégh describes the world view of her primary narrator, Mrs. Palkó, as corresponding to "the typical peasant world conception":

It is indeed the most credible village milieu which Mrs. Palkó created for her magic tales. The Bukovina peasantry, living under the most primitive economic conditions and in search of an outlet, arrived at a quasi-mystical explanation and, through recognition of the social reality, gave expression to discontent.... Modest and kind-hearted as she may have been, she was still the representative and the advocate of the poor village community. All violence, all feelings of revenge, were alien to her. She never revolted against her own condition and that of her fellow sufferers, for "God is right, he metes out justice," and the place of punishment is Hell.
Her tale heroes, however, defend the right. When she was narrating, her accusing voice was like a ship, her judgment hard and inplacable, her justice often without pity, even brutal at times.\textsuperscript{4}

The main emphasis in Linda Dégh's study is the analysis of folklore narrating in a society. Invaluable biographical sketches of the four narrators are given, and some actual pieces of their own life histories are published in the book.\textsuperscript{5} Even so, the detailed autobiographies of the narrators—which probably were recorded in the course of the long-lasting fieldwork—have been left conspicuously absent from the corpus of modern folklore research.

After I had delivered a paper at the Folk Narrative Congress in Edinburgh in August 1979,\textsuperscript{6} Linda Dégh suggested cooperation in life-historical studies. This article is my positive response to that friendly proposal. May I further suggest, in this volume dedicated to Professor Dégh, the possibility of a study—as well as an in extenso publication—of the autobiographies of the Kakasd storytellers? From the viewpoint of cross-cultural narratology, it is extremely important to publish the life stories of our most thoroughly investigated narrators.

In my opinion, folkloristic circles have not yet displayed much interest in life-historical materials. When I started my folkloristic career as an assistant in the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, I learned about the signum F, inherited from the period of Kaarle Krohn. Signum F represented ethnographic and life-historical data—along with other "fabulated" materials, and such things as folklore—which could not be considered in traditional categories of "pure" folklore. If folklore is to be considered an anthropological discipline, it should be as interested in people as in lore. For that reason, it is time to find keys to open the doors labeled with the mysterious F by folklorists.

The Culture and Personality School

The Culture and Personality school within cultural anthropology\textsuperscript{7} has concentrated on the problems associated with the interaction between personality and culture. It was initiated by the pioneer studies of Malinowski, Benedict, and Mead. A clinical approach, influenced by psychoanalytic theories, was later introduced by Linton, Kardiner, Du Bois, and their followers. The latter emphasized the importance of early childhood experiences, and the need for obtaining life-history materials as well as projective test data. Several theories of the ideal, basic, or modal personalities were created,\textsuperscript{8} and much research was done along these lines within cultural anthropology, particularly during the 1940s and 1950s. Since then, certain results and theories expressed by this school have drawn criticism—notably the enthusiastic and overconfident use of projective tests, as well as an oversimplified characterization of the peoples under study.\textsuperscript{9} Alfred Kroeber wrote as early as 1948:

It seems possible, theoretically, for two peoples to show much the same psychological character or temperament and yet to have different cultures. If this is correct, then recent attempts to assign each culture a strict counterpart in a "basic personality structure" or "modal personality" type are too far. There can be little doubt that some kind of personality corresponds to each kind of culture; but evidently the correspondence is not one-to-one; it is partial.\textsuperscript{10}

Subsequently there has been a period of self-evaluation within the school. Victor Barnouw suggests the following three justifications of culture and personality research: 1) Such research provides an alternative way of learning about human personality,
one which can check and supplement the findings of psychology and psychiatry; 2) this research alternative contributes to an understanding of the relationship between culture and mental disorders; 3) culture and personality research may lead to an understanding of historical events that may explain why particular groups have responded to their particular challenges in their distinctive ways.11

Even in view of these justifications, part of the criticism might be considered well-grounded, because this school has overemphasized the macro-perspective in its research. The poet W. H. Auden expressed the dreams of the early "culture and personality school" in his poem Oedipus:

Malinowski, Rivers, Matrilineal races
Benedict and others Kill their mothers' brothers
Show how common culture In their dreams and turn their
Shapes the separate lives: Sisters into wives.

Much of the research in culture and personality studies has been devoted to finding aspects of personality common to a group of people, which would be manifested in such concepts as "social character," "basic personality" structure or "national character."12 As far as projective test data are concerned, the school has achieved some of its most interesting results when scholars have combined the results of their testing and sampling with ethnographic data and life-history materials. Classic examples of such methodological combination include Cora Du Bois' The People of Alor13 as well as Thomas Gladwin's and Seymor B. Sarason's Truk: Man in Paradise.14 In these works, the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Tests were complemented by psychological and ethnographic interviews. Victor Barnouw concludes: "If more attention were given to individual personalities, the charge of stereotyping might be obviated."15 There seems to be a current tendency among anthropologists to focus more on "soft" materials and the individual than on "hardwork" statistics dealing with social aspects of personality. Barnouw, Mary Ellen Goodman, Robert B. Edgerton,16 and others have emphasized the independence and autonomy of individuals at all levels of cultural development.

The Life-Historical Method as an Anthropological Approach

Among the possible focal points of contemporary anthropology, it is possible to find some traces of a renaissance of interest in the individual person. Scholars have also revived many issues which were first raised many years ago, and which have since been forgotten. The Historico-Critical school, initiated by Franz Boas, developed a field method consisting of intensive collaboration between a researcher and an informant. The anthropologist employed as an assistant a member of a culture being studied. He might, through interviewing this person, control his hypotheses "from the inside." With the assistance of an Indian named James Teit, Boas prepared a series of monographs on the Salish tribe. In the period following Boas' pioneering studies, there appeared autobiographies written or dictated by the Indians themselves.17

American Indian Life, first published in 1922, consists of stories about twenty-seven "individual" American Indians, from as many different American Indian tribes. These stories were written by scholars of the first generation of academically-trained American anthropologists. The accounts are not authentic autobiographies; instead, they are imaginative reconstructions of
personal life experiences based on ethnographic data. These re-
constructed personal histories coincide with the "life models" or
"cultural models" approach, emphasized particularly by Paul Radin
and his followers. In his book *Crashing Thunder: The Autobio-
graphy of a Winnebago Indian*, Radin defines the main purpose
of the research to be: "not to obtain autobiographical details
about some definite personage, but to have some representative,
middle aged individual of moderate ability describe his life in
relation to the social group in which he had grown up."18 This
kind of study provides, as John Dollard has stated, "an inside
view of the Winnebago culture rather than...a careful analysis
of a human life."19 Beginning with individual life histories, Radin
has progressed to a consideration of the "basic structures" of
human life, in his studies *Primitive Man as Philosopher*20 as well
as *The World of Primitive Man.*21

Psychologically-oriented anthropologists have been more in-
terested in the psychoanalytic description of individuals than in
the consideration of individual life styles as cultural models. Such
scholars tend to record the life history of an individual and then
analyze it in the context of the society and culture in question.
The autobiography of Hopi Indian Don Talayesva, which was re-
corded and edited by Leo W. Simmons, has become a classic ex-
ample of life-historical studies.22 The autobiography, despite
its 460 pages, includes only a fifth of the life-historical materi-
als that Simmons collected between 1938 and 1941. Through written
in the first person, this account is structured in terms of psycho-
analytic categories, rather than of the folk categories used by
the Hopi of Oraibi, Arizona.

The psychoanalytic approach becomes more clearly evident in
David F. Aberle's work, *The Psychosocial Analysis of a Hopi
Life-History*, which is based on Simmons' book.23 As the study in
question is anthropological, it is surprising that Aberle never
got to meet Talayesva, even though he was analyzing this living
person's personality and identity development processes. Aberle
and Simmons approach this analysis in a manner that differs from
that of Radin's school; they do not describe Talayesva as a typi-
cal representative of Hopi culture. Few Hopi had been able to do
as Talayesva did: he went to school for ten years, graduated
from high school, became Chief of the Sun Clan, and acted as an
anthropologist's informant. Talayesva's interest in his own cul-
ture--and its tradition--had developed under the prolonged influ-
ence of an alien cultural environment; he was an educated and
literate representative of a mainly nonliterate culture. He devel-
oped in the course of Simmons' fieldwork into an anthropologist,
to the extent that he wrote parts of his own autobiography.24

Commenting on Simmons' study of *Hopi Life-History*, Clyde
Kluckhohn pointed out that the real issue was, "how much is the
culture pattern and how much is true individual history."25 A cen-
tral question of anthropological life-historical studies concerns
the relationship between the collective and personal elements.
Spiro's opinion on this issue is that scholarly tradition has stud-
ied "man as a social person," rather than "an idiosyncratic indi-
vidual" or "an individual in her culture."26 Personality itself
(rather than a specific individual) has been the frequent expla-
nandum, and culture the explanans; sometimes this relationship
is reversed.

**Life-Historical Method as Interactional Situation**

My own experiences in life-historical analysis stem primarily
from ten years of fieldwork with a White Sea Karelian informant,
Mrs. Marina Takalo. The fieldwork started without a specific research plan. In 1960, as a young student and an amateur in fieldwork and research, I met Mrs. Takalo. She was an old Karelian rune-singer whom I would eventually visit once or twice a year, not as a scholar, but as a friend. 27 It was not I, but Marina Takalo herself, who first proposed the idea of writing a book about her life. At the end of a long interview in 1962, she spontaneously suggested: "I will tell you everything I can remember. I want to know everything about Karelian life. You can tell others what I have experienced and seen in the world so that they understand what the life of a stranger is like."

My fieldwork and collaboration with Marina Takalo falls into two distinct phases. The first phase (1960-1965) consisted of nondirected interviews, in which my role as interviewer was superfluous, and my sole contribution was to suggest new topics of conversation. The second phase of this fieldwork lasted from 1966-1970 and involved a complex cross-examination which imposed a strain on the informant's patience. This method was aimed at elucidating the sources, contexts, and functions of the material which had been gathered, as well as the attitudes of the informant.

Over the course of a decade, about 100 hours of material were recorded by four fieldworkers. 28 The traditional information contained there comprised 1592 items. A good third of the material belonged to her active repertoire at its widest.

The material recalled and transmitted by Marina Takalo includes all the most important elements in Karelian culture. The material also included samples of all the central genres from the White Sea Karelian tradition. Consequently, it would, for instance, have been possible to concentrate the research on Karelian culture as mediated by Marina Takalo; in that case the culture would have been the explanandum, and Marina's life history the explanans. On the other hand the reverse approach to the research would also have been possible—one centered on traditional genres and focusing on Marina Takalo as, for instance, a rune singer, lamenter, storyteller, folk healer, master of ritual, or compère for riddles or games. Neither of these approaches, however, was adopted as the main problem of research; instead Marina Takalo was the focus of a holistic anthropological study as an idiosyncratic person, whose roots were in the culture of White Sea Karelia but whose cultural repertoire, world view, and even personality had changed in response to her unique individual life history. The research problems thus emerged in the interaction between these factors, as illustrated in the following diagram:

![Diagram showing relationships between informant's life history, oral repertoire, personality, world view, ego, and interviewer.]

In this research, it was taken as self evident that Marina Takalo was far from being a typical representative of Karelian culture. She had her own life history and idiosyncratic opinions, as well as a world view which hardly corresponds to that of the average Russian Karelian Orthodox. The intention was, however, to relate the information which Marina recounted to the Russian Karelian tradition. The main focus in the first stage of the project was on the religious tradition as she had experienced it, and on the basis of this there came out in 1971 the book on The Religion of Marina Takalo. Subsequently more attention was paid to problems concerning in general the formation of the individual's world view and tradition repertoire.
The intention was to shed some light on the ways in which an illiterate person makes use of oral communication to select material for her tradition, repertoire, and world view from the starting points and stimuli available. What are the environmental determinants, the factors dependent on her surroundings, in the individual's world view? How does the individual's world view alter in response to the experiences of her life history? What is the creative liberty of the individual? What constraints does the tradition impose on the creative individual? Is the individual conscious of the conventions of the tradition or not? In what ways was Marina Takalo's world view revealed? How had it changed in the course of her life? In what ways do the various traditional genres which she knew transmit elements of the individual's world view and personality?

In life histories people tell about themselves; how they experienced their life, society, culture, and environment. At the same time they transmit ideas and meanings which include elements of their Weltanschauung, i.e. their world view. Thus, life histories and world views contain similar elements and often deal with the same matters. This is only natural because the basic unit of research is identical, an idiosyncratic individual. Life history and world view, as concepts in research, are not, however, overlapping, although the life-historical method and world view analysis often coincide.

The Marina Takalo study could be described as a biographical study of the personality, world view, and cultural repertoire of an individual, on the basis of extensive systematic fieldwork, done mostly by the investigator. In the course of the fieldwork process, between the investigator and informant a close relationship of cooperation and interaction emerged, which lasted for a decade; the problems associated with the existence of this relationship (which may have affected the nature of the material gathered) also require scrutiny. Every interview is a unique communicative event, in which two people encounter each other both as individuals and as occupants of certain roles. Unless they succeed in creating a cooperative relationship marked by mutual confidence, understanding, and respect, part of the information will remain undisclosed, behind a communication threshold. In my experience of interview situations it has been advantageous to the accuracy of the information obtained if the informant and interviewer represent different cultures. This type of interaction creates a situation of bicultural encounter, which favors detailed communication: the informant becomes a teacher, and the investigator a willing pupil—the normal situation in the Takalo study.

The study could be called anthropological, in the sense that the subject of investigation was not considered merely as some storytelling machine, but a living dynamic person. The approach then remains more holistic, with an emphasis on investigating problems of human interaction, creativity, and behavior, in relation to the thoughts, opinions, feelings, attitudes, needs, and actions of the idiosyncratic individual being studied.

The anthropological approach also implies that the investigator should not be content with describing his subject, but aim to understand the personality, and to explain his or her views, experiences, and behavior on this basis. Finally, the anthropological approach delimits the field of research in such a manner as not to exclude the investigator himself; for he too is a person, engaged in understanding and interpreting another person. The results of the study depend decisively on the fruitfulness of the interrelationship between two people, and on how well they understand each other.
Personal Documents and Life-Historical Categories

Within various humanistic disciplines, there has been methodological discussion concerning the use of personal documents—and their value as sources—in scholarly analysis. There are many different systems available for the classification of personal documents. For example, Gordon W. Allport developed this model, intended primarily for use in the psychological analysis of first-person documents:

I Autobiographies (A. Comprehensive, B. Topical, C. Edited)
II Questionnaires
III Verbatim Recording (A. Interviews, B. Dreams, C. Confessions)
IV Diaries (A. Intimate Journals, B. Memoirs, C. Log-Inventories)
V Letters
VI Expressive and Projective Documents (A. Literature, B. Compositions, C. Art Forms, D. Projective Productions, E. Automatic Writing, F. Various)

In his book, Allport carefully discusses all the categories mentioned above, and he strongly emphasizes the importance of considering why a person has written a personal document. As early as 1942, Allport noticed the rapid increase of verbatim recordings in research materials. This fact is well known today to every folklorist; indeed, we are almost drowning in the abundance of taperecorded materials. Allport remarks—again valuably—"The most personal of personal documents is the diary." In my experience, diary keeping is also one of the best methods in life-historical fieldwork, provided it contains not only the remarks concerning the life history of the informant, but also observations about the interaction between the researcher and his or her informant.

Folklorists have tended to view oral materials primarily as personal documents. While historian Jan Vansina's Oral Tradition assigns a high testimonial value to personal genres—such as private religious poetry, personal names, personal memories, and occasional comments—folkloristic study has focused instead upon stereotypic forms, contents, and structures rather than upon individuality. In recent years, however, many folklorists have become interested in folklore as a process of communication; this approach has brought some new and highly personalized genres into contemporary folkloristics: memorats, chronicats, personal narratives, everyday stories, worker or emigrant stories, women's lore, and children's lore.

It is still too early to give a more detailed and cross-culturally valid list of life-historical genres. If the life history is to be acknowledged as a folkloristic genre, more research on personal data, communities, and subcultures is needed to produce precise classifications, and publications of life histories from various cultures are necessary for comparative analysis. In fact, traditional classification systems used by folklorists may not be wholly satisfactory for some life-historical studies. From Marina Takalo's cultural repertoire, for instance, I was able to identify such recognized genres as autobiographical laments, runes, poems, tales, chronicats, and personal narratives, but in order to preserve the personal meaning of each genre, it is also important to publish such data according to personally or culturally bound categories. Arctic Peoples about Themselves, a work which reflects this approach, is now in preparation. This classification method would create difficulties for cross-cultural analysis but, at the same time, it would bring us nearer our main object of research—people.
The Emic and Etic Significance of Life Histories

Anthropologically-oriented folklore studies have tended characteristically to present the genres of folk tradition in terms of the concepts held by members of the culture themselves. This preference also emerged in the study of Marina Takalo's repertoire. She classified her stories according to her own terminology, and she appeared to have a very clear idea of which genre she was performing. The significance and function of the traditional genres were indicated in the headings she used: a folktale (satu) might be termed an anecdote (kasku), a tale (tarina), a funny story (hupijuttu), or a "story that isn't true"; a saint's legend was called "a story tale about a man of God"; a legend (tarina) might be labeled "something that happened" (taipaus), or "hearsay" (kuulo), or "a story" (kertomus); a memorial was "something familiar that happened." As a competent tradition bearer, Mrs. Takalo knew the function, use, and significance of each kind of storytelling; when performing her tradition, she chose the appropriate code for each situation, which in turn involved choices among norms of content, form, style, language, and structure.

The distinction between native and nominalist classifications of traditional genres is reminiscent of the distinction made by anthropologists between emic and etic. As Kenneth Pike points out, the emic perspective is in contrast with the etic, and is essentially concerned only with one language or culture:

In contrast to the Etic approach, an Emic one is in essence valid for only one language (or one culture) at a time...It is an attempt to discover and to describe the pattern of that particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the functioning of the particular pattern, rather than an attempt to describe them in reference to generalized classification derived in advance of the study of that culture.

An etic analytical standpoint...might be called 'external' or 'alien', since for etic purposes the analyst stands 'far enough away' from or 'outside' of a particular culture to see its separate events, primarily in relation to their similarities and their differences, as compared to events in other cultures, rather than in reference to the sequences of classes of events within that one particular culture.

Etic criteria have the appearance of absolutes, limited only by the sensitivity of the measuring instrument or the skill of the analyst; emic criteria savor more of relativity because they operate within the particular system to which they refer. The etic approach is "extracultural"—the investigator adopting such a position is "sufficiently far" from a particular culture to be able to observe its elements in comparison and contrast with the elements of other cultures. The emic approach, which has also been called the "new ethnography," represents an intracultural understanding of the material being researched.

In studies of individuals, the emic perspective is emphasized. In the interviews with Marina Takalo, the objects of investigation were the world view, personality, life history, and entire cultural repertoire of an individual. The fieldwork and research had a wider orientation than is usual in folklore studies, and material of this type permits the examination of the individual's perception of the culture, the operation of various traditional genres within this system, and their message in relation to the life history, world view, and cultural repertoire.

Biographical or life-history research offers an ethnoscientific view of the individual's ecological environment (niche) both within his or her primary environment and within the ecosystem of the entire culture; at the same time, an emic, intracultural perspective focuses upon questions of general theoretical significance in comparative religion and anthropology.
The difference between an autobiography and a biography rests on the same emic/etic distinction that anthropologists use in studies of culture. An autobiography is an individual's life story told by himself or herself and interpreted in personally meaningful categories. A biography should be a person's life history told by someone else and systematically interpreted and explained in general terms.

Despite the often highly personal nature of life-histories, these materials can still be useful for making general statements. Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, in their recent survey on religio-historical data, strongly suggest, "the possibility of biographical patterns which transcend specific cultures and their traditions." As Claude Lévi-Strauss suggests in his reviews of Simmons' Sun Chief, there are reasons for the view that the alien character of other cultures is immediately transcended through biography:

The function of primitive biographies is to provide a psychological expression of cultural phenomena. This psychological expression—because it is psychological—is immediately accessible to any human being, even to one who belongs to a quite different cultural surrounding. The systematic study of a culture, on the other hand, is always a description of that culture from the outside.43

It is very possible that life-historical studies open new means for understanding transcultural biographical patterns.

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Notes

2 Ibid., pp. 165-205.
3 Ibid., p. 196.
4 Ibid., p. 199.
5 Ibid., pp. 189-90.
6 In my paper I presented some of the ideas also expressed in my article, "Life History and World View," *Temenos* 13 (1979): 128-53.
8 See my review of these concepts in *Oral Repertoire and World View* (FFC #219, 1978), pp. 28-31.
9 See, for example, Barnouw, pp. 486-91.
11 Barnouw, pp. 491-95.
12 Ibid., p. 491.
14 Published as *Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology* #20 (1953).
15 Barnouw, p. 491.
17 One classic work in this area is the book by John G. Neihardt (Flaming Rainbow),
23 Comparative Psychology Monographs 21 (1951): 1-133.
24 See my article "Life History and World View," pp. 133-35.
27 See my books Marina Takalon uskonto (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Toimituksia #299, 1971); and Oral Repertoire and World View (FFC #219, 1978).
28 On the details, see Pentikäinen, Oral Repertoire, pp. 49-50.
29 On the theory and problems of the study, see ibid., pp. 13-44.
31 Ibid., pp. 67-75.
32 Ibid., p. 180.
35 Pentikäinen, Oral Repertoire, pp. 331-34.
36 A UNESCO project led by Soviet writer Yuri Rytkeuou.
SOUR GRAPES: FABLE, PROVERB, UNRIPE FRUIT

Sandra K. D. Stahl

Very much in accordance with the principles of European Märchenbiology, Dundes insists that "folklorists must actively seek to elicit the meaning of folklore from the folk," through the collection of "metafolklore" or "oral literary criticism": the folk interpretation of lore.-Linda Dégh

One of the more interesting exercises for folklore historiographers is making check lists of who footnotes whom in scholarly publications. We would expect Linda Dégh to cite Alan Dundes' article on "Metafolklore and Oral Literary Criticism" in a survey of recent approaches to narrative research in America, but we might very well have forgotten that Dundes, in that same article, had cited a paper by Linda Dégh (written in Hungarian and published in 1963) in which she urged "folklorists to leave the explanations to the storyteller and the members of his audience." Nothing can take away from the clarity and effectiveness of Dundes' essay; it is justifiably the basic reference for discussion of metafolklore and oral literary criticism. Still, to those of us who are colleagues or students of Linda Dégh and who have benefited from her many suggestions, hints, and ideas, it is reassuring to know that even so prolific a scholar as Alan Dundes found some inspiration for one of his best articles in one of those typically casual yet profound remarks so much a part of Linda Dégh's scholarship, teaching, and conversation.

Interest in the interpretations of folklore by the folk themselves is a longstanding one, an interest that grew out of Märchenbiology studies in Europe and contextual or "new ethnography" studies in America. One fine example of a narrative studied in context and with the benefit of the storyteller's own interpretive discussion is Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's analysis of "A Parable in Context." Here the storyteller, Dvora Katz, explains why the parable she relates to her brother is effective in the particular situation in which she tells it. According to the analytic scheme outlined by Dell Hymes, Dvora Katz' performance and "oral literary criticism" involve the dimension of interpretability; this dimension in turn subsumes two components, classifying and explaining. Dvora Katz did classify her story, terming it (in Yiddish) a moshl (parable), though she called it as well a mayse (tale) or bayshpil (example). And she explained the parable as well, though her explanation is not so much an articulation of "the meaning" of the parable (whatever that may be) as a discussion of the effectiveness of the story in that particular situation. Meaning would seem to evolve out of such a discussion, and that meaning would clearly represent a singular combination of interpretive activities as, for example, the juxtaposition of Dvora Katz' sense of physical positioning, focus, and options for action in that particular context. Meaning is thus multidimensional and, in this case, personalized or "context sensitive" as Dell Hymes suggests. The folklorist does not request nor does the storyteller supply a separable abstract element—a message, lesson, or moral—that alone represents the meaning of the parable.
Conventional folklore methodology, on the other hand, does expect to discover or extract an abstract content element, such as the motif, from traditional narratives. In the past, all narratives were assumed to contain, to be repositories for or developments of such essential elements. Every story, written or oral, had a thematic message, a truth, a "something-to-be-said," as Raymond Federman suggests.\textsuperscript{7} Nowhere were the expectations for explicitly stated messages abstracted from narrative content more apparent than in the discussion of fables. Fables came supplied with ready-made morals from antiquity. Like parables they originally functioned as examples or illustrations. Presented in context, fables, like parables or proverbs, offered metaphorical analogues to the actual situations addressed by the storyteller. Told in context, a fable did not require the separate articulation of a message or meaning. B.E. Perry says of the fable: "If it is not perfectly clear to the listener or the reader what the moral is, or if more than one moral can be easily inferred, then the fable has not achieved its own purpose but has the effect of a story told for its own interest."\textsuperscript{8} But Perry is speaking here of the fable in context. Rarely is such a performance witnessed in contemporary America, yet we do know or read fables; they are, for us, stories told (or read) for their own interest. Even so, every fable has a general moral that is "nicht versteckt oder verkleidet" [neither hidden nor disguised] or so Lessing contends.\textsuperscript{9} That general moral is, we would suppose, the one articulated at the end of every storybook fable from "The Tortoise and the Hare" to "The Boy Who Cried Wolf."

Is there a clear moral for every fable? Does that moral tell us what the fable means? Are morals like proverbs? Are fables simply expanded proverbs? How do fables function in contemporary American society? Such questions are the unresolved ones of definition and description; they bring us back to the term fable itself and its closely related folklore form, the proverb. In studies of either the fable or the proverb, scholars have noted the similarities in function and content between the two genres. In commenting on the origins of proverbs, Archer Taylor wrote: "The relation of the fable and the proverb is particularly close, and not all nations have regarded them as distinct forms: the Greek αἶφος means both fable and proverb."\textsuperscript{10} The present study is concerned not so much with origins as with the contemporary functional equivalency of fables and proverbs. Nevertheless, historically in American culture there has been a separation of these two "genres" both in the scholar's roster of "analytic categories" and in the popular use that represents our emictaxonomy.\textsuperscript{11}

The fable, writes MacEdward Leach, is "a short tale in which animals appear as characters, talking and acting like human beings, though usually keeping their animal traits, and having as its purpose the pointing of a moral."\textsuperscript{12} The fable is usually regarded as a literary or oratorical subtype of the animal tale. The assumption involved is that because the tales are used "not to explain animal characteristics, or behavior, but to satirize the conduct of human beings," as Leach suggests, the fables may be described as more intentionally didactic than the more entertaining variety of animal tales. Despite the assumed functional difference, many of the same stories appear both in the entertaining oral folktale tradition and in the oratorical or literary tradition. "The Fox with the Swollen Belly" (AT 41), for example, has been more recently retold as an antic of Pooh Bear.\textsuperscript{13} Other narratives which are both fables and animal tales include "The Fox and the
Grapes" (AT 59), "The Wolf and the Crane" (AT 76), "The Mouse and the Lion" (AT 75), "Town Mouse and the Country Mouse" (AT 112), the famous race of the tortoise and the hare (AT 275A), and so on. However, there are many traditional fables that have never been recorded in oral tradition. Of the more than five hundred fables known from Greek and Indian literary tradition, only about fifty have been collected as oral tales. Furthermore, many of the fables do not involve animal characters; many in fact involve only humans or humans and gods and thus can hardly be considered a special class of animal tales.

Whatever their origin and pre-Aesopic development, fables are clearly traceable at least back to the oratorical tradition of Greece (around 700-600 B.C.), a later written Greek tradition, and the Panchatantra and its various segmented translations during the Middle Ages. The fable continued as a literary and popular tradition during the Middle Ages. Again often serving its earlier oratorical function in the sermons and exempla collections of medieval Europe. Finally during the eighteenth century the genre came into its own as a respectable literary form. "Indeed," Thomas Noel writes, "the eighteenth century seems to be the only period in which the fable has been considered a legitimate literary genre." Most neoclassical poets tried their hand at fables; but in every age there have been a few writers or poets who have reinterpreted or produced a few fables. In the modern period, though a few literary figures (such as Donald Barthelme, Marvin Cohen, Theodore Roethke, William Saroyan, Wallace Stevens, and James Thurber) do occasionally publish pieces that may be termed literary fables, fables are generally regarded as a genre of children's literature. Collections of Aesop's fables kept in the home, read in the elementary schools, or checked out of the children's section of public libraries are the primary sources for our popular knowledge of fables today.

It is noteworthy that the fable, except for its stock of tale types shared with the folkloric animal tales, is generally regarded as a literary genre. Perry is very eager to identify the fable as a literary invention, defined in terms of the theory and practice of Greek and Roman writers. He insists, "we must not confuse it with the popular animal story of which it makes use but whose orientation is different." As a literary genre, then, the fable has been of interest to scholars and poets alike; it is a form with its own historical development and noted practitioners within the literary tradition.

In contrast, its close relative, the proverb, has usually claimed attention as a folklore genre. Folklorists interested in the proverb have been concerned with defining and describing the genre and with exploring meaning in the proverbs through observation of their use in varying contexts. A secondary concern in either case has been the subdivision of the genre "proverb" as a general category. By convention, a major subdivision of the proverb is the maxim. The maxim (or proverbial apothegm, as Taylor terms the category) does "contain a moral or ethical truth, although often in a form which utterly lacks dignity." The maxim, in other words, is conventional wisdom literally stated: Honesty is the best policy; Two wrongs don't make a right; If you can't say something nice, don't say anything at all. Often the maxim is judgmental or moralistic in tone rather than simply instructive or pragmatic. The proverb per se offers advice as well, but it achieves the dignity Taylor misses in the maxim through its metaphorical nature and generally abstract application.
A number of proverbs or maxims are easily associated with certain fables. Unlike the Greeks in Taylor's earlier statement, most Americans would not confuse the narrative genre of the fable with the folk speech category of the proverb, but they might regard the content of a particular fable and a particular proverb as essentially interchangeable. The abstracted content or lesson (moral) of a fable is often expressed in the form of a proverb or maxim: Don't kill the goose that lays the golden eggs; United we stand, divided we fall. The advice offered in a proverb could conceivably be dramatized into a fable: for example, A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush; You must learn to bend with the wind. It has been argued both that certain proverbs are based on fables and that certain fables have developed from proverbs. Most commonly, however, the relationship between the two is seen as one of association: the stock of well-known fables is used as a cultural resource in casual allusions, expressions that themselves often become proverbial. For example, because of its recaliability, the fable of the fox and the grapes can be referred to by the proverbial expression sour grapes. However, though the fable and the proverbial expression are obviously connected, they are not identical in form and they may have slightly different meanings.

The question of "meaning" is an inflammatory one in most disciplines. Proverb scholars seem to be in disagreement over whether proverbs do or do not carry stable "social messages" that are discoverable and classifiable as "meaning." In relation to the fable, the assumption has always been that the moral attached—usually at the end of the story—expresses the meaning or lesson to be learned from the fable. Though it would seem that the fable—since it is printed and supposedly lacking variable contents—would be less a problem than the proverb in regard to meaning, the problem is still there. For one thing, fables themselves and their referential phrases (sour grapes) are used in variable contexts; otherwise they would be dead as folklore and not suited to folkloric study. The morals, "ready-made" statements of meaning, serve mainly to confuse the issue of meaning. The morals appended to the fables are not god-given articulations of meaning. They are, in fact, simply the "oral literary criticism" of the early Greek orators—or "native interpretations," a term Alan Dundes has suggested elsewhere. Furthermore, the modern translations have rarely retained the earlier morals but have instead attached ones the editors felt were more appropriate—updated native interpretations.

The rewriter-editor of one children's collection of Aesop's Fables makes the following comment: "So simple and transparent was Aesop's teaching that we hardly need the moral with which each fable concludes. This is given, however, in [a] short and concise way to which the reader may compare his or her own inference." One editor of an adult collection of the Aesopic fables went so far as to remove all explicit "morals" from the texts and place them in an appendix. His book is appropriately titled Aesop Without Morals. Implicit in the editorial practices of these two people is the assumption that the real "meaning" of the narrative itself is "transparent," something that could easily be articulated by the reader himself. On the other hand, there is also the implication that no one statement of the moral or meaning is the "right" one—not even the ones that survive intact from antiquity. So the problem is very much like that which faces students of the pro-
verb; and it is also very much like the problems that face stu-
dents of literature.

Contemporary literary theorists such as Stanley Fish and
Raymond Federman contend that the meaning of literature lies not
within the item of literature itself, but "in the reader." Barbara
Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that "a proverb's meaning, rather
than being autonomous of the proverb's use as we are led to be-
lieve by proverb collections, is indeed contextually specified."27
By analogy, if we view the fable as a literary text, then we must
look to the reader for meaning. Or if we view the fable as a part
of folklore, then we must look to each fable's use in its instruc-
tional context for some generalized sense of meaning. However,
fables are a unique kind of literary folklore or folkloric litera-
ture. Meaning in the fable is a product of the interacting field
of associations among the fable itself (or the reader's response to
the narrative); the reader's store of proverbs, maxims, and pro-
verbal expressions from oral tradition; and the reader's sense of
appropriate context for relating or referring to either any one
fable or its associated proverbial expressions.

To clarify this thesis, I would like to briefly outline a pro-
ject I carried out in Houston, Texas, with the help of fifty in-
formants, ranging in age from nineteen to seventy. These fifty
people generously gave the time to fill out questionnaires involving
ten of the best known Aesopic fables. Translations of these ten
stories were taken from the Penguin Books paperback edition of
Aesop's Fables. They were presented without the attached morals
on the questionnaires. One question asked after each story was the
obvious "What is the moral of this story?" No one thought it
strange that the moral was not supplied, nor did anyone protest
that he or she would have to look in the book for the "right"
moral. Like the two editors mentioned earlier, my informants as-
sumed that they should be able to articulate the moral of each
story. I asked as well for any proverbs, maxims, or expressions
that they might associate with the fable, either because these
items express an idea similar to the moral or because they "recall"
the story in some other way. Finally, I asked them to describe a
hypothetical situation in which they might refer to the story.28

The informants supplied their own titles for the ten stories,
and many of them were much more creative than the usual charac-
ter-based titles given in collections. But, by their time-worn
titles, the ten stories involved were "The Fox and the Grapes," "The
Lion and the Rabbit," "The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing," "The
Lion and the Mouse Who Returned a Favor," "The Frog and the
Ox," "The Tortoise and the Hare," "The Reed and the Olive Tree,"
"The North Wind and the Sun," "The Goose That Laid the Golden
Eggs," and "The Boy Who Cried Wolf." Generally, the informants
were already familiar with the stories; most had learned the stor-
ies as children or had more recently read them to their own
children or grandchildren. Greatest credit went to the story hour
or textbooks used in elementary schools as the source for the
paradigmatic sense of what fables are and the more or less pas-
itive repertoire of actual stories.

Data from the study is too varied and voluminous to sum-
marize here, but some selected examples should suffice to lend
support to the thesis stated earlier. There were five questions I
was particularly interested in answering. One involved the form
the respondents would use to express the moral of the story: Would
the moral take the form of a prosaic, interpretive statement? A
traditional maxim? Or possibly a metaphorical proverb? Generally,
I found that the language of the abstracted moral tended toward the style of the maxim. Even if the moral was expressed in "original prose," the flavor was often that of the didactic, high-sounding aphorism. For example, one moral suggested for "The Fox and the Grapes" was "Don't waste time trying for the impossible." In this case, though the informant offered the maxim Make do with what you have as a traditional alternative expression for the moral, she used language in her own "moral" that approached the diction of the maxim as well: that is, "trying for the impossible" rather than "trying to do something that is impossible."

A second question was whether the association between the fables and certain proverbs or maxims affected the articulation of the moral. I found a definite influence from the associated proverbial material on the statement of the moral. For example, one informant stated the moral of the fable of "The North Wind and the Sun" as follows: "Warmth (or kindness) works better than force." The parenthetical "kindness" and the mixed metaphor are clues that something has influenced the direct articulation of the moral. In this case, the associated proverbial expression cited by the informant is "You can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar." The association between the proverbial "honey" or sweetness and "kindness" or "human warmth" asserts itself to the extent that the moral incorporates the equated parts of the two metaphors.

A related question, then, would be "Is it possible that the proverbial material associated with the fable might conflict with the articulated meaning or moral?" Such conflict is apparent in some cases, but usually the "meaning" implied by the various associations is not self-contradictory but rather simply more inclusive (or perhaps vague). For example, one informant mentions the following proverbs as associated in her mind with the fable of the tortoise and the hare: Appearances can be deceiving; Don't judge a book by its cover; Slow and steady wins the race. The "moral" she articulates for the same story is "Have confidence in yourself." The articulated "meaning" here is not the usual one that a plodder, through perseverance, may succeed where a person of talent fails. Rather the associations suggest this meaning as well as the one actually suggested in the informant's "moral" involving a concept or theme of personal quality. In other words, the moral is addressed to the person who is judged by society to be of poor quality. This informant assumes that the story and the associated proverbs should give confidence to people who for some reason feel they have been unfairly judged as incompetent. Her "meaning" stems primarily from a thematic sense of the tortoise's character rather than from his method for winning the race.

We might ask, then, whether the reader produces "meaning" through interpretation or through association. Obviously it seems to be a combination of both, though it is possible to separate interpretive meaning from associative meaning. Nevertheless, in this post-Freudian age, it is impossible to assume that associative meaning does not have an importance equal to its interpretive or thematic meaning. In this regard we might ask further whether the informant will use the interpretive or the associative meaning in a hypothetical situation. Creating and describing hypothetical situations was a difficult task for the informants, perhaps because the stories themselves are not part of their active repertoires, though often the casual allusions to the stories are used in "proverbial situations." One example of the confusing interdependence of interpretive and associative meaning came in one woman's response to the fable of "The Fox and the Grapes." The
fox, as the story goes, comforts himself in his failure to reach the grapes by saying, "They weren't ripe anyhow." The moral of the story, according to my informant, is "If at first you don't succeed, don't try again." This certainly might be the fox's message or advice, but the fable itself offers an ironic omniscient author's point of view; we are not expected to identify with the fox. The informant's seeming identification is deceptive, however; she in fact brings her own ironic viewpoint into play in stating the moral. Through the diction of her moral she creates the obvious association with the traditional maxim if at first you don't succeed, try, try, again. This associated maxim allows for the more subtle, implied moral which condemns the fox's acquiescence and ready excuse. The informant, in fact, adds as an associated phrase the expression "Excuses, excuses." She obviously does recognize the dishonesty of the fox's rationalization. However, strangely enough, the literal message of the moral as she stated it originally reasserts itself in the implied meaning one draws from her "hypothetical situation." She suggests, "When one of my children tries something beyond their capabilities, I might use this as an object lesson." Here, we would guess that she does not intend to needle her children about their failure to do something that really is "beyond their capabilities." Such taunting would simply add insult to injury. However, if we assume that she does see the children as identifying with the fox, then the children are rightly instructed not to worry over things that they cannot change, to instead accept certain things as impossible. Still, the associated meaning ("Excuses, excuses") would suggest that the informant does not want her children to degrade the wisdom of their recognition of the impossible by offering convenient but dishonest excuses. The total "meaning" of the fable is much more complex than its moral, no matter who articulates it. Meaning, to some degree, will always remain a covert entity—"versteckt oder verkleidet," even without Lessing's approval.

Interpretation of the lore by the folk themselves is an increasingly popular subject of study for folklorists (and anthropologists, linguists, and literary critics). We must be cautious, however. Our interpretations of their interpretations are still needed, if for no other reason than that, as Pelto suggests, "they are not social scientists." In studying the fable, as we have seen, we may find that interpretations of meaning require certain analytic exercises which the informants may prefer to leave to the researcher. The extreme self-consciousness that scholars often fall prey to in their incessant analytic poking is not something we should want to impose upon our informants. Their performances and their interpretations should bring them the pleasure they so often find in having helped some folklorist with his or her project. Inevitably we shall save for ourselves our own bit of pleasure—just enough further interpretation to assure us that all our training is of some use after all.

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Notes

2 Dundes' article was originally published in The Monist 50 (1966): 505-516. He cites
4 See Dell Hymes, "Breakthrough into Performance," in Ibid., pp. 11-74, esp. pp. 15-18.
5 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, pp. 114–120.
6 Hymes, p. 68.
9 Perry discusses Lessing's *Abhandlungen über die Fabel* in his article; Ibid., p. 22, see Perry's note 21.
13 Tale-type references are to Antti Aarne's and Stith Thompson's *The Types of the Folktale* (FFC #184; Helsinki, 1961). Children's writer A.A. Milne allows Pooh Bear to eat too much honey while visiting Rabbit's house. As in the traditional tale, Pooh cannot squeeze through the tiny entrance in his pudgy state and must wait until he is reduced enough to leave.
16 Proof of some of the attention paid to fable by bookmakers of the past can be seen in John J. McKendry's *Aesop: Five Centuries of Illustrated Fables* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1964); more recent writers who have chosen the fable as a literary genre are represented in special editions such as Karen Kennerly's *Hesitant Wolf and Scrupulous Fox: Fables Selected from World Literature* (New York: Random House, 1973).
17 Perry, p. 21.
18 Taylor, p. 8.
20 Nigel Barley distinguishes two kinds of maxims, those that are literal and specific (e.g., "Everything comes to him who waits!") and those that are concrete but abstract (e.g., "Look before you leap"). Convention tends to group the second kind of maxim with the true proverb despite its concreteness; Nigel Barley, "A Structural Approach to the Proverb and Maxim with Special Reference to the Anglo-Saxon Corpus," *Proverbia* 20 (1972): 738-39.
22 Barley suggests that recallability is achieved whenever the paradigm of the story is posed as a proverbial saying; the saying enables us to avoid quoting the story by simply referring to it. Barley, "A Structural Approach to the Proverb," p. 742.
24 Abrahams and Babcock argue that a proverb "does not mean any one thing in the sense that it embodies a social message." This seems to be the general consensus among socio-linguistically-oriented proverb scholars; however, Heda Jason suggests that "there is a difference between a proverb being used in a social context in which it has an immedi-
ate function, and its having a function in the social system as a whole when the message it carries mediates between the social system and the value system of the culture."


29 Pelto suggests that the local people are not necessarily "better" than the ethnographer in analyzing their own culture though their help is obviously indispensable; Pelto, p. 85.
ANIMAL CATEGORIES IN CHICANO CHILDREN'S
SPooky STORIES AND RIDDLES

John H. McDowell

The thesis to be advanced in this essay is that two common genres of folk expression, riddle and narrative, carve out distinct realms of experience for artistic representation, and that they treat these separate realms in contrastive fashion. Specifically, riddles focus on the familiar domains of experience and render them strange, while spooky stories focus on the strange to render it more familiar. Finally, this differential usage of experience implies an underlying folk cosmology.

Raw materials supporting this thesis are riddles and narratives performed by Chicano children in Austin, Texas, during the year 1974. The children ranged in age from 4 to 11 years, with both sexes represented; and collection was done in the peer-group setting in an effort to capture the authentic flavor of child-to-child interaction.¹

In all, I perused several hundred riddles and perhaps one hundred narratives. The riddle corpus is primarily in the English language, and approximates a general North American juvenile riddling sample, since over eighty percent of it can be indexed with reference to prior North American collections. The narratives, on the other hand, are more likely to be recited in Spanish, and constitute an obvious ethnic heritage. I am concerned only with the category of narrative designated by the children as spooky stories. These narratives combine elements of Märchen and belief tale, and are greatly cherished by the children.

PERFORMANCES Both riddle and narrative are conversational genres, and they often share conversational settings; the rapid give-and-take of the riddle provides a respite from the more deliberate pacing of the narrative. Each genre tends to open a field of discourse; that is, a speech context favoring the recital of related items. Among the Chicano children whose interaction I observed, riddle fields often alternated with narrative fields, thereby preserving a situational bond between the two genres.

The tendency of riddle and spooky story to share discourse environments is tantamount to a wedding of opposites. At the level of performance, the two genres are highly contrasted. The riddle delegates to all willing participants an active role, either as one who poses or as one who attempts to resolve a propositional ambiguity. The narrative establishes essentially active and passive roles, those of narrator and audience respectively. Furthermore, the complete riddle act, with semantic closure, rarely endures more than a minute. A single narrative act, with final comments included, commonly lasts five to fifteen minutes among children. Certain strictures of conversational etiquette such as the tendency to take turns and censure repetitive material apply equally to both genres. But within these broad constraints, riddle and narrative establish starkly contrastive interactional dynamics. In addition, these oppositions of performance have their counterparts at the levels of semantic reference, and semantic transformation.
SEMANTIC REFERENCE  The problem of the natural generic
habitats of animals is articulated by Archer Taylor in reference
to the content of European riddling traditions:

In European riddling . . . the themes of riddles are found almost exclusively in
the vicinity of the farmer's house. . . . European riddlers rarely allude to wild
animals. It would be hard to find riddles for a stork, a bear, a fox, or a wolf,
frequent as these creatures are in folk story. . . . Provisionally at least, we can
say that modern European traditional riddles deal with the objects in a woman's world
or a world as seen from the windows of a house.2

The general proposition here, which remains an unanalyzed obser-
vation, is that riddles concentrate on the more intimate realms
of experience. In pastoral settings, the farmhouse and barnyard
furnish riddles with virtually all of their referents. In a modern
urban setting, we would expect to find some representation of
urban artifacts, similarly confined to the more intimate domains.

The riddles performed by the Chicano children confirm these
expectations. The primary referential domains are household objects,
body parts, and familiar animals. In particular, animals figure
prominently in both European traditional ridding and its modern
Chicano extension. It is apparent that the animals populating the
riddles performed by the Chicano children emerge from the more
familiar realms of the cosmos; this argument can be easily made
for all but one category of animals present in the ridding.

Two classification schemes proposed for our animal brethren
suggest ways in which to order the materials presented here.
Edmund Leach offers the following scheme, categorizing animals
according to their interactions with humans:

1. Those animals who are very close--"pets"--always strongly inedible.
2. Those who are tame but not very close--"Farm animals"--mostly edible, but only
   if immature or castrated.
3. Field animals--"game"--a category towards which we alternate friendship and
   hostility.
4. Remote wild animals--not subject to human control, inedible.3

Another system is proposed by S.J. Tambiah, and founded on a
set of correspondences between "marriage and sex rules, eating
rules, and rules of etiquette concerning house categories."4 While
Tambiah's entire scheme of correspondences need not concern us
here, his set of animal categories, derived from emic classifica-
tions in Thai villages, is relevant:

1. Domestic animals
   a) that live inside the house
   b) that live under the house
   c) belonging to other households.
2. Animals of the forest.
3. Powerful animals of the forest.

These two systems concur in establishing three basic animal
types: those that are domesticated, either as pets or animals
dwelling in and about the house and its immediate environs; those
that are not domesticated, but represent no major threat to human
society; and those who are wild and prey on human beings. The
first of these subsumes Leach's categories 1 and 2, and Tambiah's
category 1; the second type includes Leach's category 3 and
Tambiah's 2; and the third type corresponds to the final category
in each of the above reference systems.

These classification schemes are germane to the Chicano
children's riddling materials, as long as one important reinter-
pretation is accepted. Animals in these riddles are the following:

1. Type 1—domesticated animals
   a) pets: cat, canary, dog
   b) farm animals: chicken, cow, pig, horse.
2. Type 2—neutral animals (neither domesticated nor predators): ant, mosquito, 
mouse, rabbit, frog.
3. Type 3—animals of the wilderness.

Riddles present no true examples of Type 3 animals, that is, animals of the wild. But they do present one other category of animal which on the surface could be designated Type 3, though upon inspection these animals are better assigned to the Type 1 category. These are the picture book animals—such as elephant, kangaroo, zebra, monkey, and penguin—which the children are exposed to from a very early age. Presented in a highly denatured form, the elephant, kangaroo, and penguin of children's riddles have only the most superficial relationship to their savannah, outback, or polar counterparts.

When we turn our attention to animals in spooky stories, we note the replacement of Type 1 and 2 animals by Type 3 animals; that is, domesticated and neutral animals presented in the riddles yield to human predators in the narratives. Spooky stories I have recorded tell of bear, panther, crocodil e, wolf, bat, and snake, and portray these animals (unlike the picture book animals) as human predators. Consider the following example:

There was a little girl that went to buy tortillas but there wasn't any in the store, so then she went to the other store, and there wasn't none in that store; so then she went to that other store and there wasn't none in that other store; and then there was some, and when she came back it was already night and the mother said not to come inside the house 'cause it was already late and then the black panther ate her all up.  
[narrator: girl, 7 years old]

This is a simple tale, based on non-incremental repetition, but properly focused on the animal predator. As is frequently the case in these stories, the mother is implicated here as a collaborator in the child's undoing. Other renditions are more dramatic, evoking the perceptions of the human prey:

... so he kept walking, he heard some steps, he heard some steps, he looked back, he saw some feet, when she was walking, then he saw, turned around, he saw a dark eyes, then when he turned around he saw the face, then he saw the pads and head and all the body ...  
[narrator: boy, 9 years old]

Here we vicariously experience the rush of the body as the animal throws itself at us. Clearly this element is foreign to the riddle, with its litany of the ordinary and the familiar.

Even more striking are the narratives dealing with supernatural foes like La Llorona (the weeping woman), witches, devils, and ghosts.

Hey you know the little girl she had a, she had a mother but the mother was a witch, and the mother had said, "Go get apples and don't give anybody one," so that lady had turned into a witch and she went up there and she said, "Can I have an apple, I haven't eaten for years and years," and she goes, "OK"; so that lady had eat it and had turned into her mother again and she said, "Didn't I tell you not to give anybody an apple?"—"Mom, she said she never eat for--" then her mother had killed her; then her little brother had pulled her hair:
Brother, brother, don't pull my hair
Mother had killed me for one single pear.
And then he ran and go called her father; then her father pulled her hair, she said:
Father, father, don't pull my hair
Mother had killed me for one single pear.
And her father killed that lady.
[narrator: girl, 8 years old]

This story illustrates the blending of elements of Märchen and belief story. The interdiction-violation, and the poetic couplets with their pattern of incremental repetition, recall the "artistic logic of the märchen." Yet these stories are firmly rooted in the community belief system, and are often presented as personal experience narratives.

The supernatural figures appearing in these narratives are composites of human and animal characteristics. Not only are they perversely concerned with human affairs; they also frequently take human form, or even masquerade as human beings. These traits ally them with the human domain. Yet like animals they come and go at night, unobserved, live in old houses or by creeks and rivers, and scratch, maim, or even devour their prey. And some of them have tails, pointed ears, cloven hoofs, and other anatomical features peculiar to animals.

**Transformations** Riddles are agents of strange-making, to use the term employed by Russian Formalists. Transformations of the familiar occur through the device of linguistic trickery, or through the manipulation of conceptual codes. The former device can be illustrated with the following riddle:

*Why is a barn so noisy? Cause the cows have horns.*
[boy, 7 years old]

The word "horn" allows for two different semantic glosses, facilitating a momentary association of two distinct semantic domains, those of cattle and cars. In the process our standard conceptualization of the cow and barn is enriched and enlivened.

Riddles operating through conceptual trickery may involve novel comparisons founded on some authentic affinity between objects, as in the following instance:

*What's like a turtle, it has the shell of a turtle, and it's attached to the ground? A mushroom.*
[boy, 7 years old]

Here the perceptual affinity between the mushroom and the turtle shell (each belongs to the superordinate category of concave objects) produces this arresting comparison between a plant and an animal. The animal itself enters into a novel associative frame, thereby acquiring a new conceptual vitality.

Another device investing riddle referents with strangeness is the presentation of real world anomaly; that is, anomaly deriving from our capacity to transcend pragmatic articulations of experience.

*What's taller sitting than standing? A dog.*
[girl, 8 years old]

We have a common understanding that a creature should lose height when moving from a standing to a sitting position. The dog offers a contrary instance, and this contradiction is brought to our attention in the riddle. The dog is rendered strange here through the attribution of a trait it actually possesses.

Some riddles achieve the same effect by endowing their animal referents with counter-factual characteristics.
What's yellow and it's the fattest brain in the world? A 10,000 pound canary.

[girl, 6 years old]

The fragile canary is indeed made strange in the world of the riddle.

All of the mechanisms discussed above have the capacity to transform familiar referents into less familiar ones, by investing the everyday frame of reference with unconventional associations. The ordinary animals--dog, cow, turtle, canary, in the examples given--take on fresh semantic value, whether momentarily, as in the case of riddles employing linguistic trickery, or more profoundly, when real perceptual affinities or anomalies are cited. This same transformational move, from the familiar to the strange, operates in other semantic domains besides that of animals.

Spooky stories accomplish precisely the opposite transformation. They begin with fierce animal antagonists, or bizarre creatures of fantasy embodying basic anxieties such as fear of rejection by the mother in the story quoted earlier. The antagonists of these narratives emerge from the outer regions of the cosmos, the wilderness beyond town, or the liminal districts of the imagination. These outer regions are inhospitable to human purposes, and thereby present a contrast to the utilitarian, inner cosmological regions selected for presentation in riddling.

The denizens of the outer regions are rendered less threatening, and more familiar, through two devices. First, they are included in a narrative frame and thereby implicitly brought under human control to some minimal extent. Presentation in narrative constitutes a preliminary move towards domestication. The very act of encasing these human predators in verbal icons imposes limits on them, and the transition from a formless anxiety to a finite threat (as in the case of the mother/witch story cited previously) represents an important step towards familiarization.

Panther, witch, and their ilk, are not necessarily entirely neutralized through this procedure, though some narratives perform further manipulations reducing these once awesome figures to the status of ridiculous spook imitators.

Moreover, the spooky stories integrate their spooky antagonists into the social contract. Society provides safe preserves (often the home, or the city streets by day), and secure behavioral norms (obey your mother). In the two stories cited, the children incurred their dire fates by violating these basic social precautions. Society also offers preventative measures, should evil intrude even upon the circumspect, as the following excerpt shows:

... and then, and she came at night, and I put a big old cross up there. She was not here, she was all night at my sister's house....

[girl, 8 years old, in reference to la llorona]

When evil is perpetrated, the narratives assign to social forces the task of restoring the social equilibrium. Thus the witch/mother does in her child, but she in turn is vanquished by her husband. Through these two mechanisms--the inclusion of human foes in a narrative frame, and their integration into the social contract--the spooky stories may be said to deprive their strange protagonists of some of their strangeness.

**COSMOLOGY** The allocation of different animal Types to riddles and spooky stories indicates an underlying folk cosmology which is not articulated directly by the children, but appears to govern the observable patterns of genre content. We have discovered three types of animals non-randomly dispersed among riddles and narratives:
Type 1: domesticated animals (riddles)
Type 2: neutral animals (riddles)
Type 3: human predators (spooky stories)

Each animal Type is a metonymic statement concerning cosmological structure. A precedent for this view can be found in the article by S.J. Tambiah, which interrelates animal types with a set of other variables, including marriage and sex rules, and constraints pertaining to the use of house space. The animal Types would then take on the following connotations:

Type 1: domesticated animals
--the home and its immediate environs; the scope of operation of the family; the domain of security, enduring affective relationships, identity.

Type 2: neutral animals
--the town; the scope of operation of society; a domain of provisional security, transitory relationships, achieved identity.

Type 3: human predators
--the wilderness; beyond society; a domain void of security, and barren of affective relationships or sources of identity.

A cosmological partitioning of this kind would not be the exclusive property of the Chicanos, nor would it necessarily constitute a cultural universal (nomadic peoples, for example, might well present a different picture). But it does accord rather well with supplementary evidence, both sociological and novelistic, stressing the central importance of home and family in the Chicano worldview, and the catastrophic loss of security and identity as one moves away from this inner domain.

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Notes
1 For a fuller treatment of the riddling corpus and the children responsible for it see my Children's Riddling (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979).
7 Tambiah, passim.
HUNGARIAN MESE: "RIDDLE" > "TALE"

Vilmos Voigt

From the folktale studies of Johannes Bolte, if not from other sources, it is well known that the history and etymology of the word "tale" in various languages has an interesting biography of its own. Mese, the common Hungarian word for "tale," was investigated several times from a linguistic point of view, and intermittently Hungarian folklorists have also dealt with this question. No special study, however, has been devoted to the subject. Recently new materials have come to light, enabling us, at this time, to present the history of the Hungarian term, mese, from the angles of both generic and etymological development.

In 1893 the Finno-Ugric linguist Bernát Munkácsi compared the Hungarian mese with the following Siberian parallels: Northern Vogul āmiś, "riddle"; Lozva-River Vogul āmiś; Northern Ostyak amēs; and so on. The Ob-Ugric nouns derive from verbs like Lozva-River Vogul āmīlt- and āmēff-, Tavda Vogul āmalt-, "to tell, to say." Hungarian etymologists support this comparison, with some modifications. In 1950 Edit Hexendorf collected the Hungarian data and proposed that the word mese underwent a semantic change, "enigma" > "exemplum," similar to the change, "riddle" > "exemplum." Her arguments, however, are of a purely linguistic character: she disregards the genre theory of folk literature research. Hungarian folklore handbooks and tale collections usually quote her etymology. In 1963, I tried to demonstrate that the older Hungarian data for the word mese refer not to "tale" but to "riddle," and therefore, the etymology of the term should be modified. Since 1966 A magyar népköltészet (the university handbook of Hungarian folk literature) has used the word in a manner similar to that I had proposed. Recently two etymological dictionaries summed up the results of the linguistic investigations. The second volume of A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótára ("Historical-Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language," 1970) refers to Hungarian historical data as follows:

The dictionary distinguished five principal meanings of the word mese in Hungarian:

1. From 1372 onward, "exemplum"; 2. From 1585 onward, "tale"; 3. From between 1725 and 1764 onward, "false story, excuse"; 4. From 1883 onward, "plot"; 5. From 1851 onward, "empty word, nonsense."

The comparative section of the dictionary entry follows the ideas of Dezső Pais, who refers to the Ostyak word mōlf, "tale," and probably thinks of an early nomen-verbum in Ugric *mač3 ~ *mač3, "to tell, telling tale." Thus the dictionary supports the generic equivalence of Ostyak, Vogul, and Hungarian tale phenomena.

In 1971 the second volume of A Magyar Szókészlet Finnugor Elemei. Etimológiai Szótár ("Etymological Dictionary of Finno-Ugric
Words in the Hungarian Language") offered a comprehensive picture of the Hungarian word according to the methods of historical phonology. This dictionary cites the same data found in the previous work, but rejects several earlier etymologies (noting, inter alia, that the Vogul and Ostyak parallels mentioned by Munkácsi above are late Tatar loanwords in Ugric languages; and that the Zuryan moid, "tale"--because of phonetic rules--could not be the origin of the Hungarian word, but it is the source for the Northern Vogul mőjt, "tale") and supports the nomen-verbum theory. According to the 1971 volume, the semantic development was as follows:

Ugric mǎñč̠ = mañč̠ "tale, Märchen - to tell, erzählen". Derivations in recent Ostyak are monč̠, "Sage, Erzählung (z.B. von alten Helden; nicht Lied)," other forms Sage," and Vogul mañč̠-, "Märchen, Märchen erzählen"; thus, the Ob-Ugric forms refer to both "tale" and "legend" genres as does Hungarian historical data.

While completing our new university handbook of Hungarian folklore, I had the opportunity to use these two dictionaries, but because of folkloristic considerations I did not change my view of the generic development of the Hungarian word for "tale." It should also be mentioned that in recent years a multivolume dictionary of Transylvanian Hungarian language has been in the process of publication. This work contains a vast amount of historical data given in context, but the publication has not yet reached the entry mese. Judging by the nature of this dictionary, we should not expect data that predates the information in other Hungarian historical dictionaries. We should, however, expect new material concerning the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century semantics of the word.

To sum up both the confirmable and the questionable points of these etymologies, one can say that the basic root of the Hungarian word mese is an old common Ugric nomen-verbum which means "to tell, to say; telling, saying." The word is at least 4000 years old (!) and therefore it is not easy to specify the genres to which this term referred in various historical periods. Since both in Ostyak and Vogul, the respective words refer to "a nonsung story" we can see an original opposition between "song" and "prose"; this information agrees with all the Hungarian data. In terms of Hungarian usage, we must first consider all the generic connotations of the word, and only then should we return to the problem of meaning in Old Hungarian texts.

Disregarding the use of mese in personal names and instances in which we cannot surmise the actual meaning of the word, we can enumerate the following historical data.

1372/1448 Jókai-kódex
1508 Döbrentei-kódex
1516-1519 Jordánzyk-kódex
1585 Calepinus-dictionary
C. 1650 Balassa-kódex
mese, "enigmatic."
Mefe, "riddle."
meffeet mondok, "I tell a riddle," (referring to Samson's riddle in the Old Testament).
mese, "fable."
jelentem versen mėsimet, "I present my riddle in verses."

We find similar data from later periods as well. In this article I can only refer to some of the most important works.

1629 A book printed in Lőcse/Levoča/Leutschau, Mesés Könyvcske Mely vyionnan meg eksitettet rövid ertelmes kérdésekkel és feletkekkel. Mostan Németből Magyarrá fordított ("A Riddle Book. Which Has Been Newly Decorated with Short Clever Questions and Answers. Translated from German into Hungarian.") This is the oldest riddle-book printed in Hungarian.
We also have data on the term "riddle-telling" which connects it with the word mese. The Hungarian Jesuit Ferenc Faludi wrote in his Second Ecloga (1773) about two shepherds telling riddles:

Corydon

Mese, mese - mi az? Híres e világon
Neve írva vagyon gazdag terjedt ágon.
Redő és bokréta, búbos és kalapos
Néha alsó, néha pedig felül lapos?
Riddle, riddle, what is that?
It is well known on the earth . . .

Tityrus

Mese, mese mi az? Ha kulcsát találtad,
Ígért bárányommal zsíros leszen tálad.
Piros, poskós, kövér, még csak píczin falat,
Nincs hozzá hasonló a kerék ég alatt.
Riddle, riddle, what is that?
If you find the key for it . . .

The riddle contest continued for several stanzas; the majority of these riddles are still extant in Hungarian folklore.

From 1815 on we have written records of wedding ceremonies during which riddles were put to the bridegroom or to the best man before either could enter the bride's house. In the book Békési menyegző (["Wedding in County Békés"], there is an obligatory formula for the best man: Mondja meg hát nékem, ha Mesét tudni vágy! ("Let him tell me the answer, if he wants to decipher the riddle").

Hungarian popular chapbook literature also uses the word mese, meaning "riddle." At the end of the eighteenth century the printer in the Vác published a small volume which became very popular in later reprints: Hamar elméjű furtsa talál�ányú MESEK, az az: ldől tőlt szép finom fain diszes kérdések és feleletek . . . ("Clever and Witty Riddles, or Time-Consuming Nice Fine Questions and Answers . . ."). During the first half of the nineteenth century it was common in the Hungarian chapbook market to set aside empty pages at the end of a small publication for printing "furtsa mese kérdések" ("peculiar riddle questions"), or "Egynéhány szép mesék kérdésekkel 's feleletekkel" ("some nice riddles with questions and answers").

The common people followed the above practice; they wrote down their own collections of riddles, mainly for use at wedding riddle-telling sessions. The oldest of such manuscripts which contain common riddles is dated 1840 and comes from the village Sellye in Southern Hungary.

In 1817 the editor of the literary journal Hasznos Mulatságok ("Profitable Entertainments") published an appeal for riddle collecting; riddle material was regularly published in that journal as well as in a number of others. The first Hungarian definition of the riddle was also published in Hasznos Mulatságok. The short article entitled "Aenigma" opens with a definition: "A' Mese, (Találós Mese, Kérdő Mese), olly rövid Költemény . . . . ("The mese [riddling mese or questioning mese] is a short piece of poetry . . ."). Since then találós mese ("riddling tale") has been the common
name for riddle in Hungarian folklore scholarship. In 1921 Zsigmond Szendrey developed a systematization of the Hungarian riddles, based upon Aarne's classification, in which he used two main categories: találós mesék and találós kérdések, (riddling tales and riddling questions). Only the two most recent Hungarian university handbooks of folklore prefer a different terminology, calling the riddle in general rejtvény or találós. In short, the Hungarian word mese denoted riddle until recent years.

But if the word mese had the original meaning "riddle," then what was the word used for tales in earlier times? Sixteenth-century literature used the word fabula, which of course is the Latin word for "fable." In the first scholarly collection of Hungarian folk songs and narratives, edited in three volumes between 1846 and 1848 by János Erdélyi, Népdalok és mondák (Folksongs and Tales), the word for "tale" is monda. Generally today monda means "legend." Monda was coined about 1759 from the Hungarian verb mond, "to say," following the German usage Sage from the verb sagen. The older phrases monda-monda, or by phonetical dissimulation, mende-monda (both meaning "untrue story") probably served as examples. The oldest data for monda-monda in written form is from 1628, "Mind monda mondat itilem hogy elkelene inkább viselnem" ("I take it rather for a false story than I shall bear it on me"). But we have cases for different phonetic variations as well: 1720, mendemonda; 1779, mondomonda; 1790, mondi monda; 1796, mindemonda; or even ende-monda.

The word mese and its congener signify "tale" mainly in eighteenth-century usage. In a translated conversation book, entitled KirályiBeszélgetéseknek, nem különb'en Frantzia Példabeszédeknek öszve szedezetése ... ("Royal Conversations and French Parables ...") published Pozsony/Bratislava (1749) we find the sentence "Rendes mese ez, furcsa dolog" together with its German original: "Das ist nur ein artiges Märlein." Because the book is a translation, we can not know for certain that it refers to the Hungarian usage current at that time; we can suggest, however, that in this book the word mese is the equivalent of the German Märlein—that is, akin to Märchen.

As early as 1896 the literary historian Lajos Dészki had called attention to the works of György Verestói (1689-1765), the Hungarian Calvinist bishop of Transylvania, which contain extensive data on the folklore of the period. In a funeral speech delivered in 1733 Verestói argued against useless narratives with vivid depictions of the storytelling practices of his time.

Nem hiszem, hogy egy nemzetben is volna annyi mese és szőfiabeszéd a tündérországgról, mint a magyarok között. Erről beszélnek a leányok a fonóban és a kalákbán. Anak lógyózó és heverő ínások is, kik hívalakodásnak piattzára külnek, ezzel csapják a legyet a szárókról, költvén hívalakodó elmejekkel tündérré nyílik, tündérlényeket, sőt néhánykor tündérréparipákat is.

[I do not think that in any nation, other than Hungary there are so many tales and false speeches concerning the fairy lands. The girls in spinning rooms speak about then, and during collective work, the lazy and sleepy boys who sit in the market place are creating with their vague minds fairy kings, fairy maidens, or sometimes even fairy horses.]

The eighteenth century is an important period in the history of tale scholarship in Hungary. The first translation of a French literary tale (AT 403) appeared in K assai kalendárium ("Almanac from Kassa") in 1763; two volumes of Madame D'Aulnoy's tales appeared in Hungarian in 1774, and 1792, respectively. A translation of AT 750A, also from French, appeared in Kolozsvár/Cluj
in 1781. The oldest manuscript collection of Hungarian tales dates back to 1789. The first known tale text which is nearly complete was rendered by the poet Mihály Vitéz Csokonai in 1793. In the 1790s another poet, Lőrinc Orczy, wrote about storytelling in a negative manner:

Bourdalen ha lesz cathedrában
És ha az mesését hagyjuk a fonóban

[If brothel shall be from the school
And the taletelling continues in the spinning rooms]

In light of the above data, we must reconsider the semantic developments in Hungarian of the words mese and "tale." It is very important to remember that changes in genre terminology reflect the changes in genres as well. Historical data for both riddle and tale traditions in Hungary support the hypothesis that between the sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries a considerable generic development took place in Hungarian folk narratives. In order to describe these phenomena properly, we first had to re-evaluate the Hungarian terms for "tale."

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Notes

1 Johannes Bolte, Name und Merkmale des Mährchens (FFC #36, 1920).
2 I thank Mr. László Mándoki (Pécs, Hungary) for his paper "Szóbeli rejtvényeink gyűjtése- és kutatása- története" ("History of Collections and Studies of Riddles in Hungary"), from which I gathered valuable data. The paper will appear soon in A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve (Pécs, 1979).
5 My thesis "On Stylistics of Hungarian Folk Tales" was directed by the late Professor Gyula Ortutay; however, it was Dr. Linda Dégh, to whom I feel especially indebted, who introduced me to the field of folk narrative research.
10 Published by Janos Berze Nagy, Baranyai magyar néphagyományok (Pécs: Kiadja Baranya Vármegye Községe, 1940), vol. 2, pp. 25-31.
11 Hasznos Nulatságok (1817, part 2), pp. 152-54; the definition was written by Istvan Kultsar.
13 A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótára, p. 948.
PROVERBS AND PROVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS
IN A ZAGREB NEWSPAPER

Maja Bósković-Stulli

It is generally believed that proverbs are rarely used in newspapers; my own friends have often told me so. I have, however, collected cuttings over the years—from the Vjesnik and other Zagreb newspapers—and the picture that emerges is quite different. Many commentators, including Lüthi, Mieder, Herles, and Röhrich, have noticed the presence of proverbs in the mass media, in newspapers generally, and particularly in advertising and political cartoons. The work of these scholars contains valuable information on the subject and while many of my own observations are in agreement with them, there are certain features that appear to be unique to Zagreb newspapers. This article is based on proverbs and proverbial expressions that I gathered from the headlines and sub-headlines of Vjesnik between the summer of 1974 and that of 1978 (with only a few insignificant gaps). I found proverbs in other dailies and weeklies, but I will mention them only when they are related to the examples from Vjesnik.

The meaning of the proverb is not unambiguously defined by the text itself; it is also determined by the situation in which the proverb is found—that is, by the context. The situation may induce a spontaneous variation in the form of the proverb, and even change its constituent parts. On the one hand, proverbs in oral communication are difficult to study, because of the fluidity of speech, and the impossibility of foreseeing when a proverb will be used. On the other hand, we know that proverbs entered written literature very early, and that the proverb is a genre in which the borderline between the written and the oral is rather blurred. We might expect, then, that a newspaper where the context—to the scholar's delight—is so obviously preserved, the form of each proverb might be less variable and less situation-specific. But this is not the case, as my research shows.

Proverbs and proverbial phrases in the newspaper are intentionally distinguished from their traditional, folkloric models. They are modified, and appear in variant forms; their constituent parts and meanings are changed, under the apparent assumption that the readers know the model, can comprehend non-spontaneous adaptations and deviations from that form, and understand this second manifestation of the proverb as well as its modern connotations.

I used only the proverbs and proverbial expressions found in headlines for this survey. Practical considerations, in part, dictated this restriction; the number of proverbs used in the body of the articles would have been much too large for my purposes here. But I have chosen also to focus on these items because proverbs in headlines carry a special emphasis. Even when they do not contain a proverb, these headlines often express some "wise" idea, some experience, moral, or criticism in a generalized form. If they resort to a concise, already-formulated adage which carries the authority of long-established experience, it is condensed in a formula with which the reader is already familiar, and it is used to reinforce the main idea presented in the text, then
there is a proverb or proverbial phrase in the headline. A headline frequently consists of an affective and attractive rephrasing of a proverb quoted in the article. Moreover, even when the idea it expresses is not particularly relevant to the article, a proverb may be put into the headline just for the effect it creates.

Some of the following proverbs are known as the sayings of famous personalities, and others are publicity slogans; the criterion for inclusion here is that they have entered the oral repertoire, regardless of their origin. Most of my material consists of more traditional oral proverbs.

Many of the proverbs found in the newspaper are familiar and even banal, while others come from a rural environment where speech (until recently) was interspersed with a wealth of old proverbs. Journalists who use these latter proverbs either come from such an environment themselves (and resort to its idiom in writing) or, being of urban origin, they take over the "rural" proverbs because they like to flirt with a "folksy" style. Occasionally such "folksy" proverbs become popular with journalists, and are passed from text to text, joining those that have already become hackneyed.

Unfortunately, because of unavoidable losses in translation, English-speaking readers will not be able to appreciate the subtle differences among my examples, nor will they be able to experience the texture of the quotations and their often remarkable euphony. They can, however, get an idea of the diversity of the proverbs and proverbial phrases used in Vjesnik, and of the interesting transformational process these texts undergo. The transformations are manifold. The form, and especially the syntax, of the proverbs are often changed. Sometimes a proverb is alluded to by just one word, or it may be elliptically contracted. Occasionally the proverb is expanded in accordance with the new context. Word order may change for special sound effects, or because the author did not remember the original correctly. The elements of the proverbs can be altered, creating new metaphors. Sometimes these metaphors are restored to the literal meaning of the words, and are thus deprived of their metaphoric character. Alternatively, the traditional constituents can be replaced by notions from the contemporary social and political vocabulary. The basic meaning of the proverb may be modified out of ignorance, or in order to make a pun.

The following proverbs illustrate the processes that transform an oral proverb into a "newspaper proverb." They demonstrate indirectly the variety and function—which is related to the type of the article and its subject—of proverbs in the newspaper. The possibilities for modification, and the resultant variation, can be most easily seen where the same proverb has been used in several different cases. I have found, for example, three proverbs that were used in eight headlines apiece.

The normal form of our first example is: THE WOLF MAY SHED HIS FUR BUT HIS NATURE NEVER CHANGES. In the eight headlines, this form is assumed to be familiar, though none repeat the phrase verbatim. One headline alluded to the poor draft of a contract, and used the ellipsis: THE WOLF MAY SHED . . . (8/12/75). The elliptic form is also used in the second example, but this time an adverbial phrase is added: THE WOLF, OF COURSE, ONLY SHEDS HIS FUR! (8/12/75). The effect is nonchalant, easy-going style, as if to apologize for use of a familiar proverb. The article deals with unruly behavior at football matches. The meaning of the proverb is changed in our next headline: THE WOLF SHEDS HIS FUR
AND SOMETIMES HIS NATURE TOO (6/11/77). The article talks about the problem of new institutions repeating the errors of the old administration. WHEN THE DRIVER SHEDS THE FUR (10/1/77) refers to car drivers who change into wolves when they are drunk. In this case, the metaphor has undergone several alterations: the wolf is replaced by the driver, whose unstable character is indicated by his "fur." The final negative phrase of the proverb is deleted and so the meaning of the proverb is reversed. A similar reversal can be seen in an article headed: PATRONS SHED THEIR FUR (10/29/77). The writer is critical of some firms that had stopped financing training centers that they had previously subsidized. In a report dealing with sham political reform in Brazil, the meaning is not changed, but the subject of the metaphor is: THE REGIME SHEDS ITS FUR BUT ITS NATURE REMAINS (7/3/78). In another newspaper we find: THE WOLF SHEDS (NOT) HIS FUR (Vjesnik u srijedu, 10/2/74). The article concerns the sentence given to members of an underground group sympathetic to the former Informbureau, a Soviet-backed organization that started an all-out political attack on Yugoslavia in 1948. THE WOLF IN THE CAR (9/10/75) appeared in the same paper. The special red license plates on official cars had been abolished and the article commented that the system had failed because "many users of official cars change the color of the number plate, but their own character never changes." The reference here is to the use of official cars for private purposes.

I also found eight examples of THE OLD WOMAN GOES THROUGH THE WOOD AND THE OLD MAN ALONG THE ROAD. The proverb summarizes a misunderstanding, a situation in which each party goes his own way without noticing the other. In ONE THROUGH THE WOOD, ANOTHER ALONG THE ROAD (9/12/74), the old couple have been replaced by indefinite pronouns that refer to two uncoordinated bills. The constituents have again been changed in THE PLAYERS THROUGH THE WOOD, THE AUTHORITIES ALONG THE ROAD (3/1/76). The article comments on the lack of communication between chess players and officials. ALONG THE ROAD AND THROUGH THE WOOD (4/29/76) comments on the draft of a bill and two conflicting theses about what it should contain. THE GOATS THROUGH THE WOOD, THE LAW ALONG THE ROAD (10/13/77) headlines a letter to the editor in which the writer warns that many pests destroy karst vegetation, and not just goats (the keeping of which is prohibited by law). Here the headline is used for effect and has no real connection with the article. In another newspaper, Vjesnik u srijedu, we find the following examples: CUSTOMERS ALONG THE ROAD, SHOPMEN THROUGH THE WOOD (7/10/74) alludes to the inconvenient working hours in shops; RESOLUTIONS ALONG THE ROAD, HOUSING CONSTRUCTION THROUGH THE WOOD (4/9/75) introduces an article on the lag in the scheduled construction of flats; THE EYES THROUGH THE WOOD, THE EARS ALONG THE ROAD (5/28/75) reports about noise in a house in the Soviet Union, the source of which officials said had been removed though the noise was still heard; and THE OLD WOMAN THROUGH THE WOOD--THE ARMY ALONG THE ROAD (1/15/77). This last example is quoted from a polemical article and expresses mutual misunderstanding. Unlike in the preceding examples, the metaphor has not been adapted to suit the new situation but is quoted literally in a different variant.

The proverb THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLED AND A MOUSE WAS BORN occurs eight times in my material. The article under the headline THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLE--THE DAMS ARE TO BLAME? (1/25/76) discusses an international conference on earthquakes and
uses a pun created by reducing the metaphor to the literal meaning. Another headline quotes only the end of the proverb, . . . A MOUSE WAS BORN (8/28/76) as a polemical reply to an article published in another paper under the headline THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLED. A paraphrase of the proverb in which it is made into a paradox is used in the headline THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLED AND THERE ISN'T EVEN A MOUSE (2/17/76). This phrase introduces an article discussing how decisions made about the reorganization of the health service were not being carried out. The proverb is taken as familiar to all in the following headline referring to a disappointing football match: IT ALL FollowS THE OLD SAYING--THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLED . . . (8/29/77). In the headline of a report from Bonn, THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLED AND THE ARMISTICE WAS BORN (6/29/77), the reference is to a quarrel and reconciliation between two politicians. From Vjesnik u srijedu come the following examples: THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLED . . . (8/21/74) introduces a report on school reforms that were not performed; THE MOUNTAINS SHOOK AND A NEW DAILY WAS BORN (10/9/74) refers to a changed time for an evening television newsmagazine; and THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLED . . . , AND 'GUBEC-BEG' WAS BORN (3/19/75) concerns a new Croatian rock-opera.

I have recorded the use of the proverb whose most frequent form is BETTER HAVE A SPARROW IN THE HAND THAN A PIGEON ON THE BRANCH five times. In a report from Italy on the mood among voters, the proverb has been expanded by a qualifying adjective that lends it a contemporary ring: BETTER A SPARROW IN THE HAND THAN A (LEFTIST) PIGEON ON THE BRANCH (6/13/75). The headline IS A SPARROW IN THE HAND BETTER? (9/10/77) introduces an article on Norwegian voters, who are expected to vote for the safest solution in uncertain times. A report from the Federal Republic of Germany comments on the forthcoming participation in decision-making by workers in large firms: A SPARROW ALBEIT, BUT STILL IN THE HAND (12/11/75). The elliptically condensed allusion A SPARROW OR A PIGEON (4/7/77) introduces an article on young graduates who refuse to accept jobs in the country. Their decision to stay in the city, even without jobs, is treated in the article as a "sparrow in the hand," even though it would be more logical according to the meaning of the proverb to consider a job in the country as a "sparrow." Our last example is A SPARROW IN THE HANDS OF THE ECONOMY--HOW TO GET THE PIGEON? (6/24/78). The article discusses the possibilities of overcoming manufacturing difficulties. By means of a free paraphrase, the addition of the attributive genitive, and the reversal of the idea (because what is desirable here is no longer a sparrow but a pigeon), the proverb has been placed at a distance from its model and integrated into the modern context.

TO BUY A CAT IN A POKE (in English, TO BUY A PIG IN A POKE) means to buy something without knowing what it really is. This proverb has also been found in five headlines. In three of them it is used in a condensed form: A CAT IN A POKE (12/11/75, 3/30/77 and 6/5/78). The articles criticize the selling of faulty goods, careless appointments of managerial staff in the economy, and voting for some proposals without the necessary checking of their content. The headline (DON'T) BUY A CAT IN A POKE (6/25/77) refers to the negative consequences of the local closure of markets. The author has varied the grammatical form of the proverb, removing it farther from the traditional statement by adding the negation in brackets. The headline WHO IS PROTECTING 'THE CAT IN A POKE' (6/24/77) condemns the selling of faulty goods to customers
by alluding to corrupt salesmanship through the elliptical phrase, 'protection of the cat in a poke.'

Vjesnik introduced a column entitled WITH THE PEN INTO THORNS after the proverb AFTER THE BATTLE, WITH THE SPEAR INTO THORNS. Almost everything has been changed: the syntagm about the battle has been omitted, the metaphor containing the spear has been replaced by the pen and the thorns have acquired a new metaphorical meaning; thus a new meaning has been obtained, that is, a journalistic criticism of negative social phenomena.

The Biblical proverb SO THAT THE LEFT HAND SHOULD NOT KNOW WHAT THE RIGHT HAND DOES (in reference to good deeds) is quoted in the title of a reader's letter in the following way: THE LEFT HAND DOES NOT KNOW WHAT THE RIGHT HAND IS DOING (7/25/75). The ignorance is taken literally because the traditional meaning of the proverb has been forgotten. The reader is complaining about contradictory information regarding booking seats on a train.

The proverb THE WOLF HAS EATEN THE DONKEY, which means that something has been done and forgotten, is quoted in the heading of an article about increasing prices despite official attempts at stabilization. As is often the case, a folksy saying has been applied to a non-folksy subject, the distance between them being created by a slight modification of the syntax (10/18/75). The same proverb is quoted, in a similar way, in the article on careless purchasing of faulty foreign goods (4/24/75).

A subtle play on the metaphorical and literal meaning of the proverbial phrase IN THIS BUSH LIES THE HARE (There's the rub) has been devised in an article on the so-called Sunday hunters, who, when hunting game, would often wound people (11/23 & 24/75). The author asks in the subtitle whether hunters will ever understand that "there isn't a hare in every bush." This is both a normal statement and an allusion to the saying, which is then quoted in the article: It is in this bush that the hare lies . . . (meaning: this is the question). The same proverbial phrase is drawn upon in an article on preparing athletes for the Olympic Games. Referring to the risks involved in selecting the athletes, the headline says: IN WHICH BUSH WHICH HARE? (7/21/76).

Here is another example of a typical peasant proverb used to criticize contemporary bureaucracy: the proverb WHILE YOU ARE SHOUTING AT THE WOLF, THE FOX IS EATING THE MEAT has been transformed into YOU ARE SHOUTING AT THE CLERK WHILE THE FOXES ARE EATING THE MEAT (2/22/76). Modernization has been achieved by the change of the object and syntax, which has produced a new assonance as well.

The phrase FOLLOW THE BELLY IN SEARCH FOR BREAD, which means to set off to find a better living, has been used in the headline: WITHOUT BELLY TO BREAD (3/6/76). The author plays with words. The belly has been used in its literal meaning and a new rhyme has been produced. The article concerns the bitter experience of pregnant women who cannot get jobs. The object and the meaning of the phrase have been changed in the caption accompanying the picture of Kissinger standing next to the belly-dancer, Linda Dinsmore: WITH THE BELLY AFTER KISSINGER (1/12/77).

The well-known advertisement for sweets ANYWHERE YOU GO, THERE'S KIKI FOR YOU has not only acquired proverbial status but has also become the subject of adaptation in the headline ANYWHERE YOU GO, THERE'S LEVAK FOR YOU (11/22/76), the reference being to a popular television announcer. Another publicity slogan to have reached the status of popular saying is that
launched by Gavrilović, a familiar meat-processing firm: LT'S DELICIOUS, IT'S MADE BY GAVRILOVIC! The slogan has been used sarcastically to headline a report on the factory. The author contrasts the glittering publicity with the considerable economic difficulties in the same factory (1/16/77). The contemporary phrase TURN THE RECORD (OVER) refers to a person who is always telling the same story; it belongs, of course, to the "record player" culture. In a headline for an article pointing out that the cuts from the same record are played too frequently on the radio, the proverb has been restored to its original meaning.

The overlapping of the literal and figurative meaning of a phrase can be seen in the headline THEY STEPPED ON HIS BLISTER (in English, STEP ON SOMEONE'S TOES) (1/11/77). The article is a reaction to attacks on a basketball player who was criticized for not appearing in a match because of blisters on his hand. The journalist condemns interference with the private lives of sportsmen.

I hope these examples have demonstrated that although Vjesnik's journalists keep their distance from the traditional models, they nevertheless use proverbs and proverbial phrases readily and frequently. These proverbs are used in contexts characterized neither by a rural content, nor by a rural way of thinking, even though a large proportion of the proverbs themselves derive their metaphors and constituents from rural life, and come from a rural tradition. In addition, traditional proverbs of urban origin are used; some are well-established, while others display contemporary origin. This stratified repertoire, and the attitude toward older traditional proverbs that it manifests, are clearly related to the social and cultural changes that have taken place during the past few decades, as Yugoslavian society has been transformed increasingly from the agrarian to the industrial.

I did not choose these proverbs according to the topic of the article from which they came; to have done so would have been to use a criterion of choice external to the material itself. The relationship between the proverbs and their context—that is, the subject matter of the articles—is nevertheless important, if we are to understand the use of proverbs and proverbial phrases in newspapers. I found a total of 165 proverbs and proverbial phrases in the headlines of Vjesnik, and they fall into the following groups according to the topic of the articles: 100 examples occur in articles which deal with social phenomena, and which are often critical of negative aspects of the economy (such as, self-management, cultural life, health care, and public utilities); 24 come from reports on political developments in the world; 20 are found in articles on sports, of which five are critical; art, radio and television reviews contain 7 examples; 2 appear in cartoons; 1 comes from an advertisement; and 11 concern various oddities.

There are several reasons for the frequency of proverbs in articles on social phenomena, particularly in those that are critical. The first, though not most important reason, is that newspapers abound in this kind of article. A more important factor is to be found in the very nature of the proverb. Although proverbs are not as directly didactic as they are usually assumed to be, they nevertheless serve the purpose of teaching a lesson or a rule. On the one hand, the authority of their condensed and long-established evaluative experience lends more weight to the criticism expressed in the article. On the other hand, as Hermann Bausinger says, the proverb is "a partially valid worldly rule; the notion 'rule' unites what is and what should be: in this, the
rule, generally speaking, is not formulated as a regulation but as comment.5 These characteristics—the authority of experience, a formulation of a worldly rule, and the ability to act as a critical comment on phenomena—make the proverb, mutatis mutandis, attractive for contemporary use in newspapers, especially in articles discussing the norms of human behavior. The modern dimension in proverb use is the distance between the old and the new, a distance established through the modification of the text, which calls upon the authority of the proverb while at the same time treating it with a slight irony.

Zavod za Istrazivanje Folklore
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Notes

1 Vjesnik is the leading daily newspaper in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, Yugoslavia.
3 They are insignificant because the figures in this article are not intended as scientific statistics but only as an indication of the relationships.
4 The "normal" form is the most frequently used variant; this is a relative criterion, of course, but one that is useful for those aspects of proverbs with which this article is concerned. I am quoting the proverbs and proverbial phrases partly from memory and partly from two major collections: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Srpske narodne poslovice.—Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića: 9, ed. Miroslav Pantić (Beograd: Prosveta, 1965); V.J. Skarpa, Hrvatske narodne poslovice (Sibenik: Hrvatska tiskara, 1909).
5 Hermann Bausinger, Formen der "Volkspoesie" (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1968), p. 98.
MEXICANS AND GIRAFFES:
DROODLES AMONG SWEDISH SCHOOL CHILDREN

Bengt af Klintberg

A folklorist with children unavoidably comes in contact with children's folklore. Without being asked, children retell stories, rhymes, and riddles heard from friends and school comrades. The folklorist may recognize a good deal from his own childhood, but now and then it happens that his children come up with something completely new that arouses his curiosity. This happened to me in the fall of 1977, when my twelve-year-old son came home from school and said that it had become popular in his class to draw pictorial riddles. He showed me some examples: simple figures which consisted of circles with smaller circles inside, half circles, and straight lines. (See Figure 1). I had never seen them before and my suggested answers were all wrong.

My son explained what the pictures portrayed. The first was a Mexican frying an egg, the next was four Mexicans in a revolving door, the third a starting line for rats, and the last Kojak (the well-known bald hero of an American TV series) behind a fence. Pictorial riddles like these were called droodles (in Swedish, drodlar), he said. I tried to recall the pictorial riddles current in the early 1950s, when I was my son's age. There was one which depicted a giraffe going past a window. Another portrayed a drowning saint—only his halo showed above the waves. We had not called these pictorial riddles droodles. They had no name. During the quarter century which had passed since I was my son's age, the content of this genre had evidently been renewed, and it had acquired a particular name. I decided to collect on a limited scale, with an eye to a later investigation of pictorial riddles among today's Swedish school children. The opportunity to contribute to a Festschrift for Linda Dégh led to my writing on the subject. I felt this would be an appropriate honor for a researcher who has inspired the study of contemporary folklore, and the study of the relationship between European and American folklore.

These pictorial riddles are characterized by a simple, stylized form which does not immediately reveal the subject portrayed. But the primary reason that these riddles are difficult to answer is that the subject is pictured from an unusual perspective, from above, for example, or in such a way that only a part of the whole is seen. I have chosen to call these pictorial riddles droodles, since that seems to be the most common name. The term is found not only in the Anglo-American area, but also in countries such as Germany and Sweden. If one were to judge from the folkloristic literature, droodles would appear to be a young genre. To my knowledge they were not treated before the 1960s. I know of no comprehensive study; the literature seems to be restricted to short notes. Jan Harold Brunvand gives some examples in The Study Of American Folklore and states that the genre "was initially derived from folklore" even though it was later "syndicated in many newspapers."1 Hermann Bausinger mentions in his Formen der "Volkspoesie" that droodles from the Anglo-American area have
reached Germany, where they can now and then be heard referred to in the Germanized form, Drudel. He cites them as an example of how newly created forms of riddles can be folklorized. 2 Without giving any comments on the genre, Leela Virtanen has recently published a dozen examples of droodles among Finnish school children in her study Children's Lore. 3

In the collections which document the rich riddle tradition of pre-industrial Western peasant society, one seeks in vain for pictorial riddles; at any rate they are lacking in the collections to which I have had access. This lack does not prove that pictorial riddles were formerly nonexistent. They simply do not belong to the oral tradition which folklore collectors considered it their duty to preserve. By far the most important category of pictorial riddles has been the rebus. The Latin word rebus means "by things," and the name indicates that the riddle is constructed, not of words, but of depicted things. In a manner unlike the droodle, objects are portrayed in the rebus so that they can easily be recognized. The problem is rather to combine the speech sounds corresponding to the pictures to form a word or sentence. The term rebus is found in the French, Italian, English, and Scandinavian languages, among others. The corresponding German term is Bilderrätsel. Archer Taylor, in A Bibliography of Riddles, has referred to the older literature on rebuses. 4 A work missing from Taylor's bibliography, but worth mentioning, is the article "Von der Bilderschrift zum Bilderrätsel" by the German art historian L. Volkmann (1926). 5 (See Figure 2).

The rebus originated during the Renaissance, undoubtedly influenced by the pictography of antiquity. During the sixteenth century it enjoyed great popularity in both France and Italy. The art of rebus-making seems to have been practiced particularly in the French district of Picardy. Examples of printed rebuses from the early sixteenth century can be found in the livres d'heures, prayer books produced by French printers. These pictorial riddles spread later to other European countries, and slowly but surely won a place in the worldly literature of amusement and diversion. During the 1800s special rebus calendars were common. The Royal Library in Stockholm, for example, has more than ten of these from the period 1840-1870. (See Figure 3).

To obtain a representative cross section of droodle tradition among Swedish school children, I sent out a simple questionnaire to eleven sixth-grade classes in the spring of 1978. All the pupils were about twelve years old, but the classes were geographically spread over the whole of Sweden, from Malmö in the south to Luleå in the north. 6 The questionnaire showed two of the best known droodles—"giraffe passing a window" and "four Mexicans in a revolving door"—and asked, "What are picture riddles like these called?" Thereafter the pupils were urged to draw others if they could. The material which came in showed only insignificant regional variations, and gave the impression that the tradition of pictorial riddles is relatively uniform among Swedish school children. Answers to the question concerning a generic name showed that only a minority of the children knew the name "droodles." The most frequent answer was "picture riddles (bildgåtor)," followed by "rebus." In four of the eleven classes the name "droodle" was completely unknown. In the remaining seven, one or more children gave that name in a more or less correct form (Swedish drodel, droodel, droddel, doodel, and so on). The children's own repertory involved as a rule between one and six pictorial riddles; a few knew more than ten, and one knew fifteen. There were only
fig. 1

fig. 2
a few children, one or two per class on the average, who could not (or would not) draw any pictorial riddles.

The great majority of pictorial riddles were in agreement with the definition of droodles which I gave above: they portrayed something in stylized form, often from an unusual perspective or arranged so that only a part of the whole was visible, and the viewer's task was to decide what the picture represented. Some of the pictorial riddles were rebuses, however: their elements had to be translated from the visual to the verbal domain. These elements (primarily pictures and letters of the alphabet) were recognizably depicted. Unlike the droodle, the rebus requires a command of the language in which it is constructed. The rebus shown in Figure 4 was quite popular in the Swedish school classes. Its answer is "Översten är skjuten (över sten är sju T:n)", which becomes in English "the colonel has been shot" ("over stone are seven T's"). Another rebus pictured a mouse in a corner (Swedish mus i kant) and the answer was "musician" (Swedish musikant). A third pictorial riddle, which was known in several of the classes, at first glance seemed to show a naked woman's hips and pubic region as seen from the front, but had the answer "Y in parentheses." This example does not correspond with any of the definitions given above, but belongs to still another category, the pseudo-erotic catch riddle which gives erotic associations but has an innocent answer. Still other riddles occurring in the material can best be characterized as verbal riddle jokes or gesture jokes which had been transposed to a pictorial medium. One, for example, showed the flying meatball well known in Swedish school children's tradition. This concludes my discussion of related pictorial riddles. I will now concentrate on droodles.

A closer study of the Swedish droodle material reveals that it can be divided into traditional and individual droodles. The criterion for traditional droodles is the usual in folklore: they are known by several people. Individual droodles are characterized not only by their singularity, but also by their triviality. They lack the qualities which make others remember them and pass them on. The proportion of individual droodles in the collected material approached 20%. This large figure may have been in part a result of the questionnaire, which permitted those who did not know any traditional droodles to improvise. The result was often inspired by the examples given. But I have found in other contexts that improvised, individual droodles are also characteristic when children and young people amuse themselves by drawing droodles for each other. They quickly learn how to create a droodle. The principle can be as simple as the depiction of an object from above.

In the world of droodles, a relatively limited number of visual forms often recur. One form which encourages extensive variation is the two concentric circles which represent a sombrero seen from above. The sombrero signifies "a Mexican." A large and a small sombrero portray a father and his son. In the collected material some forty droodles pictured Mexicans. Slightly more than half of them were traditional, the remainder individual. Among the subjects of the traditional droodles were a Mexican on a bicycle, two Mexicans on a tandem cycle, father and son on a bicycle, four Mexicans sitting around a table drinking coffee, two Mexicans in a canoe, two Mexicans playing table tennis, a Mexican shooting a rifle, one or more Mexicans fishing, and six Mexicans in a tug-of-war. (See Figure 5).

Another visual form, the square representing a window, is
fig. 3

fig. 4

fig. 5
constantly given new content. The window reveals only a small, characteristic part of a larger body or object. The most common droodle depicts a giraffe passing a window—only its spotted neck is visible. There are a number of more or less absurd variations on this theme. Deciding to what degree they are traditional or random new creations can be difficult. One depicts a giraffe passing a second-story window—only its horns show. Another portrays a giraffe with a cold and a scarf around its neck. In a third the giraffe has forgotten its spots and left them at home. Other droodies employing a window to crop a picture drastically are "dachshund passing a basement window," "bald man passing a window," and "parachutist passing a window." An open door can replace the window as a proscenium. A visual form offering possibilities unobtainable with the window is the fence. Here a detail of the hidden shape appears outside the outline of the rectangle rather than within it. A droodle employing the form for fence, as well as varying the perspective on the sombrero-wearing Mexicans, shows four Mexicans behind a fence. (See Figure 6).

Another object serving to obscure the greatest part of a shape is the tree trunk in the widely distributed droodle "bear climbing a tree"—only its four paws are visible. A similar function is performed by the waves of the droodle mentioned earlier, where a saint swims under water (or drowns)—only his halo is visible above the surface. A droodle from the material collected in Sweden shows a boat hastening to save a drowning witch—only the top of her pointed hat is visible. This last detail points clearly to the droodle's Anglo-American origin. The notion that witches have pointed hats is lacking in Swedish tradition, but is a well-known stereotype in the Anglo-American. The set of obscuring objects also includes the semicircular stone, from behind which a rabbit's ears or an Indian's eagle feathers can protrude.

Is it possible to distinguish historical strata in the droodle tradition? The task seems formidable, as the older material is difficult to locate, hidden in a variety of publications. A general impression of the historical development of the genre can be obtained, however, by relating droodle content to the changes which the main currents of folklore, particularly humorous folklore, have undergone. The proportion of absurd, nonsensical humor in twentieth-century folklore becomes more and more striking as time goes on. This is also true of droodies, where those that depict a conceivable, everyday situation can be distinguished from those which occur on an unreal, absurd level. There is nothing unreasonable, for example, in the thought of a sombrero-wearing Mexican bicycling, or a person or an animal passing a window or obscured by a tree trunk. "Mother bird feeding her babies" and "diver seen from below" are additional examples of the collected droodle material employing realistic situations. The probability of seeing a giraffe passing a window or four Mexicans in a revolving door is certainly not large, but these situations are still not theoretically impossible. They are playfully comic, balancing on the verge of the absurd. The same can be said of a number of other droodies which employ the convention—perhaps developed from "four Mexicans in a revolving door"—that a droodle should have four actors. One example depicts four women looking for a needle under a table—only their protruding backsides are visible. A step nearer the absurd is the droodle showing four elephants smelling an orange. (See Figure 7).

One is brought far into the world of the absurd by a number of droodies created in disregard of the principles described above.
fig. 6

fig. 7

fig. 8
The subject is not seen from an unusual viewpoint, and neither is a large part hidden from the viewer. The principle is rather to couple quite different elements in a fashion reminiscent of the esthetics of surrealism. These droodies can show an orange in a bikini, a rich sardine who owns a private can, a worm on roller skates, or a butterfly jumping rope. Exactly as in children's fairy tales, animals and plants take on human roles and attributes, but unlike children's fairy tales, droodies are drawn from the surroundings of modern urban children and teenagers. These droodies have an obvious similarity with the absurd riddle jokes which first occurred in the United States, and which became popular among young people throughout the Western Hemisphere during the 1960s. Often they involved animals, fruit, and berries in familiar everyday surroundings. The following examples are from the Swedish tradition, but they have counterparts in other European countries and in the United States: "Why are the soles of the elephant's feet yellow?"—"So he won't show when he swims on his back in the vanilla sauce." "What comes out of the ground at sixty miles an hour?"—"A mole on a motorcycle." "What is blue and hops from branch to branch?"—"A squirrel in a sweatsuit." "What sits in a bush and is green with red stripes?"—"A gooseberry with red suspenders." It seems probable that the absurd droodies appeared at about the same time as these riddle jokes. (See Figure 8).

A few pictorial riddles reflect an even younger cycle of jokes, namely the aggressive ethnic jokes about Poles which have been told since the mid-1960s in the United States. Spreading to Europe, they often portrayed the people of a neighboring country. In France, for example, they were told about Belgians; in England they were told about the Irish. In Sweden they have been told about Norwegians since 1975. A couple of ethnic jokes have taken the form of droodies. As in other droodies, the point is to be able to say what the stylized picture represents. (See Figure 9).

A central problem in the study of the origin and dispersion of pictorial riddles is the relationship between mass media and popular tradition. Concerning droodies, it can be pointed out that the name "droodle," as well as a large part of the pictorial riddles comprising the tradition in many countries, can be traced to the American humorist Roger Price. In 1953 he published a booklet titled Droodies, the first in a series containing humorous pictorial riddles and commentary. In the 1960s Roger Price was involved in the establishment of a new publishing house in Los Angeles, Price/Stern/Sloan, specializing in humorous booklets which took up and further developed folkloristic material. In addition to droodies they have published elephant jokes, knock-knock jokes, and jokes about good news and bad news, as well as other popular joke cycles from our time.

The word "droodle" seems to be Price's own invention. It is formed from an American slang word, "doodle," which exists as both verb and noun. The verb means "to draw meaningless patterns or figures as a nervous gesture or idle habit while doing something else." The denotation of the noun is "a meaningless pattern or figure, as drawn idly." The letter "r" was surely added in order to associate "doodle" with "riddle." The droodle is thus a pattern or figure which, though it first appears meaningless, can elicit conjecture.

Roger Price's droodle booklets have reached large parts of the world. They could, for example, be bought in book shops in Stockholm in the 1950s and 'sixties. But many of the droodies they contain are based on untranslatable word associations, thus pro-
fig. 9

fig. 10
hibiting them from ever becoming internationally distributed folklore. Others are too sophisticated and culturally specific to reach beyond Price's original audience: this is illustrated by Figure 10, reprinted from the booklet Oodles of Droodles (1955). An appreciate of this droodle presupposes a knowledge of the comic strip heroine Little Orphan Annie, a knowledge not general among young people outside the English language area. Furthermore, the drawing is far too technically demanding to be taken up in tradition. Typical traditional droodles can be drawn in a few seconds even by those of trifling artistic ability. The droodles from Price's work which have been taken over by children's tradition are largely a number of simple pictures portraying animals or objects in some absurd situation. The five droodles from Swedish children's tradition reproduced in Figure 8 can all be found in Price's droodle booklets. Of these, "orange in a bikini" was particularly popular. It was known in seven of the eleven classes. Because the linguistic correspondence is lacking, none of the Swedish variants have retained the special feature which apparently gave Price the idea for the droodle: that the subject is a "navel orange." Also popular were "rich sardine who owns a private can" and "four elephants smelling an orange" (grapefruit according to Price). Both were found in four classes. One is reminded that Price published The Elephant Book, which contributed to the spread of riddle jokes on elephants in the 1960s. Among the seventy-five traditional droodles collected through the Swedish questionnaire, twelve could be traced to the printed collections of droodles published by Roger Price.

Although Roger Price has renewed and revitalized a popular genre with his booklets, these are naturally not the only publications which have contributed to the spread of pictorial riddles in the most recent decades. An incalculable number of daily newspapers and amusing periodicals have very likely played a role. One printed source, however, can be considered to have had particular impact on the tradition among today's Swedish school children. My twelve-year-old son pointed out to me that he learned several of his droodles from readers' letters published in the periodical Fantomen, the Swedish edition of The Phantom, by Lee Falk. Ever since its start the magazine has included the Phantom Club, a column where letters, drawings, and photographs from its young readers are published. Letters containing children's folklore, jokes, and riddles have been given ample space. The pages of the Phantom Club both reflect and intensify trends in Swedish children's tradition. In order to see if there had been an increasing interest in droodles, I decided to investigate this column from 1953, the year Roger Price's first booklet appeared. It turned out that the only category of pictorial riddles occurring during the whole of the 1950s were rebuses, which as a rule seemed to have been constructed by the correspondents. Through the 1960s, rebuses continued to be the only pictorial riddles in Fantomen. The first droodle was introduced at the end of 1969. It depicted ten people sitting around a table drinking coffee, as seen from above. It is interesting to note that this pictorial riddle was explicitly called a "droodle," and that this Anglo-American name was consistently employed in subsequent editorial comments as well. During the following years the number of letters increased; in 1973 and 1974, droodles were the most popular folkloristic genre in the pages of the Phantom Club. During 1975 a slight reduction in frequency could be noted, while at the same time the elephant jokes of the 1960s experienced a renaissance which lasted a couple of years.
The following table shows the number of letters containing droodles in *Fantomen* from 1969 to 1977:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Letters</th>
<th>Droodles</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Individual</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1971</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>1973</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>1974</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>1976</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Editorial comments to the letters reveal that the droodle fad was in part caused by the column's editor. During 1972 and 1973, readers were urged time and again to send in droodles, and special prizes were offered. At the same time the proportion of individual droodles gradually increased, and by 1974 exceeded that of the traditional droodles. A possible explanation for this trend is that after several years the readers' stock of traditional droodles was exhausted, and the editor was therefore more frequently confronted with these often pointless individual droodles. This in turn may have led to a decision to give less space to droodles.

The correlation between droodles published in the Phantom Club over the period 1969 to 1977, and those collected in the spring of 1978 is remarkable, although by no means complete. Variations on the theme of the Mexican sombrero play a large part in both cases; judging by the editor's comments, it dominated the readers' letters. In issue #7 for 1972 we find, for example, "And here is an amusing droodle with the unavoidable Mexicans." In *Fantomen* #26 for 1974 we hear of a member of the Phantom Club who "contributed a lot of droodles, and there isn't a single Mexican in the whole bunch!" Between 1971 and 1974 "four Mexicans in a revolving door" and "Mexican frying an egg" appeared no less than four times each in the periodical. A lesser number of traditional droodles published by the Phantom Club did not appear among the questionnaire replies. Among these are "camel in front of a pyramid," which was presented three times between 1973 and 1975, and "dog going around a corner," which occurred twice in the period 1974 through 1975. Also among them are Roger Price's "clam with buck teeth" and "spider doing a handstand," both introduced in #16 for 1973, together with several other of Price's droodles.

A comparison between the two former and the two latter confirms the earlier impression that historical strata can be distinguished among droodles. Both of the former droodles are constructed according to the principle that only a smaller part of the answer is visible, and the situation treated is quite realistic. The latter, on the contrary, constitute two additional contributions to the absurd gallery of animals whose characteristic features are derived from the human world. They have a close connection with the humorous folklore arising in the United States in the 1950s and 'sixties. (See Figure 11).

It has not been possible for me to conduct studies of the older humorous publications, in which one could expect to find instances of the oldest stratum of today's droodle tradition. Quite by accident, however, I learned that one of the droodles which I myself had seen children draw was also known in Sweden at the turn of the century. In a letter to one of Nordiska Museet's local
informants, old Gustaf Svensson in Kalmar—now nearly ninety—I explained that I was interested in pictorial riddles. He sent me a drawing, shown in Figure 12, as he remembered it from his childhood. It portrays a soldier going out through a gate, accompanied by his dog. This is unmistakably a predecessor of "dog going around a corner."

Even though we do not know the early history of droodles, we can presume that pictorial riddles similar to the droodles of our time existed in the nineteenth century. Roger Price affiliated himself with this folkloristic genre, when he coined the term "droodle" in the 1950s, by publishing his booklets (which, by the way, contain not only droodles corresponding to my suggested definition, but also a few rebuses). Droodles have spread among children and teenagers because they are easy to draw and not restricted by language barriers, and because the social settings of the tradition bearers are characterized by intensive interaction and the ready availability of writing and drawing materials. But even though direct propagation in school classes and leisure situations is of immeasurable importance, mass media have also exerted a strong influence in certain instances. Older, anonymous droodles have come into the limelight in the daily and weekly press, partly as a result of Price's booklets. In many countries newspapers have consciously attempted to create a droodle fad, which then might last for several months or even years. One recent example suffices to demonstrate droodles' popularity among children and youth, as well as their international character. Droodles are published in Playtime Express, the regular Wednesday children's page of the Daily Express, an English newspaper. In the publisher's foreword to the Playtime Express Book of Droodles, Mindbenders, Jokes & Amazing Facts (which my English colleague Paul S. Smith has been kind enough to give me), Len Collis writes:

A year ago we asked Playtime Express readers to send us their favourite droodle ideas. We expected a modest response—perhaps a few hundred drawings. We received sackfuls of letters containing thousands! We were trampled by herds of giraffes passing windows (everybody seems to like that one!). And we could have kit ted out the entire population of Mexico from all the sombreros supplied. Witches dressed by the dozen, forests of bears climbed trees, and fat ladies blocked stairs everywhere! Smashing! We chuckled our way through the lot and wanted to show them all. It was impossible, of course. We put in as many as we could manage every week for two months and then quietly let the idea drop. There was an immediate outcry from anguish ed listeners—and droodles were hastily put back in the paper the following week! They've been in Playtime Express since then—and the postbag has never stopped bulging.12

This short outline has presented the Swedish droodle material and attempted to delineate different time strata within this material. It has also pointed out the interaction between the printed word and direct transmission from one person to another which typifies the process of tradition in our time. One issue remains. How can it be that a quite different category of pictorial riddles, the rebus, could dominate for more than four centuries? Why has the droodle become the most popular category of pictorial riddle just in the twentieth century? Is there something in the underlying society and its development which explains how a new genre grows and spreads?

In the first place, the putting together of different pictorial elements to obtain a word or sentence makes the rebus a more time-consuming entertainment than the droodle. The latter is drawn to completion more quickly, and suggested answers can then be proposed immediately. We meet this tendency everywhere in folklore.
Fig. 11

Fig. 12
In the prose tradition, for example, long, polyepisodic narratives give way more and more to short, condensed narratives. This mirrors a society where the tempo of life, as well as the number of pastimes offered, has increased. Another—and even more important—explanation lies in the pictorial language of the two genres. The pictorial elements of the rebus depict an easily recognizable reality. The images of rebus as from earlier eras followed closely the changing stylistic ideals which dominated visual art. In part because of the growth of photography, twentieth century art became more and more preoccupied with pictures which transformed reality rather than reproducing it, and this development had important consequences for the society's pictorial language. The naturalistic pictures on shop signboards and traffic signs disappeared, and were replaced by stylized signs and symbols. The pictorial language confronting the modern Westerner places great demands on him, and is only gradually learned. The glowing neon trademarks of large business firms are a code language which does not reveal its message to the outsider. The variety of traffic signs in Western society is so extensive that the mastery of them requires a program of driver education. Our technology, in addition, created countless new appliances whose controls are marked with symbols to enable us to understand how they are to be employed.

The pictorial language of droodles corresponds with the pictorial language of our works of art, signs, and symbols; stylized, elementary geometric figures dominate. Someone who has not learned the rules of this pictorial language has little hope of solving the riddle. Children's play with droodles can be seen as a part of their socialization, an amusing diversion which trains them to read signs, to think in logical categories, and to employ their imagination.

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Notes

3 Lea Virtanen, Children's Lore, Studia Fennica 22 (1978).
4 Archer Taylor, A Bibliography of Riddles (FFC #126, 1939), pp. 148–49; F.R. Hoffmann, Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Bilderg-Rätsel (Berlin, 1869); Octave Delpeyrre, Essai historique et bibliographique sur les rébus (Paris, 1870); O. Thorel, "Les rébus de Picardie; Etude historique et philologique," Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Picardie 34 (1903).
5 Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, n.s. 18 (1926).
6 The places, from south to north: Malmö, Näsjö, Göteborg, Norrköping, Karlstad, Brunn, Lidingö, Uppsala, Sjugare (Dalarna), Östersund, and Luleå. I wish especially to thank Lotta Harding, Lars Jobs, Annika Nordström, Viveka Rasmussen, and Björn Roos for their help with the questionnaire.
9 It was published in New York by Simon & Schuster, who also published both sequels: The Rich Sardine and Other New Droodles (1954), and Oodles of Droodles (1955). In 1956
the first two books appeared together under the title *Droodles; Plus the Rich Sardine: Another Whole Book of Droodles*. The publisher this time was Perma-books in New York.  
10 The *Compleat Droodles* was published by Price/Stern/Sloan in 1964. It was later revised, and the resulting two booklets, *Droodles #1* and *Droodles #2*, came in a series of new editions during the 1960s and '70s. They contain many of the droodles appearing in the first three booklets, but additional new droodles, some sent to Price by readers and TV viewers, have also been included. In the 1978 edition the booklets were renamed *Droodles* and *Oodles of Droodles*, but the contents are unchanged from the immediately preceding editions.  
Style, Form, and Symbol
PROBLEMS OF DRAGON LORE

Lutz Röhrich

There are many problems in dragon lore: for instance, problems of genre, because dragons appear in myths, in fairy tales, in legends, and also in comics and cartoons; problems of history of science; problems of geographical distribution from the Near East to Europe as well as to the Far East; problems of cultural history; problems of origin and development of the several dragon motifs; sociological problems, insofar as dragon slayers can be gods and heroes as well as fairy-tale princesses or peasants; problems of iconography; problems of structuralism (for Propp, the dragon-slayer type represents the prototype of all wondertales); and finally, problems of psychological interpretation. In this paper I shall restrict myself to one problem: the reality of dragons.

Dragons are not only the fantastic creatures of fairy tales. If there is a single motif complex which shows that the folktale has been constructed upon the foundation of myth and heroic legend, it is that of the dragon slayer. In myths of primordial time the dragon embodies the forces that are hostile to both man and deity. The dragon blocks the fruitful waters, threatens to swallow the sun or the moon; and it must be slain so that the world can be created or continue to exist.

Myths represent a reality that is both believed and experienced. And dragons always have something to do with objective reality. For example, dragons are often located in or near water. A dragon guards a spring, the only water source of a city, and only in exchange for periodic human offerings does the dragon permit the inhabitants to draw water. In the ancient Near East, water and rain represent the basis of all life. The impediment of water becomes a symbol of evil per se. Perhaps the meandering course of a river is the prototype of the serpentine dragon. Rivers too demand periodic sacrifices. In the ancient Near East there were many documented instances showing that virgins were offered to the deities of the water. The victims were actually eaten by crocodiles. The dragon is also a mythological reality in Biblical tradition. In the Old Testament, in the book of Job, the dragon appears already as a fire-breathing monster, as in later legends. In the Apocalypse of the New Testament, the dragon becomes an allegory of the devil. St. Michael and his angels cast the giant devil-dragon from heaven. In the New Testament the terms "dragon," "serpent of Eden," "devil," and "Satan" are synonyms. Of course, Christ is also a dragon slayer; as Psalm 91 relates, "the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet."

The dragon was able to enter easily into saint legends, because it was a symbol of the devil. The triumph over evil is symbolized by the slaying of the dragon by the saints. The Catholic church knows more than sixty dragon-slaying saints. St. George is only the most famous among them. His origin is in the Byzantine church, and in Eastern Europe we also find very fine folk art portrayals of St. George. He is always depicted as a knight on horseback fighting the dragon. St. George is a real miles christianus, a crusading knight fighting against the infidels and
against sin. We find retold in the legend of St. George all the old traditions of the dragon slayer, especially the rescue of the maiden in distress. According to the Christian interpretation, the image of the dragon which blocks access to the water represents the impediment to baptism by the enemies of the church.

Localized forms of the St. George legend become folk legends. In many towns where there is a St. George Church, people point out the spot where St. George slew the dragon and rescued the princess.

There is a popular desire to locate historical events in one's own immediate surroundings. In some European cities we can still find dramatic presentations of the dragon slayer. They belong to the older form of the Corpus Christi procession. The baroque church promoted these forms of folk theater in order to make the saints' legends come alive.

The period of distribution of the legend of St. George was also the golden age of the heroic epic, and the slaying of the dragon became the main motif in the career of a medieval hero. In courtly society circa 1200, a man who had not slain at least one dragon was a nobody. Siegfried, Dietrich von Bern, Artus, Tristan, Lancelot, Wolf-Dietrich, and so on—all the well-known knights—were dragon slayers. And the dragon is always the largest, strongest, and most formidable opponent of the hero.

Tristan cuts out the tongue of the dragon, as depicted on a fresco in the fortress of Runkelstein, in South Tyrol. The hero is thus able to show the dragon tongue later on as proof that he is the actual slayer, in order to win the princess and the empire. This motif is found in nearly all medieval heroic epics, and in all dragon-slayer tales. But as early as the sixth century before Christ, Hercules slays the sea-dragon by cutting out his tongue. Certainly is was a custom of early hunting people to cut out the tongue of a dangerous animal in order to prevent the animal from communicating and gaining revenge. Thus the iconography of dragon-slaying is also a mirror of actual hunting methods.

The symbolism of earlier dragon-slaying traditions has also been preserved. There are struggles between dragons and lions. And just as the dragon represents the devil, the lion symbolizes Christ, as is recorded in the Physiologus, the oldest natural history. In a struggle, Henry the Lion intervenes in favor of a lion, as a Christian knight must do. The grateful lion afterwards is his constant companion and also his heraldic emblem.

Already in the natural histories of antiquity, men were concerned with the reality of dragons. In antiquity it was frequently believed that the dragon was a creature that actually existed. There are quasi-scientific descriptions of dragons. On the basis of the writings of such authors as Pliny, medieval monks drew maps showing where dragons lived.

For the people who compiled the bestiaries of the Middle Ages, dragons were not the products of imagination, but the creatures of reality. I need only mention Konrad von Megenberg's Book on Nature, and, later, Konrad Gesner's Book on Serpents (1589). In this book we can find a chapter, "de Dracone," with a taxonomy of the dragon: we have the serpent, the winged serpent, and the dragon. The baroque author Athanasius Kircher still considered the dragon to be a real creature, because it is mentioned in the Bible. Also during the baroque era, the princes of Europe collected examples of alleged dragons for their cabinets of curiosities. The most famous example was the dragon of Cardinal Barbarini. In Kircher's book there is also a picture of the famous dragon
of Rhodes, the same creature described by Friedrich Schiller in his ballad "The Fight with the Dragon."

The struggle of the Swiss hero Winkelried (Grimm, Deutsche Sagen, #218) is reported in historical chronicles, now as a peasant treatment of heroic tradition. Especially in Switzerland many dragon legends have been preserved even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The dragons on Mount Pilatus are very famous. There are also dragons on the bottom of the lakes in the Alps or in the Black Forest area. It is told that merely by moving its tail the dragon can cause disastrous floods.

Such natural phenomena as lightning storms, falling stars, and the like have been perceived mythically as dragons. Often etiological legends account for the dragon's influence on the origin of such local place names as Wurmlingen, Wormingford, Worms, Drachenfels, and Lindwald. The Austrian city of Klagenfurt has its name from the Klagen ("laments") which were said to be heard when the city was devastated by a dragon, and a statue still standing today commemorates this event. A dragon from the lower Rhine region cried three times before it died, "Geldre, Geldre, Geldre." The city of Geldern is said to have derived its name from this occurrence.

The common man in folk legend no longer fights with spear and sword, but with scythes, axes, clubs, or stones. This hero kills the dragon much in the way a butcher or peasant would slaughter his ox. In modern times the dragon is frequently a victim more of trickery than of defeat in battle. Many local dragon legends are thoroughly believed. Precise indications of time and place make these stories realistic.

In the Christian worldview, the devil can appear in concrete form. And since the dragon is synonymous with the devil, the devil can appear in dragon form, keeping sinners away.

The dragon also has emblematic reality. Already on the banners of the ancient Roman legionnaires we find dragons as apotropeic symbols. From this source they enter into ancient and medieval heraldry. Dragons are found on the ships of the Vikings. William the Conqueror crossed the Channel to England on ships with dragon heads, as we can see on the tapestry of Bayeux.

In all these cases the dragon is a symbol of dominance and rule, terrifying the enemy. The enemy must have believed that he had to fight against a real dragon. The dragon kite as a toy has the same origin: at first the paper dragon, flying and flittering in the wind, was intended to terrify enemies in Europe as well as in the Far East.

Since ancient times the dragon has been a name and a symbol for formidable enemies. In Christian tradition heretics, for example, were described as dragons. The seven-headed dragon of the Apocalypse symbolizes the Roman Empire with its seven main provinces.

Modern nations, still living and thinking in myths, perceive every battle against real enemies as a struggle with a dragon. The technique of transforming opponents into dragons is still a modern idea, as political cartoons demonstrate. Every problem—including inflation, federal debts, or the energy crisis—can be turned into a dragon. In political cartoons the dragon remains a formidable opponent, which the politician hopes to defeat, as in heroic legends and fairy tales.

Let us summarize: dragons can represent and symbolize power, dominance, impediments, evil, and sin. Above all, dragons
are the sanctioning forces of taboos. They impede the fulfillment of wishes and drives: as guardians of hidden treasure, they prevent one from acquiring riches. Dragons impede the flow of water and so they prevent fertility and food production. As the guardians of lovely virgins, they prevent access to the desired partner and to satisfaction of the sex drive. Dragons exert a formidable power: they impede the access to wealth, food production, and sex. They are repressive figures. Anyone who wants to venture something new must first defeat the dragon. The rescue of the maiden in distress turns the heroic story into a tale of love and courtship. Defeating the dragon opens the way to erotic fulfillment. The dragon is also a sexual being, especially when he cherishes pure virgins. From the standpoint of nutritive value, plump ma-trons would be more suitable fare.

The idea of the dragon as a sex partner is not a new one. Already around 1500, Hieronymus Bosch depicted worldly lust as a dragon. The dragon abducts the virgin not just in order to eat her but in order to keep her away from the hero.

Up to this point we have seen everything from the male point of view. In the female view the dragon represents sin, seduction, and premarital sex which threaten her virtue until the suitable hero and future husband appears. The tales of courtship which contain the dragon-slaying motif belong to a distinctly heroic and patriarchal society. The woman is the victim of the male dragon, a passive spectator of the battle, nothing more than a winner's trophy. The modern cartoon changes the focus of this event. In exact inversion of the expected fairy-tale ending, the cartoon reveals this essential structure. The antifeminine, misogynous dragon stories are inverted. The virgin does not permit herself to be denigrated to the level of a trophy. She receives the dragon slayer with the words, "You think I'm obligated to come across now, don't you, you male chauvinist pig?"

Another cartoon changes the dragon-slayer tale to an anti-heroic story. A knight falling in love with a beautiful princess resolves to slay a dragon for her. Always he has her picture before his eyes. And yet he is overcome with fear, and the more fearful he becomes, the more the picture of the lovely maiden fades, until it completely disappears from his thoughts. That is certainly more than a mere joke!

In other cases the maiden herself becomes a dragon. In the legend of the serpent kiss, a lovely woman in need of deliverance is changed into a frightening serpent or a terrifying dragon. The deliverance is impossible, because the hero does not dare to kiss her. He would prefer to kill a dragon with his sword than to kiss one.

It is evident that dragons have something to do with human, and especially with male, anxiety. This is the way in which the German poet Rainer Maria Rilke saw the problem. He wrote, "Perhaps all the dragons of our life are princesses, who are only waiting to see us finally handsome and courageous. Perhaps all the terrifying things in this world are nothing more than a helpless creature that desires our help." Thus, dragons are challenges to our courage and challenges to our willingness to help.

Those who listen to dragon stories can identify themselves with the hero, with the maiden in distress, and, finally, also with the dragon. There resides in all of us a dragon. Modern psychologists speak of a dragon or reptile complex, which represents the human drive to conquer territory. Dragons symbolize the struggle
not only with external evil, but also with the evil in ourselves, with the urge to power.

The dragon is multivalent. No wonder that modern artists of surrealism and fantasy also choose it as a subject. Clearly, the fantastic has an inner reality. It is not the cultural history of dragon lore and its motifs which is most interesting, but rather the recognition that human psychological problems are manifested as dragons in myths and fairy tales. Dragons are our problems, and our problems are dragons.

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THE KUSHMAKER

Alan Dundes

If folkloristics is ever to become an academic field of inquiry truly respected by members of other disciplines, folklorists must do far more than simply collect and classify data. Yet despite the growing number of folklorists trained at university graduate centers offering advanced degrees including the doctorate in folklore, the vast majority of published articles in professional periodicals (and Festschriften!) continue to consist of little more than pure descriptions with occasional forays into classification and typology. The essential question of what a given item of folklore might mean is typically ignored. I am convinced that unless or until questions of meaning are addressed by folklorists, they will inevitably remain second-class citizens in the world community of scholars. Field collection and the construction of classificatory schemes may well be necessary means to the end of interpreting possible meanings of folklore, but if that end is not achieved, folklorists cannot claim to have progressed much beyond the nineteenth-century antiquarian mentality, according to which the primary goal was to record vestigial exotica surviving from earlier ages.

The plight of folkloristics is exemplified by the state of current knowledge of the tale of the kushmaker. Richard M. Dorson devotes a paragraph in his American Folklore (1959) to the tale:

One of the most popular folktales of the last war dealt with the "Kush-Maker." A draftee in the Navy states his occupation as a "kush-maker"—or kletch, splooch, kaplush, gleek, ka-swish, kloosch, squish; the designation varies in every telling. Not wishing to show ignorance, the CO assigned the man to duties in the hold, where he remained until the admiral came to inspect the ship. Running down the ship's roster, he spied the kush-maker, and demanded an explanation. The kush-maker is summoned forth, and makes elaborate preparations for the display of his special skill; in the end a complicated steel sphere is hoisted over the ship's side, or even lowered from an airplane, into the water below, making the sound of "kush," or its equivalent. Curiously, a comparable tale, attached to a blacksmith, is credited both to Davy Crockett and Abraham Lincoln.1

Although Dorson gives us a useful synopsis of the tale's plot, he offers no explanation whatsoever of the tale's function or meaning. If it was truly "one of the most popular folktales" of World War II, the obvious question is why? What is the point of the story? What is the meaning, if any, of the tale?

Dorson was not the first to report the tale. Agnes Noland Underwood in her 1947 article "Folklore from G.I. Joe" ends her essay with a fine account of Murgatroyd the Kluge Maker.2 No commentary on or analysis of the story is provided by Underwood. Similarly, William Hugh Jansen in his brief 1948 note entitled "The Klesh-Maker" does little more than report texts, although to his credit he did discover an apparent parallel to a tale attributed to Davy Crockett.3 Supposedly Davy Crockett was in the Tennessee legislature opposing a bill designed to create a county. Near the end of the debate, he rose to make the following speech:
Mr. Speaker,—Do you know what that man's bill reminds me of? Well, I 'spose you don't, so I'll tell you. Well, Mr. Speaker, when I first come to this country, a blacksmith was a rare thing; but there happened to be one in my neighbourhood; he had no striker, and whenever one of the neighbours wanted any work done, he had to go over and strike till his work was finished. These were hard times, Mr. Speaker, but we had to do the best we could. It happened that one of my neighbours wanted an axe, so he took along with him a piece of iron, and went over to the blacksmith's to strike till his axe was done. The iron was heated, and my neighbour fell to work, and was striking there nearly all day; when the blacksmith concluded the iron wouldn't make an axe, but 'twould make a fine mattock; so my neighbour wanting a mattock, concluded he would go over and strike till his mattock was done; accordingly, he went over the next day, and worked faithfully; but towards night the blacksmith concluded his iron wouldn't make a mattock, but 'twould make a fine ploughshare; so my neighbour wanting a ploughshare, agreed that he would go over the next day and strike till that was done; accordingly, he again went over, and fell hard to work; but towards night the blacksmith concluded his iron wouldn't make a ploughshare, but 'twould make a fine skow; so my neighbour, tired of working, cried, a skow let it be—and the blacksmith taking up the red hot iron, threw it into a trough of water near him, and as it fell in, it sung out skow. And this, Mr. Speaker, will be the way with that man's bill for a county; he'll keep you all here doing nothing, and finally his bill will turn out a skow, now mind if it don't.4

Whether or not Davy Crockett actually told the story, we do know that the tale goes back to at least 1833 and that it illustrates "much ado about nothing." The version attributed to Abraham Lincoln makes use of a different sound-word in the punchline:

I was not more successful than the blacksmith in our town, in my boyhood days, when he tried to put to a useful purpose a big piece of wrought-iron that was in the shop. He heated it, put it on the anvil, and said: "I'm going to make a sledge-hammer out of you." After a while he stopped hammering it, looked at it, and remarked: "Guess I've drewed you out a little too fine for a sledge-hammer; reckon I'd better make a clevis of you." He stuck it in the fire, blew the bellows, got up a good heat, then began shaping the iron again on the anvil. Pretty soon he stopped, sized it up with his eye, and said: "Guess I've drewed you out too thin for a clevis; suppose I better make a clevis-bolt of you." He put it in the fire, bore down still harder on the bellows, drew out the iron, and went to work at it once more on the anvil. In a few minutes he stopped, took a look, and exclaimed: "Well, now I've got you down a little too thin even to make a clevis-bolt out of you." Then he rammed it in the fire again, threw his whole weight on the bellows, got up a white heat on the iron, jerked it out, carried it in the tongs to the water-barrel, held it over the barrel, and cried: "I've tried to make a sledge-hammer of you, and failed; I've tried to make a clevis of you, and failed; I've tried to make a clevis-bolt of you, and failed; now, damn you, I'm going to make a fizzle of you"; and with that he soused it in the water and let it fizz.5

So we have a twentieth-century tale with possible if not probable nineteenth-century analogues. What else has folkloristic research achieved with respect to the kushmaker? In 1963, Jan Brunvand included the tale in his comprehensive shaggy dog story classification scheme published in the Journal of American Folklore. In this scheme, we find:

D500. The Kush-Maker. A Navy man says he is a specialist, a "Kush-Maker" (also Klesh, Gluck, Gleek, Ka-Swish, Klosch, Squish, Glug, Splooch, Blook, Kaplush, and Ding-Dong.) A great deal of time and many tools and materials are used up until he announces that he has made one. A large fantastically-shaped box is dropped overboard and it goes "Kush!"6
Thanks to Brunvand, the kushmaker can be neatly filed in folklore archives under D500 in the Shaggy Dog Story section. But texts, nineteenth-century analogues, and classificatory designations are no substitute for content analysis. That seems obvious enough. Yet what I have surveyed for the kushmaker is not unlike what folklorists have achieved with respect to the vast majority of folktales and legends. If one examines the Aarne-Thompson tale type index, for example, one can easily see that relatively few of the tales have double asterisked references following the plot summaries. (Double asterisked bibliographical references indicate that a substantial monograph or article has been devoted to a particular tale.) This fact confirms the paucity of analytic studies devoted to the meaning of tales.

Before suggesting a possible interpretation of the kushmaker, let us present a typical version of the story rather than relying upon composite or synoptic summaries. The following text was collected in 1975 from a Chief Petty Officer in the U. S. Navy, stationed in San Diego, California.

Well, sure I've heard about a kushmaker. It goes back God knows how many years when a new crew of a ship were reporting. One by one they would walk up the gangplank, salute the American flag, and report to the OOD [Officer of the Deck] for duty. You know, the same way it's done today. Well, the first man walked up the plank, saluted the flag, and reported, "Chief boatswainmate Smith reporting for duty, sir." The second I think was quartermaster. This went on and on until a man came up, saluted, and reported, "Third Class Cushmaker Jones reporting for duty, sir." Well, the OOD was really surprised and couldn't think what the hell a kushmaker was, but decided not to show his ignorance so he passed him on board. Each man then had to report to the Executive Officer with his orders and then he assigned his station. Well, old Jones reported to the XO as a kushmaker, and that XO, just like the OOD, thought he just might have forgotten what a kushmaker was so he just told him to get to work. So every day Jones would go into one of the forward compartments, close the door, and go to work. Most of the officers eventually knew there was a kushmaker on board, but none of them wanted to admit they couldn't remember what a kushmaker was and ask him what he was up to; they all left him alone. Well, this went on till his two year tour on the ship was about up. Finally the Captain decided that he couldn't stand it any more and sent for Jones. "Well, Jones," said the Captain, "you're a kushmaker." "Yes sir," said ol' Jones. "You've been on board almost two years now; so what the hell have you been doing for two years as a kushmaker!!" "Making a cushion, sir." "A cushion! WHAT IS A CUSH!!" "I'll show you, sir," said Jones and he took off. In a couple of minutes he came back topside with the strange contraption. He said, "Look sir," and dropped it overboard. It hit the water, "CUSH!"!

This version is representative. In other Navy versions, it is the annual inspection of the ship by the admiral which provides the occasions for the kushmaker to demonstrate his skills. Typically the kushmaker has insisted upon obtaining tons of scrap metal which he claims are needed to do the job. The enormous mass of scrap is deposited on deck and then attached to a boom. At the magic moment when all hands are assembled to pay homage to the visiting admiral, the signal is given, the boom swung out over the side of the ship, and the mass of scrap is let go into the water where it produces the sound "kush" or some such sound.

Clearly on one level, the story involves a parody of military life. The whole military chain of command is lampooned. No one is willing to admit that he does not understand something and everyone passes the responsibility to his immediate superior. This "buck-passing" behavior is common enough in military, government, and other large institutional establishments. In addition, the kushmaker plot provides a social commentary on the large
amount of waste motion found in so many military maneuvers. Any-
one who has spent any time in the military knows full well how
much effort and energy is devoted to doing things for show, to
impress admirals and inspecting officers. "Split and polish" has
long been a traditional part of military life—though not always
in time of war! But I believe there is more to the story than a
comical, literal reflection of military hierarchy and values. There
is, after all, an element of fantasy in the story. Besides the un-
realistic acceptance of the kushmaker's statement of his specialty,
there is the elaborate playing out of the whole long process of
making a kush. What then is the significance, if any, of kush-
making?

I suspect that the story is an anal erotic fantasy. Specifically, the plot revolves around a projection of an infant or
small child defecating in front of a parent or parent surrogate.
This explanation would provide a reason why a simple act of drop-
ing a useless object into water could be part of an attempt to
please an authoritarian figure such as a captain or admiral. An
infant is taught to part with a valueless body product, his feces.
At the same time, the very process of toilet training tends to give
value to the feces. The infant soon learns that releasing its
feces pleases his parents in some way. So the valueless material
seems to have great value.

The words used in the punchlines of the story tend to sup-
port this interpretation. The expression to "make a gush" or
"kush" is reminiscent of parent-baby talk for the act of defeca-
tion. In households where such a term is used, an infant might
well be told to "make a gush" and he might well receive lavish
praise from a parent or authority figure for having successfully
made a gush. Certainly there are numerous onomatopoeic words
found among the various folk circumlocutions for urinating and
defecating. A female term for urinating, for example, is to "go
tinkle." In this context, the use of "make" in kushmaker may also
be relevant. The verb "make" frequently has a definite anal
association as in such idioms as to "make a B. M." [bowel move-
ment], "make a poo," or just plain "make."9 The initial phoneme
/k/ in "kush," or the phonemic cluster /kl/ in "klesh" or "kluge"
is not so strange in the light of such Latin terms as cacare and
cloaca and their derivatives in related languages (cf. "cul,"
meaning end or backside). In 1978, a word "kludge" or "kloodge"
was used to refer to an unlikely conglomeration of items intended
to fix something in an unusual way. Chewing gum, rubber bands,
or clothes hangers might be employed as a means of temporary
repair. The finished product works, but it is called a "kloodge."
In computer science, a kludge is a program which is four or five
times as long as it should be. The word thus implies waste
products or waste motion. Something useless has been made useful
(in the case of the repair idiom) or a computer program contains
material which could have or should have been eliminated! The
word "gush" in English means to issue with force, to have a copi-
ous flow of something—for example, blood or tears. It conveys a
connotation of emitting suddenly, forcibly, or copiously. The adjec-
tive "gushy" connotes something messy.

The word "cush" in American slang means money. According
to the Dictionary of American Slang, "cushy" means money easy to
obtain.10 The money-feces equation is well established: consider,
for example, such American idioms as "filthy rich," "to have money
up the ass," or the reference to payday in the military as "the
day the eagle shits."11 A cushy job supposedly refers to a kind
of sinecure where one has comfort and is left alone, free from
cares and responsibilities. (The kushmaker would appear to have
a "cushy" job.12) Making money is therefore symbolically equi-
valent to making feces. In fact, one does not literally make
money, but rather earns money. The use of "make" in connection
with money is therefore a metaphor and hence susceptible to inter-
pretation (cf. the discussion of "make" above).

If there is any validity to the hypothesis that making a
kush is a symbolic equivalent of defecating, what does this add
to our understanding of the kushmaker story? First of all, there
is the initial detail that no one seems to know what a kush is.
In American society, one finds a strong tendency to deny one's
body, and specifically to deny one's need to eliminate waste
products. A host of euphemisms is employed to refer even to bath-
rooms. Even "bathroom" seems crude in some circles despite the
fact that the reference to "bath" is already circumlocutory, just
as "lavatory" literally refers to cleaning rather than urinating or
defecating. Most of one's visits to a bathroom or restroom are not
concerned with either bathing or resting. At parties, one often
tries to slip off unobserved to urinate or defecate. When one
returns, one hopes that his absence has not been noticed or at
least that his reason for being temporarily absent has not been
guessed. It may also be of interest that some individuals are
particularly embarrassed by the sounds made by urinating or
defecating. Such individuals have been known to turn on water
faucets in a bathroom sink so as to "drown" the sounds made by
urination or defecation (or perhaps also to pretend that the reason
for going to the bathroom was only to "wash" or "freshen up"!).
The importance of the sound "kush" in the punchline of the kush-
maker tale makes sense in this context. In the version of the
kushmaker presented here, it may be significant that the Executive
Officer and other officers "might just have forgotten what a cush-
maker was." This implies that they knew once, but have forgotten
(or repressed) this information. Adults have all experienced toilet
training, that is, making kush, but they have probably forgotten
all about it inasmuch as it occurred early in their lives. The
point is really that in American culture one does not admit that
one urinates and defecates. Thus when the new recruit tells the
interviewer that he is a kushmaker, the interviewer does not know
what to make of this. Even if the interviewer did recognize the
activity, he presumably would not admit it. It is ultimately only
to please the captain or admiral, the highest-ranking figures in
the local military power structure, which forces the kushmaker to
make a kush. Normally one can deny the activity and others can
overlook the activity, but a powerful father figure can demand
anything, even that a kushmaker make a kush.

In the light of the present argument, we can better under-
stand why the kushmaker seeks privacy. In Dorson's summary, the
kushmaker is assigned to the ship's hold, that is, to the veritable
bowels of the ship. Wherever the kushmaker is sent, he normally
works in private. At the end, the kushmaker is obliged to do in
public what he has hitherto done only in private. Certainly the
living quarters in the military force individuals to urinate and
defecate more or less in public. What an individual may have done
in the privacy of his bathroom at home before entering the
military, he must now do in mass bathrooms, perhaps under the
uncomfortable scrutiny of fellow sailors.

We can also appreciate those versions of the tale in which
the kushmaker specifically sends for s(crap). It is significant,
symbolically speaking, that waste materials often form the mass which is to be dropped in the water. On older Navy ships in the 1940s and 1950s (when the kushmaker story was told), one did not always have flush toilets. Rather one sat on one of several wooden seats set upon a long trough. A stream of flowing water ran along the bottom of the trough to carry off the feces. For that matter, even with modern flush toilets, one can still hear the splashing noise of feces entering the water (cf. the range of sounds used in the kushmaker tale: splooch, kaplush, and so on).

The elaborate making of a kush at the request of a captain or admiral also fits well into the general set of fecal metaphors found in military usage. Strict military discipline is often referred to as chickenshit (cf. a chicken colonel used in the army). Enlisted men in the Navy (as in other armed forces) are sometimes treated like children. They are told when and what to eat, when to go to bed, what to wear, and just about when to urinate and defecate. Whether they are "shit on" by higher ranking individuals or forced to suffer because of being on someone's "shitlist," or just stuck eating "shit on a shingle" (chipped beef on toast) for breakfast, enlisted men usually have to take it rather than dish it out. If the enlisted man is treated like a child, then why would it not make perfect sense for him to combat the system by using a childish device—such as making a great big kush for the admiral-father figure? Since so much of what the admiral or power structure asks the enlisted man to do seems to the enlisted man to be pointless and a complete waste of time and effort, it is only fair that the admiral be duped into watching a lowly enlisted man make a huge kush, thereby forcing the admiral in turn to be stuck wasting his time and effort. In addition, there seems to be a common tradition of imagining authority figures in the act of defecation. Even presidents and popes cannot ignore calls of nature. Thus an old idiom in French for going to the bathroom is "aller où le roi va à pied" (to go where the king goes on foot) has analogues in many European languages; for example, in German, "Ich gehe dahin wo der König zu Fuss hingeht." The kushmaker story could represent the individual's revenge on the whole military system. The waste motion involved in accumulating a huge mass of material to be dropped over the side is very likely a metaphorical expression to the effect that Navy ritual (including inspections) is a bunch of shit. The strict military rank hierarchy is reversed. It is the admiral or captain who carries out the kushmaker's orders (for example, by obtaining the necessary materials). There may even be a hint that any admiral who does not know what a kush is—that is, doesn't know "shit from Shinola" (a brand of shoe polish)—richly deserves being made a fool of.

Regardless of whether or not one finds the above speculative interpretation of the meaning of the kushmaker at all plausible, one should at least realize that there are details of the story which require explanation. Kushmakers do not exist in fact, only in fiction. Fiction in the form of folkloristic fantasy can and should be interpreted. Why should we laugh at the image of a captain or admiral watching a mass of material fall into water? What is the point of a story whose punchline consists of a nonsense sound such as "kush"? These are precisely the kinds of questions that must be addressed if one wishes to try to understand the kushmaker. And these are the kinds of questions that
folklorists must seek to answer if folkloristics is to progress beyond data gathering and classification.

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Notes

5 Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln: The War Years, vol. 4 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1939), p. 150. Sandburg cites two texts. The first version, included here, was collected by Horace Porter. See General Horace Porter, Campaigning with Grant (New York: The Century Co., 1906), pp. 414-15. A second version reported by U.S. Grant ends with the exasperated blacksmith acting as follows: "Then with his tongs he lifted it from the bed of coals, and thrusting it into a tub of water near by, exclaimed with an oath, "Well, if I can't make anything else of you, I will make a fizzle anyhow." Fizzle is a slang term meaning failure still in current use. In the context of the argument to be advanced in this paper, it may be noteworthy that "fizzles" can be a slang term for flatus. See G. Legman, No Laughing Matter: Rationale of the Dirty Joke, 2nd Series (Wharton, New Jersey: Breaking Point, 1975), p. 863.
7 Stith Thompson neglected to discuss this convention in his "Preface" to the Second Revision of Antti Arne and Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folktales (FFC #184; Helsinki, 1961). In his introduction to the Motif-Index, however, he does note that "Special studies are indicated by two asterisks; valuable lists of variants by a single star." See Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, vol. 1 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955), p. 23.
8 This text was collected from Chief Petty Officer George T. Green on 30 November 1975 by Johnny Green and Pamela Yazzan, two undergraduate folklore students at the University of California, Berkeley. Chief Green had served in the Navy for twenty-two years and he said that he had heard the kushaker story many times over the years and had himself told it on numerous occasions. He also indicated that sometimes a man on a ship is called a kushaker if he has rather clever ways of getting out of work. The word in such cases is definitely not a compliment.
12 See the discussion of the connotations of "kushaker" in note 8 above.
13 A French text is cited, for example, in Bibliotheca Scatologica (Leipzig: Zentral-antiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1970), p. 111. (This is a facsimile of a book published originally in 1849.)
BALLAD TROLLS AS NARRATIVE DEVICES

W. Edson Richmond

In a note to the text of "Sigurd og troll-brura" (TSB E143) which he reprinted from Klüwer's Norske Mindesmærker, Pastor M. B. Landstad speculated that "Kampen med Troldene var i ældre Tider en alvorlig Sag, som man ikke tillod sig at skempe med..." Here Landstad is making a basic assumption which is difficult to justify on the basis of ballad and folk literature. Although he immediately preceded his comment with the statement "Inholdet af Visen er ægte gammeldags, men den Tone, hvori den er holdt—en mellemting mellem Skemt og Alvor—saavelsom Sproget anviser den Plads iblandt de sildigere Folkedigte," one must wonder why Landstad thought trolls were taken seriously in olden times. Evil incarnate they may have been, and so it is often implied that they are, but in neither ballad nor folktales—their true milieux—are they ever ultimately successful in their machinations. They are inept lagoos, boring Beelzebubs. Indeed, so easily are they defeated by their opponents that it is difficult to imagine them as serious threats to farmer, warrior, or chieftain. But as a narrative device, at least in a number of Norwegian ballads, they serve as a convenient moving force.

The multi-headed, sometimes tree-like troll of Scandinavian folktales does not appear in ballads. Instead, one finds a large—perhaps gigantic—humanoid deprived of the redeeming virtues of good Christian men. Indeed, in at least one Norwegian version of "Ormålen unge" (TSB E132) such a creature is asked "antén d'er troll hell trel?" (are you a troll or a thrall?) and in a Norwegian text of "Gonge Rolv" (TSB E148) a similar being is asked "antén d'er troll hell kriste folk?" (are you a troll or a Christian?). Ballad trolls, in other words, are made in the image of faulty men. Moreover, though they may have superhuman strength, their other supernatural qualities are more often a hindrance than a help. Ballad trolls, in fact, are more to be pitied than envied. They have, it would seem, the worst of both worlds.

Not only have ballad trolls suffered from the depredations of such heroes as Sigurd, Heming, Åsmund Frødeggjæva, and Steinfinn Fefinsson, but also from the reluctance of ballad creators, transmitters, and scholars to grant them special identity. Ancient though trolls may be, they do not figure significantly in the classification of ballads until the beginning of the twentieth century in spite of the fact that they are often referred to obliquely as virtually unique to western Scandinavian (norrón) tradition. Swedish and Danish scholars ignored them completely until Haakon Grüner-Nielson and his colleague Leiv Heggestad published Utsyn yver gamall norsk Folkevisediktning in 1912. The only two major ballad editions in Norway before this time, those of M. B. Landstad and Sophus Bugge do not suggest that troll ballads differ in any way significantly from other ballads which deal with heroic actions. For the most part, Landstad includes ballads dealing with trolls in his section devoted to Kæmpeviser ("Heroic Ballads"), though he includes one or two of a similar
type in his section devoted to Romancer ("Romances") and Ridderviser ("Chivalric Ballads"). Bugge, whose volume is intended primarily as an example of how ballads should be edited, does not attempt to classify his materials in any way. But Professor Knut Liestøl, who set the tone for modern Norwegian ballad scholarship, in a popular ballad edition which he developed from a draft left incomplete by his predecessor and mentor, Moltke Moe, lists forty-eight distinct ballads typed as Trollviser. Yet in his introduction to these same volumes, Liestøl says, "Det er risar og jøtlar og gygarar, berengekonge og alvefolk og haugebonde, nykk og havfru. Dette er um samkvæmet med desse vetti at trollvisone gjeng." In other words, one man's troll is another's giant or elf, barrow-dweller or mermaid. Trolls in ballads, in short, lack distinctive features. Though they have certain characteristics and capabilites not commonly found among humans, they must more often than not be classified as abnormal rather than as a superhuman species.

Nevertheless, there is a small group of ballads, most of which are peculiar to Norway (though two are known only in the Faroe Islands, one is shared between Norway and Sweden, and the other three are fundamentally pan-Scandinavian) which have as their moving force an abnormal being. In each instance this creature has seduced away from her home a beautiful young woman, and in most instances this damsel's hand is offered in marriage—not by the girl herself but by her father—to the warrior who can return her to her home. It is generally assumed that the kidnapped maiden will happily assent to such conditions.

Except in one instance. In a ballad-type which Grundtvig calls "Jomfruen og Dverkgrogen" (DGF 37; TSB A54), the plot of which is summarized in The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad in the following words:

A girl has several children by a gnome (dwarf-king). Finally she tells her mother about her situation. The gnome then appears and forces her to follow him to their children in the mountain. When they get back she drinks a beverage that either makes her forget the outside world or kills her, or she dies from sorrow.

One finds a maiden, often simply a girl of the countryside, who willingly accompanied a supernatural being to his mountain fastness and then, after she has for some reason or other returned to her home, is later forced to return to her children. But in a series of Norwegian variants often entitled "Margit Hjukse" there is an additional element: the dwarf king, mountain king, or troll, call him what you will, truly loves the girl! Moreover, the ballad tells but a portion of the legend which Landstad amplified thus:


This elaboration of the legend is not developed, however, in any of the more than seventy variants of the ballad which have been collected in Norway. In every instance, nevertheless, the mountain king, the troll, exhibits all of the grief of a bereaved husband.

But this is unusual. As has been mentioned earlier, by far the greatest number of troll ballads center on the burstolne jomfru ("the kidnapped maiden") theme. Strangely, in the types
principally peculiar to Norway or originating there, the trolls encountered by the avenging hero seem always to be female, though they lack the seductive qualities of huldre, those enchantingly beautiful creatures described in loving detail in folktales who once led Norwegian men to eternal damnation inspite of their revelatory cow-like tails. Instead, in the five ballad types peculiar to Norway, the troll-women who hold kidnapped maidens hostage are indescribably grotesque. They are gigantic, with foreheads like cliffs, noses like cowsheds, and eyes like the pudenda of pigs. Their most complete description is found in a ballad type common to Denmark, the Faroe Islands, and Norway, a ballad which in Norway is called "Kappen Illugjen" (TSB E140):

Nosi hav du som nautefjosi;  
i blesa så æ'du bratt,  
dette æ' sign av mine truitt;  
kvert ori så seie eg satt.

Nosi hev du som nautefjosi,
   kjeften som bikketryni;
   mine augo æ' snarpe i hauser,
   dine som fui på svini.¹²

Generally, however, for ballad transmitters and their audiences descriptions appear unnecessary. The fact that a beautiful maiden has been carried into the mountains, presumably against her will, by an abnormal creature is sufficient to evoke a popular image of the kind of being most likely to be responsible for such an act.

As has been noted, "Kappen Illugjen," whence the quoted description of a troll-woman derives, is known in Denmark, the Faroe Islands, and Norway. There are, however, four other ballads entirely peculiar to Norway which deal with kidnapped maidens and their rescue. These are the already mentioned "Sigurd og troll-brura" (TSB E143), "Åsmund Frægdejøva" (TSB E145), "Hugaball" (TSB E146), and "Steinfinn Fefinson" (TSB E147), as well as a fifth ballad type usually called "Hemingen og gygrí" (TSB E144) which is found in Sweden as well as in Norway but which is most certainly of Norwegian origin.¹³ Though these ballad types differ from each other in detail, they tell what is fundamentally the same story. It is perhaps most succinctly summarized in "Sigurd og troll-brura," which is described in The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad thus:

The king's daughter has been carried off by ogres into the mountain, and the king promises the warrior Sigurd that he may marry her if he can get her back. Sigurd makes a big club for himself and enters the mountain. There he pretends to want to marry a female ogre, and all the other ogres are invited to the wedding. Sigurd kills them all with his club, returns home with the princess and marries her.¹⁴

The only thing which sets "Sigurd og troll-brura" apart from the other ballads named is Sigurd's reliance upon a club which he has made for himself. "Hugaball," on the other hand, is distinctive primarily because the hero is accompanied on his travels by the king's two sons, and two maidens, rather than one, are rescued. "Åsmund Frægdejøva" introduces a prince, the brother of the girl Åsmund rescues, who has been turned into a foal whose head has to be cut off to release him from enchantment. Steinfinn in "Steinfinn Fefinson" is out in search of his sisters rather than a princess and is assisted by the natural phenomenon that some troll species are turned to stone by the light of the sun. And Heming in "Hemingen og gygrí," in which this last motif also plays a
part, saves the maiden (sometimes his sister, sometimes his beloved) almost accidentally, since he is in the mountains for reasons entirely unrelated to the missing girl. These are the principal features which distinguish each of these ballad types from the other; were it not for such distinctive elements, all types so described might be conflated into one.

It is, moreover, interesting that all of these ballad types descend from sagas or saga-like materials. "Sigurd og troll-brura" derives indirectly and by way of popular tradition from Sigurdar saga fóts ok Ásmundar húnakongs. "Ásmund Fróðgarðssoni" is an easily identifiable retelling of a portion of Olavs saga Tryggvasson, just as "Steinfinn Fefinnson" is easily recognized as a reworking of a part of Orvarodds saga. "Hugaball" reduces a portion of Grydinga saga to its essentials, though it borrows many motifs from similar ballads (just as "Kappen Illugjen" owes its plot and narrative core to Illuga saga Gridfrostra but borrows widely from other sources as well), and "Hemingen og gygri" is a confused redaction of that portion of the Flateyjarbók most commonly called "Hemings Thattr Aslakssonar," itself a portion of Haralds saga Hardrada. 15

In every instance, the sagas whence these ballads derive are complex narratives from which the ballads themselves have extracted a single thread. Moreover, in most instances, the thread extracted by the ballad composers is neither essential to nor a major element in the overall narrative structure of the saga. The abnormal, and in these instances female, creatures who serve as moving forces in all of the ballads (except "Hemingen og gygri" in which Heming runs across the giantess virtually by accident) function in the sagas in much the same way as serpents and dragons, gigantic Turks and maleficent Saracens function in the later medieval romances. They serve to fill a page or two, to satisfy the audience's demand for constant action, and to illustrate the sometimes niggling problems which a warrior must overcome when involved in a major quest. In sagas, as in romances, trolls are incidental obstructions to the hero's ultimate goal; in the ballads, on the other hand, they become the major obstruction which the hero must overcome. Conversely, however, trolls in sagas are the essence of evil, and though incidental to the story as a whole, not to be lightly treated; they could defeat saga heroes. By contrast, ballad trolls, though they are necessary and serve as the principal impediment to the hero's success, their malevolence is more nearly like that of a spoiled child than like the malignancy of a disciple of Lucifer or Loki.

It is interesting to note, moreover, that when ballad composers extracted such narrative threads from their parent sagas, it was not a simple process. Few ballads of this sort consist simply of a coherent chunk of the saga snipped out and recast in ballad style. In fact, the ballad composers are so familiar with the sagas that they can discern motifs belonging to a particular narrative theme even when they are entangled with a variety of other themes. These are then untangled, extracted from the overall narrative, and rewoven into a more concentrated tapestry. The result is a typical ballad narrative beginning in medias res, focusing on a single dramatic incident, and developed primarily by means of dialogue.

In some instances, the warp which binds the weft of the narrative is simply the dramatic possibility of the story itself. For example, the Icelandic "Gunnarskvædi" draws into a coherent, unified, and brief song-poem events which in Njálssaga are
separated by many, many chapters, and the Dano-Norwegian "Helen og Paris i Trejeborg" extracts from a popular and traditional versions of the Iliad only those events specifically relating to the love affair uniting Helen and Paris. In Norwegian troll ballads, however, the warp, the binding element, is the existence of a troll who has so upset the even tenor of day-to-day existence that a warrior hero must be enlisted to overcome the disrupting forces of evil. That no very clear picture of such creatures emerges is unimportant. What is needed as a moving force is a villain; perhaps, especially, an inept villain.

For such a purpose, trolls serve very well. To both ballad transmitter and audience they are familiar creatures no matter how amorphous their form. They exist for no other apparent purpose than to plague mankind. Moreover, in instances in which it is essential that they eventually be confronted by a hero and defeated, female trolls serve especially well, since they are unlikely to be seduced by the feminine blandishments of their captives, and since it is a folk tradition that the female of the species, be it troll or human, can rise to the heights of fury impossible for a mere male.

It is this which creates suspense in the Norwegian troll ballads. Can a very human, male warrior defeat a female troll at the height of her anger? On the other hand, the outcome is never really in doubt. Neither in folk tale nor in ballad are trolls the ultimate victors. In those instances in which trolls defeat warriors, neither tales nor ballads end on this note. Always there is an eventual conquering hero. Perhaps Landstad was reflecting the subconscious fears of the common people of Telemark and Setesdal, a people with whom he was very familiar, when he said that "Kampen med Troldene var i ældre Tider en alvorlig Sag, som Man ikke tillod sig at skæmpte med . . . ." but it is certainly true that no matter what these people believed about the power of trolldom in real life, the trolls of popular tradition were never successful in their machinations.

Borrowed from literary interpretations of traditional creatures, ballad trolls are simple functionaries. In the ballads themselves they could easily be replaced by any sort of villain from berserk to werewolf, but for the ballad scholar they serve to remind him that ballad composers were not only immersed in tradition but, more importantly, learned enough to be capable of re-interpreting complex literature in simple terms and reducing the sophisticated patterns of saga literature to a level which farmers in isolated mountain valleys might well understand.

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Notes


2 Lorentz Diderich Klüwer, Norske Minnesmærker (Christiania [Oslo], 1823), pp. 138-41. About this song Klüwer says, "The following two kæmpeviser I have heard farmers
sing. The first [Sigurd og Trollbrønn] I heard in Hallingdal, 1818, in the guardroom at Aggershus....] [Translation mine.]

3 M.B. Landstad, Norske Folkeviser (Christiania [Oslo]: Chr. Tønsbergs Forlag, 1853), p. 465, note 1. "Fighting with trolls was in older times a serious matter which man did not allow himself to joke about...." [Translation mine.]

4 Ibid. "The content of this song is certainly ancient, but the tone, in which it is presented—part way between jocular and grave—just as is the language, indicates that it should be placed among the younger creations of the folk." [Translation mine.]


6 M.B. Landstad, op. cit.

7 Sophus Bugge, Gammel norske Folkeviser (Kristiania [Oslo]: Feilberg og Landmark, 1858).


9 Ibid., p. 21. The words "risar," "jøtlar," and "gygra" refer to various types of giants, the word "bergekonge" translates literally as "mountain king," "alvefolk" as "elves," "haugebonde" as "barrow-dwellers," "nykk" as "water sprite," and "havfru" as "mermaid." The last sentence reads, "It is with these sorts of creatures that troll ballads have to do."

10 TSB, p. 40.

11 "The legend continues, that she stayed all the rest of her time in the mountain. When she died of sorrow and longing, the mountain king then went to the parish priest in Bø and told him that it was Margit's last wish and desire that she might be buried in Christian earth by the side of the church at Bø, and that the church bells at Bø, the sounds of which had often seeped in to her in the mountain and consoled her, might ring at her funeral. He asked the priest to consider this, but the priest replied that since she had given herself to the mountain, she must remain there. There was no remedy for this. She might know neither the bells nor Christian burial." [Translation mine.] Landstad, op. cit., p. 455, note 5.

12 "You have a nose like a cowshed,/ Your forehead's exceedingly steep,/ This is one of my truths:/ The words I say to you truly,/ You have a nose like a cowshed,/ Your jaw's like that of a mut:/ My eyes are set close in my head,/ Your's like the cunt of a pig." Taken from an unpublished variant of "Kappen Illugjen" collected by Sophus Bugge from Tone Vistadbakken of Mo, Telemark, 1856.


14 TSB, p. 250 [Type E143].

15 For a detailed discussion of these relationships, see Knut Liestøl, Den norrøne arven (Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1970), passim.

THE EROTIC METAPHOR
IN HUMOROUS NARRATIVE SONGS (SCHWANK SONGS)*

Rainer Wehse

British broadside ballads of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries provide the material for the following texts and examples. There is no significant difference between the use of erotic metaphors in oral and in broadside traditions; they overlap considerably, especially in the case of Schwank songs. This body of erotic metaphors seems to change very little in the course of time. These verbal images are, with little variation, also used internationally in the European and American traditions. Therefore the great majority of observations is not only applicable to British broadside balladry but to the common corpus of European and American Schwank ballads of the last three to four hundred years.

THE CITY CAPER: OR THE WHESTONES-PARK PRIVATEER

Being a true relation how a small she Pickaroon lately
sail'd from the park, and Cruising abroad in the night,
sel'z'd one rich Merchant-man, whom she tempted to board
her, and then disabl'd his ship, took all his Cargo,
spoil'd his Tackle, and burnt his Rudder, &c.

The Jenny a small Pickaroon in the Park
Last night went a Cruising abroad in the dark,
Her impudence was her commander in chief,
Her haven is Lust, and her pilot a Thief;
As swift as a Fish she did glide by the Strand,
Well rig'd, and well trim'd but she lackt to be man'd
In her mouth a whole teer of Dame's there lies,
Granadoes were shot out of her rowling eyes.

The ruffling silk of her Petticoat Sails,
The wind had full blown with it's wantoning gales
That wind which their meeting with contrary wind
Sometimes doth create hurricanes behind:
Carre'en'd and new painted most curiously,
Her uppermost Deck did appear to the eye,
The curles of her Tower so like streamers do wave
Men of War to engage her they seem for to brave.

* I shall avoid the term "narrative humorous song" in favor of the more specific "Schwank song," defined as the narration of a humorous event working toward a comical conflict of climax such as a punch line and/or a surprising reversal of situation. This structure can be compared to a game, in which two rivals try to get the better of each other. The superior position of one or the other opponent may be reversed once or several times, and the person expected to win the "game" is thus rendered inferior. The reversal is caused by such devices as ruses and witty retorts. For a more detailed analysis of this strategy, see Rainer Wehse, "Broadside Ballad and Folksong: Oral Tradition versus Literary Tradition," *Folklore Forum* 8:1 (1975):324–34; and idem., *Schwanklied und Flugblatt in Grossbritannien, Artes Populare, studia ethnographica et Folkloristica* 3 (Frankfurt, Bern, Las Vegas: Peter Lang, 1979), which also contains the broadside examples cited in this article.
But look on her Stern, she is right for the trade,
Her Lading betwixt wind and water was laid,
A Loof and a Loof and most steady she steered,
Yet Often to alter her courses apear'd,
To Star-board and Lar-board and a baft and before
She glances an eye and she creeps by the shore,
To look what unconveyed Vessels there came,
That might help to add to her pilfering game.

At length from her main-top she gladly espies
A merchant-man far a head passing her by,
O're fraughted was he, and ready to sink
His Hull was so much over-stowed with drink:
She strait makes all Sails she was able, and plies
Her Oars to come up to so welcome a prize
Though's head was so light, she was lighter than he
And had in an instant brought him by the Lee.

Her nobled hood she turn'd up for a Flag,
Sometimes she steers off & sometimes she doth lay
She hauld him with hms, but the dulpated Owl
Would not understand her, unless she fell foul:
At last a salute with a Gun, in she pours,
Your servant she cry'd and he answering yours:
She boldly bore up, and for sometime they ride,
Yard arm to Yard arm, and each side by each side.

The battel between them now warmer was grown,
And the grappling Irons were mutually thrown,
She gave him her broad-side of kisses so strong,
There was no hope left of his holding out long:
Yet on her design better colour to lay,
She pretended to tack, as if stearing away,
Then seeming disabled to bear up again,
She offers herself unto him to be tane.

He sees her lye by, and then grows the more bold,
To venture, and to rumidge her bold,
She Freely receives him astern and invites,
Him for to taste of her Cabin delights:
From prow unto poop he did grope her all o're,
And finding her Gun to be Full Cannon bore,
For his Ammunition he swore was as large,
And threatned to give her foxtl with a due charge.

She flung off her Glove as a Flag of defiance
And scorn'd to accept of his terms of compliants,
Come bully, quoth she, I will stand thy fierce shot
For already I've taken full many a knock:
With that below Deck then he thundred in,
And she for to tumble and toss did begin,
As if that a tempest had rocked her pillow,
And danced her vessel aloft on a billow.

A calm then succeedeth this storming her honour,
He soon had unladed his Cargo upon her,
Before hand he gave her his contracted Guinea,
And thought he ne'er sail'd in so pleasant a Pinace,
But quickly that fancy he curs't when he found,
How damnable deep she had run him on ground,
For just in the fury and heat of the job,
He ransackt Placket, she rifled his, Fob.
With Watch, Gold, and jewels she slipt out of the door
Poor Voyager ne'er was so jilted before,
His Cargo was lost, and his main-mast was torn
His Tackling she spoil'd, and his Rudder did burn
Hence learn you young gallants that venture to sea
The danger of such Pickaroons for to flee
For vessels rich gild'd with proud Silken Sails,
Oft Fire ships do prove & bear death in their tails.\[1\]

Examples such as the above, in which the complete action remains on a metaphorical level except for a few necessary interruptions, are rare. "The City Caper" contains all the possibilities of metaphorical expression which erotic Schwänke have to offer. In this case, the images also provide the main comical conflict (actual happening versus description on metaphorical level) whereas most erotic metaphors usually only carry a minor humorous function.

Some Schwänk songs take their images from military encounters on land\[2\] or on sea.\[3\] The sequence of events depicted is that of encounter, siege, and victory or defeat. In most other texts, however, sexual intercourse described as threshing,\[4\] grinding,\[5\] mowing,\[6\] smiting,\[7\] is a mechanical process in which rhythmical repetition becomes the characteristic trait. Less frequently the metaphorical representation is a sequence of actions which progresses steadily toward an inevitable conclusion, as in driving a coach,\[8\] or playing cards,\[9\] the latter image implying victory or defeat.

Normally, metaphor is used only to describe the sexual act or the testing of the willingness of a noncommittal partner. The title, as a preliminary metaphor, can hint at things to come if the listener (or reader) is already familiar with the language of folksong. We come across such titles as "Blow the Candle In," "Grind Ground at Last," "Flare-Up," "Old Mr. December," "Fire! Down Below." Apart from the headline which may imply an erotic context, the opening words of the song, such as "fiddle," "flute," "whistle," or names of other instruments; and references to such actions as "mowing," "plowing," and "grinding," may point to a forthcoming love game.

Following these possible preliminaries, the first narrative situation which is favored for the use of erotic metaphors is the initial confrontation of man and woman, wherein one intends to seduce the other. In order to find out whether the other is or may be willing to join in the game, the seducer expresses his intent in metaphorical language. This semi-concealed suggestion serves as a probe for ascertaining the other's readiness for an intimate relationship. The double entendre is harmless on the surface. By pointing out the harmlessness of his words, the active partner provides himself with a means of retreat if his proposition is rejected; the other partner need not be offended. Although Schwank never uses this means of retreat, the possibility is nevertheless implied. The suitor's investigation of his potential partner's state of mind requires an original and subtle beginning because of the ticklish situation. In contrast, the description of the sex act itself uses pre-established props, motifs, and actions. The shaping of a scene preceding love inspires poetic originality, as there are few stock phrases or situations from the folksong scene vocabulary at hand. The situation of sexual intercourse, however, is given as a fixed form and has only to be filled with adequate linguistic symbols.
[After the servant has retired to bed, he is awakened by his mistress. . . .]

He said dearest madam, what disturbs your rest
She said, my dear Dick, I cannot sleep I protest
And that the reason I called on you,
To see if you'd play me a rubber or two.

Dick took the hint and to her did say,
What game is it madam, you're willing to play?
She immediately answered and told him all scores
The game that I choose is that of all four.

Dick jumped on the boad (sic) and to gamble he fell. . . .

In another song the opportunity is created not by one of the Schwank characters but as a result of a lucky accident: the young wife of an old impotent husband makes the best of the situation when a butcher asks her if she could offer him a heifer. She answers in the positive and talks of herself as the "heifer," thus camouflaging the issue for the butcher. But to be on the safe side she then translates her words into plain language. Here the metaphoric speech is not strictly a means to advance action but merely a stylistic device.

He said I am a butcher, and dealer in fat ware,
Has your husband any heifers to spare.

O yes, he has an heifer this damsel replied;
O yes he has an heifer that sparkles in your eyes,
That sparkles in your eyes and as plump as a rose:
But I'm afraid that he will not let you go.

Where is the heifer the butcher replied,
Come show me the ground where the heifer she does lie:
I am the heifer this damsel replied. . . .

The two preceding examples use specific metaphors which can only be understood within a given context. They remain tied to one particular song type. In other cases audience comprehension can be presupposed, as for instance with metaphors from the agricultural world of planting and plowing, sowing and reaping. Listeners and Schwank characters know straightaway what a man means by his offer "to mow the woman's meadow." Thus asked, the Schwank character can reply instantly and on the same language level without the necessity to search for a possible hidden meaning:

She said, my handsome young man, if a mower that you be,
I'll find you some new employment if you will go with me,
For I have a little meadow long kept for you in store,
It was on the dew, I'll tell you true, it ne'er was cut before.

But these preliminary phrases do not always hold to what they promise. Even if the two prospective love partners have come to terms, one of them may—in the further course of events—be disappointed by the other's shortcomings. Such is the case with the lecherous girl who, at closer investigation, finds fault with the tailor's "yard":

She seeing him dismayed,
She took his yard in hand:

"Is this your yard?" quoth she,
"Is this your tailor's measure?
It is too short for me,
It is not Standard-Measure.¹³

The next and main function of metaphors in erotic Schwänke is the representation of sexual intercourse: the standard pictures are taken from the artisan's world of work. In these examples the comical Schwank conflict is not to be sought in the action but it manifests itself in the collision of the two levels of speech:

Red hot grew his Iron as both did desire,
And he was too wise not to strike while twas so,
Quoth she what I get I get out of the fire,
Then prithee strike home and redouble the blow,
With a rub &c.

Six times did his Iron by Vigerous heating,
Grow soft in the Forge in a Minute or so,
As often twas harde'd still beating and beating,
But the more it was Soften'd it harden'd more Slow,
With a rub &c.¹⁴

Another group of metaphors—using images of the agricultural world—is universally known and conservatively used. But we also find such imagery open to modern adaptations, as in the transposition of simple threshing with flails to the more mechanized action of a threshing machine:

The barn door was open, Dobbin stood outside,
The farmer soon got the machine for to ride,
She said I think master we thrash very clean
I see you can manage the threshing machine.

When Dobbin was tired of going around,
He hung in the traces and bowed to the ground,
The' once in good order he got quite thin and lean,
By working so long at the threshing machine.

The farmer jump'd off and around him he feels,
Says he I must rest so he block'd up the wheels,
Molly led Dobbin, and backwards did lean,
And he pushed against the threshing machine...

When six months were over, remember it well,
Molly's front parlour began for to swell,
And soon after she had got to wean,
The fruits of her labour, a young threshing machine.¹⁵

Erotic metaphors exist on three levels of time and understanding. 1) Certain old metaphors are passed on for hundreds or even thousands of years without being altered, because they refer to such basic situations as sowing and reaping. 2) Archaic metaphors rooted in situations and settings long forgotten are nevertheless transmitted without being understood. Their meaning is only traceable through historical research. 3) New metaphors reflect technical innovations and other novelties.

The description of copulation is frequently divided into two parts: the first depicts the act, the second shows the man—exhausted from his repeated performance—finally throwing in the towel. In the latter case the metaphor extends the initial image: the scythe becomes blunt and bends, the red-hot iron cannot be hardened anymore, the ammunition is spent. Only in one single case can the man, who otherwise in this particular situation is
always the loser, turn the tables. By cunning use of the innate logic of metaphoric language he wins the last round.

[Dick the servant cannot cope with the sexual greediness of his mistress any longer. He goes to bed all by himself in order to spend a quiet night. His mistress, however, comes to his bedside and lifts his blankets.]

... resolved at his trimmings to take a small peep.

She covered him up and the lad she did shake,
To her great surprise then Dick did awake,
She says my dear Dick you have ruined me quite,
For I've been waiting of you all this night.

Then Dick says dear madam to tell you my mind
To gamble this night I am not inclined,
For there is an obstacle I mean to explain.
You've peeped at my cards so I'll give up the game.\(^{16}\)

As all preceding actions have been described as a game of cards, Dick can now refuse to continue the game. His partner has kibitzed and thus violated the rules.

Occasionally intercourse, which is reported in either metaphorical or straight language, leads to a coda using flashback techniques. In this case the events are told to a new figure, usually a third person not previously mentioned. This device has two different functions, depending on the audience. To the listeners of the folksong the facts are repeated in veiled language; to the newcomer within the song they are hidden and incomprehensible, except in their superficial meaning. This gives rise to a ticklish situation because there is always the danger that the third character, who must by no means discover the secret, might recognize the truth behind the metaphor. But the character thus deceived never penetrates to the actual and intentionally hidden meaning. If called up to judge an issue, as in the following example, he decides on the basis of what he understands:

"Yesterday I made a Feast, for Pedlars thirty-and three,
And wanted a Mortar to pound the Spice, and borrowed one of your Lady's.
"The Mortar was your own Lady's, but the Pestle was my own;
But now she has got my little Tom Pack, and I wish the truth was but known."

"Come give him his Pack," (Thou proud Pedlar!) "What makes you here let him stand? Come give him his Pack and let him be gone, and this of you I do command."\(^{17}\)

In this story belonging to "the lover's gift regained" cycle, the lover (peddler) succeeds in having his pledge restored by making the husband decide the question. The husband takes the words, which are a camouflaged report of the amorous adventures between his wife and the peddler at their face value. In "My Mistress Came to the Door"\(^{18}\) the servant is asked by the master to "mind his business" while he is absent. His wife, who remains at home, seduces the servant. On the husband's return the servant can honestly and correctly affirm that he has minded his business as well as the master himself would. The guileless, deceived master does not suspect that the "business" generously included his conjugal duties as well. Like the metaphorical description of sexual intercourse, this type of coda also serves to stress the humorous points of the song.

In addition to the Schwank types which use metaphorical language throughout and those which make partial use of this stylistic device, we very often come across single metaphorical ex-
pressions referring to intercourse or private parts. The latter (in the case of the male) is commonly related to the occupation of the lover and is usually in phallic shape, such as the "yard" of the tailor and the "scythe" of the mower. The soldier has his "sword," "gun," or "rapier"; the musician "plays" his "bugle," "flute," or "pipe." More rarely, expressions visualize the parts in relation to the entire body, as is the case with "trimmings" or "tail." The female "trimmings" are likewise named according to their shape and appearance, as well as in reference to their hidden, not easily accessible position: "cony," "bird cage," "cottage," "fringed bag." Expressions designating the female sexual organs are frequently related to their male counterparts. Thus a mechanical intercourse between the two becomes possible—scythe : meadow; pestle : mortar; hammer : anvil. Expressions for the testicles play a minor role. Apart from common colloquial names such as "nuts" or "balls," they can also hint at the occupation of their owner, as in the "vats" of a wine merchant or the "powder balls" of a barber.

Although not part of a whole metaphorically described erotic scene, individual expressions concerning sexual intercourse are commonly understood when they talk of agricultural fertility, such as sowing and reaping, plowing, mowing, and cultivating the soil. The root of this phallicoric tradition evidently reaches back to the classical age and even further. This realm of symbols is supracultural.

Metaphors are usually related to some work involving regular recurrent actions: "fiddle a tune," "grind corn," "hammer in rivets," "mow a meadow," "lay bricks," "shave," "put soles on shoes," "blow the bugle." Apart from such metaphors, which almost invariably refer to some occupation, there is yet another type which describes the proceedings as a singular non-repeated act in which something mobile is led towards something static, as "to send the old Pope into Rome" or "to lead the horse into the stables." Onomatopoeia can be applied by calling the act "rap-a, tap, tap" or by characterizing the work of a whore as "trade shove-up and go down," in which the emphasis is likewise laid upon rhythmical motion. In addition other images of motion are used: "they rolled in the grass," "he rolled her in his arms," "they made the world go 'round." These principles of erotic metaphor are not limited to British folksongs but enjoy a worldwide distribution.

Quite unlike lyrical love songs, erotic metaphors depict sexual confrontation in a mechanistic way. Only rarely among such concise descriptions (one is tempted to say "direct" language, though it is veiled in symbolic words) do we meet a more poetic rendering of the "field" which is to be "plowed":

My cottage it stands in a woody shade,
A finer cannot be found
For its standing between two poplar trees,
And rushes growing all around.¹⁹

Metaphorical language in Schwank songs is almost exclusively employed for erotic themes; within this area, sexual satisfaction, with its preliminaries and result, makes the greatest use of this stylistic device. These themes may also find their realization in ordinary language, but such is not the case with venereal disease. Whenever venereal disease is mentioned it is associated with fire, burning, conflagration. (See titles such as "Flare Up" or "Fire! Down Below.")
We have had many opportunities to observe that metaphors in Schwank songs—in contrast to those of lyrical love songs—are chosen to support the comic climax. The humorous effect becomes possible through a "transposition" from the level of ordinary language to that of metaphorical speech. This device is found not only in Schwank, but also in other literary modes. It is used to similar effect in the tonal transposition of parody or the more intellectual use of irony. Henry Bergson says that comical effect is caused by the listener pretending to understand only the original harmless meaning of the expressions where actually a double entendre is intended. It is more likely, however, that satisfaction from listening to metaphoric language is caused by the intellectual achievement through which the surface meaning is penetrated and the underlying truth is understood. The interpretation of modern art requires a similar approach of penetration, and yields the same intellectual satisfaction after the "connoisseur" or "investigator" has succeeded in unravelling the riddle behind the art.

The transferral from regular to metaphoric language can be regarded as a playful juggling with verbal skills. At the same time, but to a lesser extent, it also touches on the mastery of life and fate by effectively handling a taboo section of human relationships. God and Devil, birth and death, important and decisive markers of human life, are accessible only through metaphors and euphemisms, for direct approaches to these subjects are often ruled out. The observance of these taboos is not so much a question of taste as of genuine, if perhaps subconscious, awe. The love theme presents another such taboo. Love may very well enclose a terrestrial, worldly god and devil. Love may signify birth and death. Idioms such as "to die of a broken heart" and "feel like a new man" apply particularly to lucky or unlucky lovers. Lutz Röhrich describes the manner in which metaphorical language makes taboo subjects accessible: "The verbal image gives the folksinger the possibility of expressing his most hidden thoughts, especially those of sexual fulfillment, which he would not be able to convey in ordinary language."

Such stylistic devices veil erotica, but do not hide it from those who are in on the secret, in this case the audience of a folksong. Thus a tension is created, as well as an urge—incomparably greater than it would have been if the facts were given naked and bare—to look behind the surface of things. The unveiling of metaphors occurs within the mind of the listener; it is his own accomplishment. His reward is the dénouement, a feeling of success—the psychological background. The delight in unveiling and unveiling springs from a certain basic mental pattern and urge. Therefore we find such delight in quite a few other areas of human life and expression, which are by no means limited to literary genres. To present several quite badly matched examples, found in day-to-day life: strip-tease dancing, unveiling a monument, covering up buildings or even landscapes as an expression of megalomaniac modern art, wrapping up birthday presents, hiding Easter eggs, veiling Mohammedan women, and—last but not least—modern woman's fashions, which cover the body in order to rouse a desire to see that same body uncovered. The underlying idea of all this is the finally unveiled secret, which would never have become a secret without its former disguise, and would consequently not have evoked any interest. Or, as an old lady deploringly commented when she heard of the introduction of nudist camps, "But there will be no mystery at all!" Besides increasing
tension, the erotic metaphor safeguards those audiences which would be scandalized by the theme presented in a more direct fashion. Listeners need not feel offended as long as they ignore the double entendre and stay within a "single" entendre. Metaphors also provide an easy retreat for the performer, who can always point out the harmlessness of what he has just said or sung, even if he knows exactly what it was all about. Thus, in addition to the veiling, erotic metaphors also possess a "hiding" function intended to deceive innocent listeners. Among these babes in the woods we find folksong scholars, as well as pupils of a boarding school, and the editors of their textbooks.23 In addition, as we have seen, the verbal image can be used to hide the second meaning from one character of the Schwank and lay it open to the opposed character.

The verbal possibilities in Schwank songs culminate in metaphor, wherein even certain broadside ballads can reach a high poetic level. Through this metalanguage the Schwank genre, which is otherwise dominated by earthly concerns and everyday similes, casts off all the grossness and coarseness of the sexual and erotic domain (often regarded as the very homeground for all crudity). The only instance in which even Schwank grows wings is not in plot, situation, or cast of characters but, quite unexpectedly, in speech. The art of the love game is reflected in the game of words.

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Notes
1 Broadside (London: P. Brooksby, 1635-1696), Black Letter, tune of "Captain Digby's Farewell"; British Library, shelf mark C.22.f.6, fol. 92.
6 "The Mower," Broadside [nineteenth century]; Cleveland Public Library, shelf mark Wq 821.04 B78g. See also Margaret Dean-Smith, A Guide to English Folk Song Collections (Liverpool: University Press, 1954), #89.
9 "The Frolicsome Widow," Broadside (Newcastle: W.R. Walker, 1797-1804); New York Public Library, Collection of Scottish Broadsides, shelf mark NCK.
10 Ibid.
12 "The Mower," Broadside (Preston: Harkness, c. 1850-1855); University of Chicago Library, shelf mark PR 1211 .047.
14 Cf. Note 8a.
15 Cf. Note 5a.
16 Cf. Note 10.
18 a) Broadside (Preston: Harkness, c. 1850-1855); British Library, shelf mark 1876.e.3. b) Oral variant: Kennedy, Folksongs, #211.
20 Henri Bergson, Das Lachen (Meisenheim, 1948), p. 64.
22 Ibid., pp. 79f., 112.
LET THE INSIDE BE SWEET:
STRATEGIES FOR COMMUNICATION IN KPELLE MUSIC EVENTS

Ruth M. Stone

Zu é née.
Let the inside be sweet.¹
--Comment by audience member at beginning of event

Participants in Kpelle music performance manipulate cues that coordinate and synchronize interaction within the event. In a broader study of music communication conducted in Bong County, Liberia, in 1975-1976, I identified two strategies of manipulation: 1) communication according to hierarchy and 2) communication in an indirect manner. I conducted intensive observation and documentation of two performing groups. The first group was from Gbeyllataaa, a town one hour's walk from the main road and governed by a town chief; the second group, called the Nonis, resided in a rubber camp along the main highway in a community with a more informal political structure.

The first strategy—communication according to the hierarchical organization of participants in the event—needs to be examined in the context of Kpelle concepts about music, as well as in regard to the processual unfolding of this hierarchy in a performance situation. In Kpelle performance organization, every participant role is complemented by a reciprocal counter-role. In this pairing of participants, one member of relatively high status—who is entitled to create and manipulate sân—is balanced by another performer of relatively lower status.

Sân is a quality of experience that is characteristically multi-faceted, multi-interpretable, subtle, indirect, and esthetically pleasing. It is a kind of "cultural operator," to use James Boon's term, and it reveals experience through exposure of various facets.² The employment of sân might also be termed "thick performance," in an extension of Clifford Geertz' notion of "thick description."³

A vocal soloist (wule-tōo-nuu), for example, who is entitled and expected to manipulate sân, is balanced by a counterpart, the supporting soloist (tomo-soa-nūu). This part-counterpart relationship is analogous to that of the master drummer (fâli-yale-nuu) and the supporting drummer (gbûm-gbûm-tua-nuu), who plays a two-headed cylindrical drum. The master drummer works to create sân against a continuous non-sân pattern of the gbûm-gbûm drum which is repetitious and non-varying. The solo dancer usually employs sân against the pattern of the more subordinate master drummer who tries to follow and reflect what the dancer chooses to execute. Some master drummers who are extremely skilled, however, invert this relationship so that the dancer becomes subordinate to the drummer.

If we consider the configuration of participants from a broader perspective, all the soloists along with their counterparts form a unit balanced by the chorus (vaa-mû-6elai); but the chorus
is also constituted to permit an internal part-counterpart relationship. Within the chorus are the mûu-siye-gelai (owl-raising-people); when they perform, they execute sâa against the non-sâp of the rest of the chorus. In this case, sâa is created through manipulation of the changing multi-ostinato sung as a counterpart of the main chorus.

Kpelle performing groups sometimes include a pêle-kaloo (chief of performance). Although he is not visibly active in the usual performance situation itself, he serves as a counterpart to the entire ensemble, both in its internal relations and with respect to the people outside its boundaries. He settles disputes among group members, acts as a liaison to the town chief, and negotiates performance conditions and arrangements for the group.

The posâ, or master of ceremonies, is sometimes a counterpart to the performers and at other times a counterpart to the audience, because he acts as interpreter and intermediary between the groups. The posâ often uses a whistle to quiet the crowd, to bring the performance to a pause, or to cue an audience member to make a speech evaluating the performance.

The Gbeyflataa group usually performed with all these roles filled. The Nôni group, on the other hand, focused more on the solo singer with an occasional tomo-son-nûu counterpart singer. Furthermore the Nôni chorus had no counterparts; though the Nôni group played both the fêli and gbûn-gbûn drums, the drums were employed as instrumental counterparts to the vocal solo. The part-counterpart feature of the instrumental ensemble was not evident, and the hierarchy was primarily seen in the solo singer’s relation to the total group. Such differences in organization indicated the subtle move by the Nôni group toward dominance of a soloist who was a "star" performer. Such an organizational pattern reflected, in part, the Nônis’ conscious imitation of African and American groups performing Western popular music.

In certain kinds of music performance events which are known generally as pêle, other positions exist. For example, in the performance of cante fable (meni-pêle) or epic (wôl-meni-pêle), a question-asking person (mare-kâ-a-ke-nuut) always takes part. This questioner is a counterpart to the storyteller-singer, and he gives crucial cues for the teller to move on to successive phases of the performance.

The concept of "audience" is a difficult one in regard to Kpelle performance. Most Kpelle assume that anyone present at a performance is compelled by the music to become a participant in one role or another. This usually means that "spectators" become part of the chorus, singing in response to the solo performers; they may also perform in a group dance. The Kpelle do have a term for someone who watches, naa-kâa-nuut (watching person), but they often say that such a person cannot be considered part of the performance. The audience is thus much more actively involved in creating the event than are most Western audiences, and those persons who remain apart are considered to be outside the sphere of pêle, even though they are physically present. The participating audience actively and continuously evaluates performance, with speeches and token gifts made during designated pauses.

People and spirits who exist in other realms are also summoned to a performance and are considered to be present. These may be the spirits of deceased players, great men and women, or ancestors of the participants, or they may be tutelary spirits who give supernatural aid to performers to make their playing extra-
Fig. 1  Master Drummer Cueing the Gbùn-gbùn

\[ \text{\S} = \text{c. 180} \]

Mnemonic syllables: Gbùn-gbùn  dù-a,
[drum]  push it,

[slightly faster]

Gbùn-gbùn  dù-a,
  dù-a  gbùn-gbùn

[interlude]

Gbùn-gbùn  dù-a,

Gbùn-gbùn  dù-a,
  dù-a  gbùn-gbùn.
ordinarily fine. Not all of the participants make know of these elusive presences.4

Such personages constitute a participating audience because their presence may bring supernatural power to bear on certain elements of the performance. They are believed to respond audibly in the performance: a gbëlele (sanza, plucked idiophone) player would sing, "Gbono-kpatè wee" (the name of a great deceased performer), followed by "oo," in a high-pitched falsetto voice, indicating that Gbono-kpatè was making his presence known. The act of bringing deceased ancestors and spirits into music performance carries great significance. First, in so doing, the performers invoke a whole category of participants that must be included in the analysis of the event. Second, by bringing both predecessors (people who share neither time nor space) and contemporaries (people and spirits who share time but not space) into the performance sphere, the Kpelle make them all consociates—fellow men sharing both time and space for the duration of the event. Thus, in the performance context, the past as well as other temporal-spatial contexts become transcoded to the here and now. The passage of time is muted in the performance context, and the participants live as consociates in the making of music.5

Let us now turn to examine how this hierarchy may be expressed within the processual ebb and flow of music communication in an event. Soloists—vocal, dance, and instrumental—are the most likely to initiate and manipulate cues in the process of creating an event; these roles are not exclusive, for the counterparts provide some degree of balance. The master drummer may evaluate what other performers are playing and prescribe a solution when the music is not performed properly. In the example in Figure 1, the féli (goblet drum) players in both the Gbeilelataa and Noni groups cue the gbùn-gbùn (two-headed cylindrical drum) player when they as master drummers want the gbùn-gbùn player to speed up his tempo. (see Figure 1).

A vocal soloist, as well as a master drummer, may initiate a message concerning the quality of performance, as the following examples show:

1) Wà nwëlí di fái zôo.
   I want their responding (chorus) to mesh.7

2) Wule zôo.
   Mesh the song.8

3) Ka yée ke pulei ma, kwëla-pale.
   Keep your hands on the song, young initiates.9

4) Posëa wee, pule wóoi fe ni plàq-níi oo.
   Posïa, the song voice has not yet gotten down.10

Though the soloists and posïa are primary initiators of cues, the audience also can become involved at certain points in the performance, notably during pauses. Thus, the hierarchy shifts during various phases of the event.

Ideally, cues are communicated in an indirect manner. That is, participants interact with one another at a distance that is created by the use of intermediaries and elusive verbal and musical images. When a vocal soloist wants the ensemble to pause, she may communicate to the posïa who then communicates to the entire group. She is not doing this to make herself understood. Such redundancy, though unnecessary to understanding, is status enhancing and esthetically pleasing. (An analogous situation is the use
Fig. 2  Process in Pause Cueing  (Pauses 1-3) \(^{11}\)
(pt. 1)

Pause 1:

Solo [Cue B]

\[\text{Ee.} \]  (partial continuation)

Pause 2:

Solo [Cue B]

\[\text{Ai - ya.} \]  (partial continuation)

Chorus

\[\text{Oi - yo o we - re.} \]

Pause 3:

Solo [Cue B]

\[\text{Ee - oo.} \]  (partial continuation)

Chorus [Cue B]

\[\text{Ee - oo.} \]
Fig. 2  Process in Pause Cueing (Pauses 4-5)
(pt. 2)

Pause 4: Same as Pause 3 except with whistle added.

Whistle [Cue C]

Pause 5: Cue A; Cue C does not follow; performance breaks down.

Solo

Nyee ma pos'la gwe-li fee

[breaks down]

Chorus

Whistle
Fig. 3  Pause Cueing (Pauses 6-8)\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{align*}
\text{N} \text{yee ma, po-si} & \text{a gwe-li fe} \text{e} \\
\text{I say to him, po-si} & \text{a blow the whistle.} \\
\text{ee--oo.}
\end{align*}

Fig. 4  Flow Chart of Eight Pause Cue Segments*

BEGIN  
Pauses 1-4, go to B; 6-8 go to A.

CUE A  
If A, go to B & C

CUE B  
If B only, go to Partial continuation.  
If B & C, go to Complete pause.

Partial continuation.

CUE C  
If C, go to Complete pause.

Complete pause.  
Return to begin 6, 7.
of intermediaries in formal negotiation situations in Kpelle life.) In the performance situation, the quality of sâm is created when the cues, some with obscure meaning, are relayed through layers of individuals. The obscure language and redundant cues contribute to "thick" or "resonant" performance built up through this complex interrelation and interaction.

Such interrelations develop processually, as we can see in an example of a twelve-minute portion of an event where eight distinct pause segments occur. The cueing for the first five segments are transcribed in Figure 2. In pause segments 6, 7, and 8 a more elaborate cueing sequence occurs (see Figure 3).

In pause segment 5 (Figure 2), the ensemble breaks down completely when the posta fails to respond to the vocal soloist's cue. Figure 4 presents a flow chart of all eight pause segments, which become more elaborate as the performance proceeds. A variety of combinations is possible in the layering of cues, but only when Cue C (blowing of whistle) occurs does a complete pause by the ensemble ensue. In other instances a partial continuation of the performance occurs.

A hierarchical part-counterpart relationship of participants incorporates spirits and ancestors as well as living people. This hierarchy shifts at various times in the performance, as the event moves to particular phases or is affected by various other occurrences. Communication within the event ideally travels in a redundant, indirect way, to enhance the status of the particular individuals and indicate a particular hierarchy. All this develops processually, through adjustment and gradual synchronization or, in occasional instances, desynchronization and response to that performance by a participating audience.

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Notes
1 Grateful acknowledgement is here made of financial support for this research through a joint Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council and Fulbright-Hays, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. See also Ruth M. Stone, "Communication and Interaction Processes in Music Events Among the Kpelle of Liberia" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1979) for a summary of Kpelle orthography. An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association, 3 November 1979, Los Angeles.
4 The term "elusive audience" has previously been used by Dan Ben-Amos, "The Elusive Audience of Benin Narrators," JFI 9 (1972): 177-84.
6 ATR 429.3. (ATR=Audio Tape Recording of the Author.)
7 ATR 414.3.
8 ATR 434.1.
9 ATR 458.2/T276. (T=text page number of the author's collection.)
10 ATR 458.3/T287.
11 ATR 414.
12 Ibid.
THE DOG-HEADED SAINT CHRISTOPHER

Venetia Newall

The head of a dog is a convention occasionally applied to representations of St. Christopher in Eastern iconography. In 1965 Loeschke listed seventy examples and observed that the number would no doubt continue to increase. This demonstrated that they were no rare and eccentric phenomenon but rather formed a part of the official orthodox imagery of the Eastern Church.\(^1\) Examples occur in Greek, Bulgarian, Russian, and Romanian traditions. Very few of these representations could be described as folk art, so they cannot be dismissed as the aberration of peasant artists. Another point underlines the considerable significance of these icons: art historians have established that several examples were intended to be worked into the general design of the iconostasis (or altar screen) of Eastern churches. Their great size and the positioning of the central figure present clear evidence for their significance.\(^2\) The dog-headed St. Christopher also occurs in Byzantine and Russian icons of the saints represented in date order: these are known as calendar icons. A Russian example, probably dating from the seventeenth century and housed in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, depicts four hundred saints; only St. Christopher is shown with animal features.\(^3\)

Two examples of the type were formerly recognized in Western art, but recent research has shown that one attribution is an error. Telescopic photography has revealed that a window pane of Angers Cathedral in France, dating from the sixteenth century, shows not a dog-headed giant but an old and bearded human figure of the Christ-bearer.\(^4\) This leaves as the only remaining example an illustration in a Swabian manuscript from the Monastery of Zwiefalten, the Codex Historicus, dated 1138–1147 and housed today in the Württemburg State Library, Stuttgart. The saint is represented as a lion-headed giant, clambering over the city battlements. The text which it accompanies, the Martyrologium (876–877 A.D.) of Usuardus von Vienne, makes no mention of an animal head. This picture is, to date, the oldest known example of the animal-headed saint in the Christian world.\(^5\) Its animal head is shown with heightened effect, and here we may compare similar representations of the Evangelists, signifying the elevation of man with divine assistance. But this is an exception. In general the animal head of St. Christopher represents a reverse process and symbolizes rather humility and a lower form of life. Equation of an animal head with the divine was essentially a pre-Christian conception.\(^6\)

There are various types of the Eastern kynocephalic St. Christopher. The martyr-warrior in soldier's dress, standing in reverent attitude, is one of the most common. It may be that here we have a fusion of two saints. A certain Christopher, spear-bearer to Diocletian, was burnt as a martyr on 19 April 303 A.D., but the traditional date in the Eastern Church is 9 May, when the saint was martyred by the sword in 250 A.D. during the reign of Decius.\(^7\) In fact he is portrayed in both civil and military dress. A nineteenth-century icon described by Loeschke shows him in the
uniform of a cavalry officer who was presumably the owner of the icon. 8

The additional symbol of the flowering staff was popular with the Greeks, who loved to depict it. According to the legend, it bloomed as a sign of Christopher's calling and of the gift of speech, a miracle the Russians often represent. 9 The gift of speech is represented by an open mouth and protruding tongue. The legend described one who came from a race of dog-heads and could not speak until he was baptized. From that moment his tongue was released and he bore the word of God to the pagans, as the Christ-bearer in a spiritual sense. 10

One of the most interesting features of the kynocephalic portrayal is that it is not a consistent iconographic type: no two examples are the same. With the exception of the earliest version of the tales—a sixth-century Latin Mass—all the legends, hymns, and liturgical texts, as well as the Greek and Russian painting books, refer to a dog's head. Certainly this type is the most frequently depicted, and the monks of Mount Athos cherish a dog's tooth, said to belong to the saint, which they are understandably reluctant to show to visitors. But many other kinds of animals occur: the pig, lamb, ass, bear, lion, wolf, and sheep have all been noted. Sometimes it is not clear what animal is represented. 11

The way in which the animal head is depicted also varies considerably. Greek post-Byzantine examples are often a subtle blend of human and animal elements. The Russian type frequently appears in an exclusively animal form. 12 Occasionally, as in a fresco at Moldaviţa Monastery in Romania, painted in 1537, the saint carries his animal head in a vessel. Here, the head appears bestial; it is not infused with the human spirit which characterizes the icon canine features when represented as part of a man's body. Loeschke points out that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Russian painting books refer to the saint "with a dog's head in his hands." 13 and Russian examples with an animal head are indeed quite numerous among the representations discovered to date. 14 But the horse head is the most common type. This element also occurs in Persian art, and the influence of these miniatures on certain types of Russian icon, notably those of the Stroganov school, is well known. We may also conceivably detect traces of the cult of Saints Florus and Laurus, patrons of horses and horsemen. 15

The image of St. Christopher common in the West, the Christ-bearer, often occurs in Eastern iconography, which borrowed it from the fourteenth century onwards, but usually in purely human form. Examples of this type of icon with an animal head are very rare. The legend of the Christ-bearer is Western in origin and much more recent than that of the kynocephalic martyr saint. There is an example of the animal-headed Christ-bearer in the Icon Museum at Recklinghausen, probably from the eighteenth century, which suggests that the two traditions merged at a later date. Pictures of the Christ-bearer did not appear in the West until the twelfth century. 16 They are based on the story of the giant Offerus, who wanted to serve the most powerful master in the world. Having tried the king and the devil, he went in search of Christ. A hermit told him to help travelers across a river which had no bridge. One day he carried the Christ child, who baptized him and changed his name to Christophorus, the Christ-bearer. As a sign, Christopher's staff blossomed and bore fruit, the symbol already noted. 17 In fact, the river-crossing motif seems to have been added to the legend slightly later, in the thirteenth century. 18
St. Christopher, one of the fourteen Auxiliary Saints, has been exceedingly popular in the West since the Middle Ages. He was venerated by the pilgrims and his cult spread along their main routes. Because of the saint's apotropaic qualities he was represented as very tall, so that he could be seen from a distance. Perhaps this is one reason why he was popularly supposed to be a giant. Loeschke mentions that during the Middle Ages dog-heads were sometimes represented as giants, but provides no further details.

The first known reference to the dog-headed saint is in the Gnostic fourth-century Egyptian Acts of St. Bartholomew. Christianus, a dog-headed cannibal, is converted by St. Bartholomew and St. Andrew, and helps them with their missionary work in Parthia. Here the kynocephasus occupies a subordinate role; later he is to feature in his own legend. The sixth-century Mozarabic Liturgy, a Latin Mass, refers to his alien race, monstrous appearance, and the loosening of his tongue. It is to be assumed from this that his cult was by then well established in Spain. The most ancient form of the legend occurs in the Passio, an eighth-century manuscript housed in Wurzburg University library; it is a Latin translation of Eastern tradition.

Burkhardt saw a mosaic of the dog-headed saint in the monastery church on Mount Sinai, dating from the reign of Justinian (527-565 A.D.). Apart from this second-hand reference, the existence of the dog-head cannot be proved earlier than the fifteenth century, but Loeschke feels, and one cannot but agree, that the conservative late period of Eastern art could hardly have invented such an outlandish image: it must derive from late antiquity and early medieval antecedents, when animal and human composite figures were not unknown. Various pre-fifteenth century literary records do, of course, exist, as already mentioned. A manuscript, pre-dating 1400, of the Athos painting book refers to the saint as "of the race of kynocephales"; an eighteenth-century edition of the same work, on the other hand, describes him as a "beardless youth." It seems reasonable to assume that examples may have been destroyed by the iconoclasts in the eighth and ninth centuries. We do know that the dog-head was sometimes painted out, for instance, on Mount Athos. Arsenij Macejević, Metropolitan of Rostov, protested to the Holy Synod of Moscow in 1746, proposing to ban such icons within the area of his ministry and requesting a ruling to this effect. His protests were ignored.

The cult persisted. Michaelis found several late nineteenth-century examples in Bulgaria, and Loeschke discovered a small icon painted in 1958 by a monk in the monastery at Meteora in Greece. The dog-headed figure, which we may describe as embodying the longing for redemption through divine grace, later appears to have entered popular religious art. The Romanian Rabbi, Moses Gaster, sometime President of the Folklore Society (London), had in his personal library an eighteenth-century Romanian chapbook, printed at the Monastery of Neamtz by permission of the Metropolitan of Moldavia, which is illustrated by the dog-headed figure. One of the most curious features of the history of this phenomenon is that representations of human- and animal-headed St. Christophers co-existed.

According to Ameisenowa, the cult of St. Christopher appears to have spread from fifth-century Bithynia, through Egypt, Syria, and Palestine into sixth-century Sicily and, during the Middle Ages, through Romania and Russia into parts of Germany. Discussing Western Europe, Loeschke notes that veneration of the saint
occurs in Spain and France by the end of the sixth century, and by the eighth century in Ireland and Germany. He points out that in tenth-century Byzantium there was strong disagreement over two forms of the legend. According to one tradition, the Kynocephalous Reprobus was baptized (sometimes by rain from a heavenly cloud), found grace, assumed human form, and was martyred. In the other, apparently later version, current on Mount Athos, a handsome youth prays for an ugly face to avoid the temptations of the flesh, and is granted a dog's head.

What are the possible origins of this figure? We must discount the theory, popular with earlier scholars such as Saintyves, that it is a Christianized version of Anubis, the jackal-headed Egyptian god. This theory is too speculative. The time-lag is considerable and it is impossible to supply evidence for such lengthy continuity. The divine significance of the animal head, as we have seen, is no longer applicable, nor does the figure especially resemble the traditional Anubis.

The problem is complex, and one can discern various levels of approach and interpretation. The Zwiefalten manuscript is inscribed "S. Cristoforus Chananeus," leading some scholars to suppose that it was misread as "Canineus." According to the legend, as told by Walther von Speyer in 983 A.D., the dog-faced Reprobus scorned heathen altars and left Syria for the land of Canaan. But Szövéffy points out that the word for dog-head appears in the earlier Greek text from which the other Passios derive. If, in the Middle Ages, the notion of the dog's head presented difficulties, it was no problem to alter one letter of the Latin word, from canineorum to cananeorum. It is, he says, a well-known change.

Ktesias, the Greek doctor who lived at the court of the Persian kings in the fifth century B.C., recorded Indian wonder tales of a dog-headed race, and is our main source of evidence for knowledge of kynocephaloi in antiquity. Cordier thinks the dog-headed monkeys referred to by Ktesias were the main contributory source of the belief. The notion that dog-heads really existed was accepted by some scholars during the Middle Ages. R athrammus, a ninth-century Benedictine monk, regarded it as a suitable subject for theological research. In his opinion, the dog-heads possessed minds, and souls capable of salvation. Hence it is not surprising to find them thus represented in certain examples of Christian art. A kynocephalate joins in the song of praise on Serbian icons illustrating the psalm, "All creatures praise the Lord." Two examples from Burgundian ecclesiastical architecture—the tymanum on the portal of the basilica of St. Madeleine of Vézelay, dated approximately 1130 A.D., and a fifteenth-century window in the main apse of the Cathedral St. E tienne at Auxerre, Yonne—show dog-heads spreading the word of God at the furthest borders of the earth. On an ivory relief in the Louvre, dated 850 A.D., dog-heads are in Paradise in the company of satyrs, centaurs, and sirens. The artist evidently regarded them all as God's creatures. Dog-heads occasionally represented something sinister and morally inferior: in the sculptures over the town gates of Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, at Corrèze, in France, they signify the souls of the damned.

We have seen that the figure of St. Christopher is usually horse-headed in Russia, and, as already noted, there might be some ideological link here with the cult of Saints Florus and Laurus, patron saints of horses and horsemen. The animal occupies an important position in Russian folk tradition, and a magic steed
is the hero's most common helper in Russian folktales. The cult of patron saints of animals can be traced back to ancient times, but there is little direct expression of it in art. Florus and Laurus are an exception. They are usually portrayed with the winged Archangel Michael conferring on them the patronage of the herd. 50

Parallels to the kynocephalic St. Christopher can be found not only in animal-headed portrayals of the Evangelists during the Middle Ages, 51 but also in Jewish manuscripts of the same period. Zoömorphic representations of the Patriarchs appear from the thirteenth century onwards in Hebrew Bibles and manuscripts, and South German Jewish manuscripts before 1300 consistently use animal-headed figures. The ostensible aim was to evade the prohibition of the ten commandments against making a "graven image," but the whole subject deserves further investigation. 52

There was, of course, in the past, a blurring of the borderline between human and animal. Beasts are capable of behaving at times in what appears to be a human way. And if a person physically resembled an animal in certain respects, it is hardly surprising that such a confusion might arise in the minds of the uneducated centuries ago. 53 Recklinghausen's disease, a striking nervous condition, also known as neurofibromatosis, is characterized by disfiguring lumpy tumors, giving the sufferer a monster-like appearance. The condition, which was much more common in males, sometimes appears in conjunction with hypertrichosis, an abnormal hairy condition. The hair, which appears on various parts of the body, can be very extensive. In the past such individuals were known as "dog-faced" or "human wolves," and were displayed in circuses. The affected areas, which become dark brown and are covered with coarse hair, resemble the skin of an animal. Associated symptoms include mental retardation and defects in the teeth and external ear. 54 I submit that here we have the elements of a supplementary explanation of the kynocephalic St. Christopher: the legend of the gift of speech, the animal-like and extraordinarily varied appearance, the non-human teeth and ears, and the hair, which is a feature of a number of these icons. Thus, for example, a family icon of the Virgin Mary and various saints in the Moscow State Historical Museum, dated 1749, portrays the kynocephalic Saint Christopher with a dense mat of hair around his neck, a feature typical of other Russian icons. Again, a huge icon of 1600, stored in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow—measuring 167 by 53½ centimeters, and the largest known example in existence—shows a neck covered with a ruff of wavy hair, and tufts stick out in peaks from the halo. 55 It is also conceivably of interest that tradition portrays Christopher as a giant, another abnormal condition. If the kynocephalic type is based on human deformity, it would explain why no two are the same. On a more esoteric level, it testifies that none, even such as these, are excluded from the grace and love of God. Clearly, much more research, along medical lines, is required to support this theory.

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Notes


2 Ibid., pp. 37, 39, 66, and 67. One example, from Emma, is in the National Museum of Sofia; another, dated 1600 and thought to be from northern Russia, is housed in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow; another, discovered by Loeschke in the workshops of the Tretyakov had been the left wing of an iconostasis door. He dates it not later than the sixteenth century. From the village of Krivoe in northern Russia, it is one of the oldest extant examples.


6 Loeschke, "Tierkopf," p. 44.

7 Loeschke, "Canineus," p. 4; 25 July was the date observed by the Roman Catholic church.


17 Loeschke, "Tierkopf," p. 1. In origin this is a German legend. The first literary document dates from 1230, but it was depicted as early as 1200 in the Zwiefalten Psalter, Stuttgart. The figure referred to is human and not the dog-head.

18 Loeschke, "Canineus," p. 35.

19 Loeschke, "Tierkopf," p. 1. The Auxiliary Saints, also known as the Fourteen Holy Helpers, were venerated for the supposed efficacy of their prayers on behalf of human necessities; St. George, St. Blaise, St. Vitus, St. Denys, and St. Catherine of Alexandria are among the best known.


24 In the opinion of Loeschke it is probably based on a legend traceable to the fifth century. See Loeschke, "Tierkopf," p. 2; idem., "Neue Beiträge," p. 39. Kretzenbacher, p. 68, thinks it may already have been in existence in the sixth century. See also Loeschke, "Neue Studien," p. 65.


Benker, p. 33; Kretzenbacher, pp. 65-66.

Loescheke, "Canineus," pp. 9-10; Trensovy-Waldapfel, p. 551, note 37; and Loescheke, "Tierkof," p. 3. During the first half of the nineteenth century Didron said that the monks of Athos and other monasteries had painted out the dog's head and replaced it with that of a handsome young man.


For example, 1874, the Church of the Holy Trinity, Novi Chan, 25 kilometers southeast of Sofia; and 1881, the Monastery of St. Athanasius, 50 kilometers west of Sofia; Michaelis, pp. 370, 372.


Ameisenowa, p. 42; traceable mainly from inscriptions.

Ibid., p. 45.


Loescheke, "Tierkof," p. 2; Kretzenbacher, pp. 63-64.

Loescheke, "Tierkof," pp. 3-4; idem., "Canineus," pp. 35-36; Kretzenbacher, p. 63. Waldapfel shows that the kynocephalic St. Christopher cannot be identified with Anubis carrying Horus over the Nile, as some scholars have tried to suggest; such a picture does not exist. See Imre Waldapfel, "Christophorus," Enlőkönv Dr. Mahler Ede. Dissertationes in Honorem Dr. Eduardi Mahler (Budapest: Mahler Ede. Jubileumi Enlők-bízottsérg, 1937), pp. 328, 347. Nevertheless, he appears to support the view of Saintyes. Szővérfy, another Hungarian scholar, says there is nothing to support Saintyes's theory. See József Szővérfy, Szent Kristof (Budapest, 1943), p. 58.

Szővérfy, p. 41.

Walther von Speyer's work was written in Latin and entitled Passio Sancti Christophori. It continues: "He lay in the terrible heat and wept, longing for God. Rain fell from a cloud. An angel announced that he had been baptized and was now Christophorus, named by God to carry His word to the heathen. When he came to the people, he prayed for a miracle to convince them, and his dry staff blossomed." This explains the group of icons in which God blesses the supplicant kynocephalous from a landscape of dark clouds. See Loescheke, "Canineus," p. 39.

Szővérfy, p. 41.


Rathmæus, who was at the Monastery of Corvey on the Somme, in the bishopric of Amiens, died in 868 A.D. He deals with the matter in a letter to the priest Rimbertus, written in 865 A.D. Kretzenbacher, pp. 41-42, 66; Loescheke, "Canineus," p. 31; idem., "Tierkof," p. 2.


Kretzenbacher, pp. 48, 52; Loescheke, "Canineus," p. 32.


Kretzenbacher, pp. 48, 124.


CLOTHING: NECESSITY, PRINZIP HOFFNUNG, OR TROJAN HORSE?

Ina-Maria Greverus

Nur kann keiner aus seiner Haut heraus, aber leicht in eine neue hinein, daher ist alles Herrichten Ankleiden . . . das wählbare Kleid unterscheidet den Menschen vom Tier . . . der gut Verkleidete hat sich entkleidet, so sieht er inwendig aus.

---Ernst Bloch

Clothing and dressing oneself—like housing and habitation, instruments and the use of instruments—belong to those basic areas of human creation and behavior which may be cited, on one hand, as indispensible aspects of human existence and, on the other, as criteria which distinguish humans from animals. Such manifestations are thus part of the ambiguous and variously interpreted category of "culture"—culture as that which is truly human, of which the animal is incapable, and which the animal does not need for its survival.

Such a distinction is especially sharp with respect to clothing, for even if the criteria of creation, invention, and learning have led us to speak of an animal "culture" in certain cases, no one has yet "discovered" animal clothing. And no one is likely to have serious thoughts about canine culture on seeing the article on "Dog's Life in Silk and Satin" which recently appeared in Stern, even if the article did appear under the rubric of "culture." The need for clothing, like its invention, belongs to the human culture of fashion. Certainly, "need" must be interpreted differently in respect to the playful clothing behavior of the apes, our "nearest relatives," who, to be sure, possess a natural apparel which frees them from the elemental compulsion to attain adequate "temperature control."

One's first impulse is to begin with this physiological need as the motivation for dress behavior. Expressions such as "the naked ape" seem to allude to this view, as does the more poetic formulation of J.G. Herder:


Yet it is especially in relationship to clothing, that this anthropological question arises: how do human beings, those creatures who are naturally least adapted to their environment, satisfy their existential needs with the aid of their cultural competence? This valid and pressing question points far beyond the causality of temperature control. Adam's and Eve's was not the only paradise to allow for nakedness; numerous climatic paradises make temperature control unnecessary even today. Yet forms of clothing are found everywhere, even in those untouched tribal "paradises" which are still occasionally discovered! This holds true even where the clothing in question is no more than a hip-string or a loincloth. So—the Fall?
We remember Adam's and Eve's fall: "And they were both naked... and were not ashamed,"\(^5\) and then they ate of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. "Innocent" nakedness—the tree of knowledge—shame—clothing! What is the recognition here? Most obviously, that of nakedness. But why shame? Nakedness as recognition of evil? In the Bible, Adam and Eve are driven out of Paradise despite their clothing, and their posterity seems to have been ashamed ever since: at every time and place, they take pains to be clothed!

I refer to this expulsion from paradise not for the sake of an entertaining aperc\'u, but rather because humanity's "Fall" into clothing and fashion has actually become one of the most essential interpretive models for the phenomenon in question. One form of the model is shown in Norbert Elias' analysis of the threshold of embarrassment and the boundary of shame in the process of civilization; here, it goes under the name of "self-inflicted" shame. In another model, the Fall is not interpreted as self-inflicted, but rather as an element of the exploitation of human beings by other human beings. This latter form—based on disillusionment with civilization—both praises the paradisical nakedness of natives and criticizes the manipulation through which natives are shamed into acceptance of the cheap rags of the conquerors. Now, as always, this is a popular interpretive model with special appeal to journalists.

As an example of this latter form, here are a few sentences from a lead article in Stern, "Leni Riefenstahl Photographed What No White Had Ever Seen: Nuba. The Festival of Knives and Love."

Leni Riefenstahl had discovered the Nubas, and she wanted to photograph the natives as no one had yet seen then and no one will probably ever see them again: primitive, happy, and untouched by civilization. For all this, too, will soon pass... The Nuba researcher had already experienced, six years previously, how a tribe slowly degenerated. At that time she lived for thirty months with the Masakin-Nuba... Riefenstahl published a book of photographs "about my friends," she says. When she tracked these same friends down last year, everything had changed... Now Leni Riefenstahl's old acquaintances were ashamed of their nakedness. They wore tattered dresses and pants to work and to sleep. The natives had a cotton trade route near their village to blame for their misfortunes. With a single blow, trade routes had thrown the primitive people of the Nuba mountains into the traffic of civilization and torn them from their total isolation.\(^7\)

This "exploitation thesis" takes on stronger political overtones when it is used to criticize the capitalist market economy—the fashion industry included—as practiced in the Third World and in our own society.

In any case, this concept of the Fall leads beyond the realm of shame as a manipulated motivation to another need for clothing which is continually cited: prestige, or clothing as a means of social recognition.

In The Psychology of Clothing, the psychologist Fluegel begins with an analysis of the three basic impetuses commonly cited for clothing: protection, modesty, and decoration. He then traces the genesis of fashion itself to causes which may be interpreted psychologically as well as sociologically. For Fluegel, the decisive factor is competitive behavior, the need to elevate oneself over the members of other groups. Fluegel makes the case for a "Clothing Board" whose primary function would be to overcome social competition and economic exploitation through a reform of clothing, and which would represent the first step toward a naked, classless society: "we must honestly face the conclusion that our principle points ultimately, not to clothing, but to nakedness."\(^8\)
Even when not expressed in the extreme form of the bare fact of approaching human equality, numerous arguments are advanced for equality, be it past or projected, as demonstrated or achieved through the aid of clothing.

René Koenig speaks of a present "democratization" of fashion; not only does he see fashion as eliminating social differences, he believes that "its playful character allows a special kind of freedom to shine forth where force and necessity would otherwise rule." 9 The Russian ethnologist Tokarev, as well, says in his study of the segregative and integrative function of material culture that "the growth of the market economy and the general democratization of life are primary influences which have weakened and ameliorated former constrasts in clothing." 10 According to Tokarev, the socially divisive function of clothing would end with the creation of a classless society; nevertheless, he views regional and ethnic differences as an enrichment of "national life."

It is easy to use such "superficialities" to embody the ideologies of progress toward human equality. The equality of clothing, which is analyzed by scholars of culture as a development with its own sources and effects—and evaluated positively or negatively according to their viewpoint—is postulated by the holders of utopian concepts as a necessity and set up by totalitarian societies as a bond. "Everyone wears white clothes" in Campanella's sunshine state, where the color worn symbolizes not only such a bond, but the ideology of fully planned freedom from fears, suffering, and sadness. 11 The blue work suits of the new China—as worn by the entire population, from fieldworkers to political leaders—are among many examples of the way in which equality is given concrete form within a given canon of values; in this case, one which is dominated by the idea of labor. 12

However, this form of equality, conceived of as social in nature, seems to contradict the essential need of humans to structure their own existence. Why else should authoritarian countries with standardized clothing constantly experience attempts at rebellion which lead to segregation through fashion? Or why should so-called liberal countries on the capitalist model, whose abundant possibilities of clothing choice are nevertheless intended to a certain extent "for all," experience attempts at rebellion in the direction of a small-group identity which extends to dress behavior?

In our own society it is primarily the young who strive for such distinctive dress. It is certainly characteristic of capitalist market society that all these attempts at a fashion unique to one group—from the "black look" of a Juliette Greco, to the leather-jacket look of the Rockers, to the flowered unisex hippie look—have fallen prey to commercialization. Such a society, however—and this fact should not be overlooked—is dependent on demand. The "subliminal seducers" of advertising are oriented toward the needs of the customer; it is not accidental that their experts are psychologists. It is precisely the so-called group clothing of this society's young which shows most clearly how a given look or trend develops within the framework of the ideology of an in-group; is copied by the like-minded or so-called hangers-on; and only then finds its way into the consumer society through mass production and advertising, processes which eliminate or falsify the underlying ideology of the original group.

For various reasons, at least some elements of the clothing of the young, originally conceived of as anti-fashion, were well suited to general diffusion in society. First, clothing is a
traditional release valve; it offers the chance to compensate for social pressures and the resulting emotional toll. Secondly, the high social value placed on youth, which characterizes our present society, receives its expression through clothing which is "available to everyone." Thirdly, these "fashions," whose trends are specific to a given group, present a rich offering of real or ostensible freedom of choice, an advantage which is closely linked to the final source of their appeal: identification with a group whose common identity guarantees individuals a "defined self."  

With this explanation, the two sentences by Bloch which began this article, and which first seemed so contradictory, merge into a hope. Though Bloch himself does not accept this hope, it characterizes the problem of the ambivalence between disguise and exposure through clothing—a problem which has perhaps been too narrowly interpreted as expressing a conflict between modesty and self-display within the framework of socially determined and limited sexual relations. To dress oneself, to slip into a new skin in order to satisfy one's needs, means at the same time to expose oneself through the admission of those needs.

Certainly Bloch is right in characterizing masquerade as the most obvious form of this use of limited and compensatory possibilities for self-articulation. Fluegel is right, as well, in treating the neurotic as the most suggestive, "uninhibited" example of wish-fulfillment through clothing. Freedom from society and its norms—whether temporarily, as in masquerade, or continuously, as is the case with the outsider—always presents the "chance" to give expression to one's suffering at the hand of society itself. Although such an anodyne can overcome suffering only by providing "hope" or temporary escape, it does not dissuade analysts from casuistic description; indeed, therapists continue their supportive programs which promote individual adjustment to this evil, but do not effect a change in the evil itself.

What, then, is the "evil" of clothing, costumes, regional costume, and fashion? Does it lie in a lack of adjustment to the environment, in the "nakedness" of the human being? Or in the Fall of expansion into geographical regions in which this nakedness meant death? In the Fall which led to fear of this world and of the world beyond? In the need for adornment or for the behavioral expression of ambivalence toward masking and unmasking? Or in the competitive behavior which leads to inequality? Or in the need for identification which determines adjustment to group norms? Or—? We could expand indefinitely the continuum of the needs which underlie clothing behavior. For my purpose, however, it is enough to demonstrate that causality between a given need and a kind of clothing does not in itself provide an adequate interpretation of dressing behavior. An anthropological interpretation must be informed not only by the continuum of these needs, but also by the historical dimensions of dressing behavior. By this I do not mean to restrict anthropology to the history of costume, local costume, and fashion (which has already been sufficiently explored by the special disciplines of cultural history) or to the interrelationships of economic interests and public opinion polls (that is, public manipulation), which remain to be studied by socioeconomists. On the contrary, I would like to emphasize an approach within cultural anthropology which is not a primary consideration of either socioeconomics, individual psychology, or the ethology of the natural sciences—namely, the complex function of culture as both invention and conditioning, as seen—insofar as culture is understood to have the freedom or doom of transforming human needs into symbols—in relationship
to the human (who is simultaneously a creature of needs and an "animal symbolicum")¹⁵. Not only are needs given a meaning beyond their physical nature, but they are also capable of being manipulated within the various creative principles of a canon of values, which in turn condition the behavior of the human as an individual being.

With this interpretation as a starting point, clothing, traditional costume, and fashion become indicators of successful or failed gratification of the needs of community members. Cultural values are embodied in symbolic responses both to common human standards of transcultural needs and to the precultural, that is to say, "primate" needs of human beings. Welte describes such human standards as trust in others, trust in self, use of talents and abilities, and self-direction. Under primate needs, he subsumes physiological need, security, the sense of belonging, activity and competence, and regard and respect.

If clothing represents a symbolic answer to human needs, an answer which embodies values, then the essential questions—concerning the historical limitation of these values, those who originated them, and the dependence of behavior on such established values—must be answered on the basis of needs in a specific cultural form. Thus we do not need to ask which needs are fulfilled through clothing, but rather which of a culture's higher values are symbolized by clothing, which other manifestations can symbolize the same value, which needs are met or awakened by them, and what chance the members of a society actually have to experience themselves as recognized members of their own society through the acquisition of such symbolic clothing. Clothing and dress behavior are as much indicators of the ruling ideologies of a society as of the attempts of individual members to achieve personal satisfaction within it.

In comparison to the wearing of national costume, which presents a much more limited field for the symbolization of new ideologies and for the possibility of individual choice, fashion behavior presents a promising basis for explication. Two recent fashion trends are particularly interesting to cultural anthropologists in this respect: "folklorism" and the nostalgia wave, whose influence extends beyond fashions in dress. These concepts have not only been analyzed in the media but have spread into advertising and slang, often in much-abridged form. If one proceeds from the academic definition of these terms—"folklorism" as the supplying and presentation of second-hand folk culture and "nostalgia" as a symbolic return to or a representation of those events from a realm of experience which offers the greatest satisfaction—then these phenomena, different though they certainly are, merge in the interpretation of a backward-looking search for what is deemed a "better" existence.¹⁷

Although both concepts have been only recently applied to social trends in behavior, their manifestations are in no way new. In the realm of fashion, folklorism means the appropriation of rural clothing (regional costume) by other social strata.¹⁸ This appropriation involves more than the appearance of the "folk," in specially tailored regional costumes, upon the ramparts of a castle—a sight particularly common during the Baroque period.¹⁹

The fashion for Stierian local costume provides a particularly typical example of the appropriation of folk costume by the ruling higher aristocracy. Created by Archduke Johann and determined at least in part by familial ties to the house of Wittelsbach, it extended to include a fashion for Bavarian regional costume as well.²⁰ Archduke Johann had been influenced by Rousseau, and his
leanings toward the folk were not limited to local costume; it extended to other manifestations, particularly the song. This concretization arose both from a historically determined interest in the folk and from a longing for folk identity and national commitment; it was initially oriented only toward one's own folk. The trend takes a similar form in the "regional costume look" of the political representatives of Third World countries at official events.

Yet the fashion of Austro-Bavarian regional costume soon achieved undreamed-of international dissemination. Even if we can still describe native bourgeois imitators of an aristocratic fashion as striving after prestige, we would have to find other criteria to analyze this kind of international range. Still others are needed for the ideological rise in the value placed on Lederhose and Dirndl under the rule of National Socialism. One consistent characteristic, it is true, does seem to be connected to this fashion for regional costume: that of the healthy (das Gesunde); the natural (das Natürliche); and the wholesome (das Heile), for which I would like deliberately to offer a post-war definition as a guide to interpretation. In his work Das echte Volkslied, which appeared in 1950, Wlora says, "Heil ist ein Mensch, in dem sich das Wesen der Gattung Menschheit unbeschädigt und kraftig ausprägt" ("That human being is heil on whom the essence of the human species is imprinted unscathed and powerfully"). Among this sort of human being are the "classic types" of the mother, the farmer who is traditions- und naturstark ("strong by tradition and nature"), the gediegene und besinnliche Handwerker ("balanced and thoughtful artisan"), the herzhaftene Vollmenschen von frischem Wesen, schmucker Art und voll Blütiger Kraft ("hearty, full human being of spontaneous nature, simple manner, and full-blooded vigor"), in whom Freiheit und Sitte, Natur und Geist, redliches Sein, Geradeheit und Lauterkeit ("freedom and custom, nature and spirit, upright existence, straightforwardness, and ingenuousness") are imprinted—all of which may be summarized as der schlichte Wesensgrund in Menschen, das ewig Kindliche und ewig Weibliche, das Heile und das Heilige, das wirkliche Sein und die Echtheit ("the ultimate basis of existence in the human, the eternal childlike character and the eternal feminine, the healthy and the holy, real existence and genuineness").²¹

In a Burda fashion magazine of 1967 one finds:

the present fashion is chic, timely . . . and has a subtly sexy effect. The style of regional costume, on the other hand, is softer, more womanly, and radiates charm in all directions. It springs from the primordial essence of femininity, . . . breasts, waists, hips . . . these alone counted.²²

If certain specific film idols of the "Heimatfilm" and family film genres simultaneously appear in this "feminine" fashion, the fashion is offered as an "alternative solution." This alternative in clothing signals a generally positive attitude toward the established value of femininity and perhaps even a defense against liberation from the role of the "eternal feminine." Unfortunately, I know of no study of the social and age levels of those who presently wear dirndl. Certainly, though, sub- and counterculture youth groups are not among them. It would be difficult to meet with a dirndl look at the university or high school, though the same cannot be said of a less "authentic" folklore look which combines details borrowed from every country in the world. Its inspirations come primarily from the countries of the Third (or even fourth) World and from southern Europe. They extend not only from Indian headbands to the "maxi-skirts" of gypsies and
southern European peasant women, but even into these countries' social and religious behavior patterns—to pouches in which children are carried close to the body and talismans which one wears on the naked skin. The rise of this fashion, which is now no more than a "look," even for many of the young, originally implied the realization of a "new life" of which clothing represented only a single aspect.

In his book The Hippie Trip, sociologist Lewis Yablonsky attempts to delineate the interdependence of individual elements of this behavior pattern on the basis of the American scene. Clothing is an integrative aspect of the ideological concept.

A scene from the Morningstar commune in California:

Hippie girls lounge in the buffalo grass, sewing colorful dresses or studying Navajo sand painting, clad in nothing but beads, bells, and feather headdresses.23

Another scene from a hippie wedding in New York's East Village:

The flowers . . . they were in people's hair, on the floor, swarming over two huge screens from the color-slide projectors. . . . The electronic band made the floor jump, and everybody was happy . . . . It was a real love-in. Then in came the beautiful people on four motorcycles, right in the ballroom, oozing with flower power. . . . There came the groom, Artie, 24, carrying a guitar and wearing baggy trousers, a white Nehru-collar tunic with red trim and cowboy boots. "My wedding suit. Nancy made it." 24

Yablonsky writes of the "guru" of a religious movement:

When I began the book, he was intensely involved in the new movement. His hair was very long, he had a magnificent blond-red beard, and his clothes were denim and leather with psychedelic patches. He wore Indian beads, a headband, and bells on his buckskin boots. Gridley made total transition to high priest, including the wearing of a simple muslin ceremonial robe at love-ins or on special hippie religious occasions.25

In another passage, there is a description of a court appearance reportedly taken from a newspaper article: Gridley himself wore a ripped-up jeans jacket and Levis; his followers' clothes [were] gypsy bright and of obvious rummage shop stripe. . . . The men were long-haired, and many wore picturesque beards. Most of the women seemed innocent of hairstyling, make-up and some of rudimentary underwear.26

This is the trend often referred to as the "Gammel-look" and often contrasted with authentic folklore fashion and its "healthy" colorfulness—especially as, in the former, folklore can be indiscriminately combined with the rags of the bourgeois past. When nostalgia in fashion is spoken of critically or condescendingly, it is usually in response to the anti-fashion of the youthful subculture scene; nostalgia is easily associated with criteria such as world-weariness, melancholy, and apathy. In an interpretation of nostalgia which culminates with the "locking up of the future," Gerhard Zwernenz traces the "nostalgic fashion" to American influence: " . . . the nostalgia trap could determine a cultural fashion which would mark the coming years, incorporating West Germany into a negative trend of the U.S." He further investigates the origins of the "undoubtedly nostalgic phenomena" of "great numbers of youth turning to drugs, flipping out, running away, failing in school and at work, simply running out of steam, becoming passive," and attributes these behaviors to a youth which behaves nostalgically today, which suffers from the miserable educational methods of schools, the academic world, and the workplace."27

In my opinion, this interpretation of origins overemphasizes
the view of human beings as creatures of work. An analysis of the flowering of the American and European subculture movement and the alternative movements of the seventies shows quite clearly that, from the perspective of education and occupation, the members and carriers of this subculture belong to the most privileged groups in our society. The "guru" Gridley was not unique in having been--before he joined the scene--a committed humanitarian-conservative graduate of Yale.

For these youth, protest against the sterility and stratified roles of an achievement-oriented society and the search for alternatives are the decisive factors of a total behavior of which clothing is but a part. The alternatives seen in the past and among present-day marginal groups imply not merely a look backward, but rather an attempt at innovation with the help of the past and the folk culture of the present. The combination of individual elements--their recomposition--indicates a process which is not merely a "caring" for the past, but is a chance for new creation. Folklore and nostalgia are closely linked, for in our industrialized world every regional costume, every native ornament, every handwoven shirt--even if it is still readily available--belongs to the past.

There are many sources of the meaning which such artifacts hold for human beings and human groups in our time. With this in mind, those tendencies to folklorization which turn to national and regional symbols and plea for "authenticity" seem to me to involve a much more ideologically dangerous concept of cultural self-identification than does the "alienated folklore-look," which uses a variety of possible appearances to achieve a new and individual symbolization of values evoking social--rather than national--integration.

I see more than nostalgia in this expansion of the spectrum of clothing by means of borrowing and alienation from far-off times and places. There is also a recognition of plurality, a reclamation of the colorful, a possibility of new creations of appearance, an initial step toward self-determination, and the achievement of an "earned identity" in contrast to the "attributed identity" symbolized in the behavior codes of national dress and in today's rules on clothing.

The playful-esthetic element of clothing oneself could gain new impetus through "unruly" dress—which uses beautiful objects in the individualized styles of groups and individuals—as well as from the unregulated and freely chosen decoration with things of the past and of foreign places.

We have come a long way from the "naked ape" who needed clothing as a substitute for fur, but have we distanced ourselves from that naked ape who is the most naked and helpless of beings, and to whom the Trojan Horse of culture was given as compensation? Herder, in any case, did not see this culture as a Trojan Horse, but as the "Prinzip Hoffnung" which is capable of freeing humans from dependence on their inner and outer nature and can lead them to freedom and self-determination.

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Notes

3 See the popular book by Desmond Morris, Der nackte Affe ["The Naked Ape"] (Munich, Zurich, 1968).
5 Genesis 2:25.
7 Stern 41:2 (October 1975): 58.
14 Ernst Bloch, Das Prinzip Hoffnung (Frankfurt am Main, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 397, 402.
15 The phrase is from Ernest Cassirer, An Essay on Man (New Haven, 1944). Leslie White especially has worked with human ability to create symbols—which is seen as the result of neuro-physical development (compare, for example, Earl W. Count's Das Biogram. Anthropologische Studien [Frankfurt am Main, 1970], pp. 181ff.) as the "basis of culture." See her work The Concept of Culture (Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1973).
16 See also I.M. Greverus, Kultur und Alltagswelt, pp. 64ff.
19 See Ina-Maria Greverus, Der territoriale Mensch: Ein literaturanthropologischer Versuch zum Heimatphänomen (Frankfurt am Main, 1972), pp. 33ff. and Auf der Suche nach Heimat (Munich, 1979), pp. 106ff.
20 Friedrich S. Sieber, Volk und volkstümliche Motivik im Festwerk des Barocks (Berlin, 1960).
22 Walter Wiora, Das echte Volkslied (Heidelberg, 1950), pp. 60ff.
23 Quoted from Fischer, Trachtenmode, p. 88.
25 Yablonsky, p. 138 (according to Time, 25 August 1967).
26 Yablonsky, pp. 39-40.
27 Yablonsky, p. 41 (according to the Los Angeles Times, 3 October 1967).

28 For the subculture of youth, see, for example, Yablonsky, Hippie Trip; Theodore Rosak, The Making of Counter Culture: Reflections on the Democratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition (1968-1969); Rolf Schwendter, Theorie der Subkultur (Cologne, Berlin, 1971); Dieter Baacke, Jugend und Subkultur (Munich, 1972); Christopher Evans, Kulte des Irrationalen (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1975); Autonomie oder Getto? Kontroversen über die Alternativbewegung, ed. W. Kraushaar (Frankfurt, 1978).
A FEELING FOR FORM,
AS ILLUSTRATED BY PEOPLE AT WORK

Michael Owen Jones

"A well-turned investigation is something like a well-turned piece of furniture," remarked Sandra Sutherland, a private investigator in San Francisco. "There are cases where everything fits together beautifully," she said, continuing to use the analogy of art; "facts and procedures flow into logical conclusions." The result is "the elegant solution," as her husband, also a detective, phrases it, "meaning a solution that cuts through chaos to utter simplicity." Such a case he calls the "perfect job," she added. For, she explained, "We're after . . . not so much the truth but coherence." When asked what the perfect job would be from her point of view, Sutherland replied, "The chance to do a case where the only limitations would be the reach of your own creative abilities--no time or money considerations." Under such conditions, she implied, the ideal form of investigation--culminating in an elegant solution--might be attained more often. "The reality," however, she explained, "is you do the best you can with what you're allowed." 1

Words and concepts essential to a study of art appear in the few statements above by Sandra Sutherland, a detective: beauty, elegance, perfection, and so on. Rarely, however, are contemporary workers treated as artists or their activities examined as art by occupational researchers, including many folklorists. 2 On the other hand, classic studies of folk and primitive art by Boas, Grosse, and others do in fact concern labor, or rather the physical outputs of early industry and primitive technology. 3 While focusing on the artistic quality and esthetic-arousing effects of these objects, however, the authors do not develop some of their inferences about the nature of human beings qua workers or the relationship of art and esthetics to work per se; certainly few readers today make the connections.

An essay on form and its perfection and appreciation in the context of working seems appropriate in a volume honoring the endeavors of Linda Dégh. She is well known for her insightful and influential study of the art of storytelling and storytellers. She has gained prominence for her efforts to discern and characterize the form of narratives, particularly the legend. She is noted for her research of the expressive behavior of immigrant workers in the New World. And she has been outspoken in her concern for the application of inferences from folkloristic research to practical problems in contemporary society. Workers' dissatisfaction with their jobs looms large among these social issues. While several experts on labor relations have been making a plea for "job enrichment" and a "humanization of the workplace," 4 Linda Dégh, as a folklorist committed to the study of expressive behavior, has recognized implicitly what many others have not: that through their folklore all workers express their humanity, and many attempt to maintain a sense of personal dignity in circumstances that often appear demeaning. What, then, is this "feeling for form" which is characteristic of human beings that Linda Dégh has been dealing
with in her research, in what ways and for what reasons is it manifested in work, and what are some implications of this "art of work," especially in regard to notions about "management" and the designing of jobs?

"All human activities may assume forms that give them esthetic values," writes Franz Boas in his book *Primitive Art*, first published in 1927. While a word or a cry or unrestrained movements and many products of industry seemingly have no immediate esthetic appeal, he observes, "nevertheless, all of them may assume esthetic values." What is required for an activity to have esthetic value is that an individual be aware of and manipulate qualities appealing to the senses in a rhythmical and structured way so as to create a form ultimately serving as a standard by which its perfection (or beauty) is measured. Sometimes these forms elevate the mind above the indifferent emotional states of daily life because of meanings conveyed or past experiences associated with them, but they need not do so to be appreciated. Perfection of form is enough to satisfy; if the forms convey meaning, that adds to their enjoyment but it is not essential.

Boas supported his thesis with references to the myths, songs, tools, and implements of the Northwest Coast Indians of the late nineteenth century. Equally illustrative are some of the activities of contemporary workers in factories, plants, and offices. The cleaning of tuna by a young woman in Astoria, Oregon, for example, reveals the artistic impulse on its most basic level—absorption with the sensory experience of handling, manipulating, and transforming materials. As Starlein observed about her work, the fish she boned has special qualities, particularly the "soft colors. The reds and whites and purples." The dark meat, used for cat food, is "crumbly and moist like earth." Sometimes, enraptured by sensations and engrossed in fantasies, she does not notice the passage of time, and she violates instructions, holding back the cat food instead of placing it immediately on a conveyer belt. "I hold it out to make as big a pile of dark meat as I can," she said. She concluded her remarks by admitting that she had been attracted to the plant by the pay. "I knew it would be dull and boring when I came here," she said. "But," she added, in apparent surprise at what she had discovered, "I had no idea of the sensuous things I would feel just from cleaning fish."

To quote Starlein is not to glorify her job or defend the conditions under which she works. Her comments demonstrate, though, that a feeling for form is present in, and sometimes transcends, adverse circumstances. Seemingly unexpectedly this feeling for form renders esthetic appeal in even the most prosaic activity. Perhaps, it might be argued, this is necessarily so and in fact should be anticipated in other work situations, too, in which there are sensations that, however rudimentary the forms given them, affect people.

Like the touch, smell, and appearance of tuna, sounds and body movements are sensations; rhythmic repetition of them may be perceived as evincing form, and thus gratify for several reasons. Studies of, for instance, blacksmithing, singing sea shanties or chain gang songs, chanting cadence, and working on an assembly line suggest not only that rhythm is required to accomplish certain tasks but also that it is a fundamental feature of what is taken to be artistically pleasing. Repetition establishes a pattern of efficient movement. It results in surface regularity and evenness on objects, and smoothness in action, expression, and demeanor. Repeated sounds and movements, comprising a re-
cognizable form which may be pleasing in its own right, are the beginnings of (and sometimes epitomize) structure and order, and they are significant for this reason. "The opposite of work is not leisure or free time," write the authors of a landmark report on labor in America; "it is being victimized by some kind of disorder which, at its extreme, is chaos." Essential to both art and working is the coherence that private investigator Sandra Sutherland found more satisfying in her job than truth itself.

But rhythm can lead to monotony. So while the body toils, the mind plays. "This'ill sound crazy," admitted a keypuncher, "but I like to keep a certain rhythm . . . sound going," varying it in a form of complex syncopation. "I mean I'd move forward when the woman next to me was halfway through another field and then she'd move in when I was halfway through the next," she said. "So you'd get a constant—like, bum, bum, bum zing; bum, bum, bum babum, zing." She added, "Sometimes I had it going with three people, so we'd all be doing it exactly together. I don't think the others noticed it," she said. "We never planned it. I never mentioned it to the other girls," some of whom, however, later admitted to being racers and synchronizers.

Other examples could be cited, but suffice it to say that play, creativity, artistic production, and esthetic response are inherent in the work process, even or perhaps especially in situations characterized largely by "surface mental attention." Boas attributed this striving to perfect form to two factors, the first of which is a feeling for form and the second of which is a capacity to master technique. He did not elaborate on either pronouncement. Nor did he go on to suggest such other factors as an ability, and indeed a basic need, to have an esthetic experience and the insistence of play.

A feeling for form is fundamental to human beings. Despite an adversity of circumstances, this feeling for form persists as both a source and a product of our humanity. A striving to achieve perfection of form and an appreciation of formal excellence is essential to this sensibility. Although this feeling for form admirably serves the purposes of expediency and practicality, it is not reducible to anything else, including "survival." It is a fundamental quality of the species. But recognizing its existence in themselves and others, human beings tend to rely on it as a means of functioning in day-to-day existence. They are aware that because of this feeling for form—and their ability to achieve formal excellence—they are enabled to transcend emotional indifference and both find and express meaning in their lives. Consequently, they sometimes feel remorse when their activities, or they themselves, are lacking in form, or when the formal excellence they have achieved goes unnoticed or unappreciated. The implications for understanding worker dissatisfaction with their jobs are enormous.

Frequent worker turnover, extensive absenteeism, threats of slow downs, and acts of sabotage have long plagued American industry, despite gains made by labor unions on behalf of workers collectively. Automobile factories, where some of the highest wages are paid, seem to suffer the most worker dissatisfaction. Perhaps it is no mere coincidence, then, that it is on the line in these plants where the possibilities for creativity and play, and the chances to extend activities into forms with esthetic appeal, are least likely to occur. Nevertheless, some of the men at the Vega plant in Lordstown, Ohio, overcame obstacles to the expression of their humanity, although ultimately they were opposed by both
union and management. The workers invented and implemented an alternative system, redesigning assembly-line methods in such a way that they were both permitted and encouraged by conditions they developed for themselves to perfect form in their assigned tasks on the line.

"Now what happens is that the guys who have their operations side by side, they're relating together," explained Dennis McGee who works first shift in the Vega plant. "In other words, they all worked in the same area. They started saying, 'Go ahead, take off.' It started like an E break--you asked for emergency bathroom call," he noted. One worker would tell the other, "Go ahead, man, I think I can handle it,"' said McGee. "I'd run to the front of the car and I'd stick in the ring we used to have, and I'd run to the back then. I mean, I'm not running, really running, but I'm moving," he said. "I put the gas in, I go up to the front of the car again . . . go back again. I'm getting it done, and I'm not having any recovery time. I'm going right back again," said McGee.

Having originated informally, the procedure became increasingly formalized until a clear pattern emerged. Relay teams evolved in which two men would do their job as well as that of two others for half an hour, and then the other two would perform their own operations and the first team's, who, in turn, rested for thirty minutes. Although the men had been doing this for three or four years, officials of the International UAW denied its existence, apparently unable to cope with it in terms of structures already formulated; the union was quick to point out that it could lead to exploitation by the company. Company representatives opposed "doubling up," and interfered to prevent it, arguing that quality would necessarily diminish.

Joe Alfona and other workers insisted that quality improved. The two people not working the job usually were present so if a problem developed they could attend to it. The audit tickets, claimed Alfona, proved that with doubling up fewer repairs had to be made later. "You get 100 percent perfect," he said. "Because we don't want no problems, you know what I mean? We're doing a good job."

Public knowledge of these new procedures was slow in coming. A journalist named Bennett Kreman was on hand in the fall of 1973, investigating the threat of a strike which would dwarf the explosive conflict in March of the previous year. Five thousand grievances had been lodged in six months. Only after observing and interviewing for a week was Kreman able to clarify issues, principal among which was the unique one of doubling up, or what Robert Dickerson, committeeman for the Local, called an "antidehumanization team."

Speaking for himself and other workers, Dave McGarvey said, "you have to double up and break the boredom to get an immediate feedback from your job, because the only gratification you get is a paycheck once a week, and that's too long to go." Although several men mentioned relief from boredom, the complaint seems to have been more precisely the lack of challenge to their intellect and, as McGarvey implies, not having a sense of accomplishment once the job is learned: a form, the only one permitted to be produced, is repeated over and over again. Trying to work eight hours a day at a single, routine task, without simultaneously playing—for that is essentially what creativity requires—is numbing. As Dennis Lawrence who works in the body shop observed, having learned a job, a man "no longer pays attention to
what he's doing because it's automatic—bang, bang, bang." On the other hand, when "you're doubling up, you've got the responsibility for two jobs," he said. "You've got to keep your mind working at all times."

Stimulation is necessary in order to perform, yet it cannot be long sustained. Doubling up provides a solution. It offers a way, said McGee, "for me to shuck and jive—all day long, have a good time, help each other and get out the work." Added Alfonso, "You have no social life," because of the long hours at the plant. The only social life you have is in that plant, and if you're stuck on that line all the time—nothing!" However, he said, "if you can get that break where you can go down and rap to your buddy or make a phone call to some chick, it's different."

Alfonso summarized his feelings and articulated them to others in the form of an analogy. He asked people to imagine that one of them and a friend have a job paying four dollars an hour. "I bring it down to very easy words so the average man can understand," he said. "So anyway," he continued, "you're going to get paid four dollars an hour to each carry a package up the steps and down. Well, isn't it a little easier for you to break your back and carry two packages up and down for half an hour and your buddy resting," he asked, "and then let him take over and you rest your back? If you want to go get your drink of water or go call your chick, you got the simple freedom to go, see?" 13

It should come as no surprise, then, given the opposition to team relays, that tensions smoldered at the Vega plant. From his point of view, the man on the line—"the working man himself, the assembler himself," repeated McGee proudly—had devised a system constituting an elegant solution to the much-publicized but unsatisfactorily-resolved problem of dehumanizing assembly-line work. Doubling up seemed to make everything fit together beautifully: the assembler was challenged in his work, he generated his own rhythm, he was encouraged to perfect form in his assigned task, he had the time after doing so to relish the achievement, and he could socialize as well. The form ultimately created was a sense of personal wholeness, the feeling of being fully human with the rights and privileges along with the responsibilities of other human beings. Even when prohibited from doubling up, the men refused to abandon the method, continuing by subterfuge to carry it out in modified form. "Even if they say don't double up, what you do—it's not as good as doubling up the way we normally do it—but we'll hang on the car and we'll stand there while the other guy does it," admitted McGarvey. "And the minute somebody comes round, we'll just put our hand in the car," giving the impression that they are performing according to company dictates.

These examples of a feeling for form in the work situation insinuate that many long-standing assumptions must be reassessed. Principal among these is the notion of work. The head of a prestigious group of management consulting companies, who achieved fame for developing a system to monitor the productivity of workers, recently bemoaned the fact that forty-five percent of the working day is spent "doing nothing." 14 Much of this time obviously is devoted to gossiping at the water cooler, betting on sports events, fantasizing and engaging in mental exercises, joking, and so on—what one student of labor passingly refers to as the "seemingly trivial events" in a "humdrum context" from which individuals apparently are capable of extracting "surpis-
ingly rich meanings,"15 and what folklorists should recognize immediately as play and creativity which are crucial to day-to-day existence. Unfortunately, however, the words "work" and "play" are usually conceived of as antonyms; job and recreation are segregated; laborers and players operate in different domains. "Creativity" is vaguely distinguished from and also related to both work and play: to create is a serious endeavor, demanding purposive effort; it is likewise somehow often amusing, seemingly separated from reality, and nonproductive. Yet some people work at playing and others play at working, and still more create work as some work to create. In fact, then, the three phenomena are not isolated from the continuum of human experience or from one another. For creativity insists on exertion and the expenditure of energy to accomplish something, as well as an intellectual distancing to transform drudgery into pleasure. Play is never truly formless, an achievement requiring some degree of purposive effort in the name, ostensibly, of diversion. And although work demands purposive effort, it is also creative in that something is brought into being and invested with a new form.

The interrelationships of work, play, and artistic creativity were known to other early investigators, among them Ernst Grosse, who, like Boas, viewed much of early industry as the production of works deserving the name art. But Grosse went further in his book The Beginnings of Art (1897), equating art and play, for he writes that the artistic tendency of primitive people "is substantially identical with the play impulse."16 By extension, then, it might be suggested that working for most people is an artistically creative endeavor—there is rhythm and skill and structure or order and the perfection of form—which also partakes of and demands play when rhythm becomes monotonous, structure routine, and form repetitive, so as to create new forms.

At about the time that Boas commenced his observations of primitive artists, and that Grosse was examining museum specimens of early industry, Frederick W. Taylor began to lecture, read papers, and publish essays on the nature of work in what was then modern industrial settings. Like Boas and Grosse, he was familiar with the craft tradition. For Taylor had rebelled against his wealthy family in Philadelphia, rejecting his father's plans for him to study law at Harvard, and had begun instead an apprenticeship as both patternmaker and machinist to become a common laborer. Within a few years he had been promoted to management status, after which he turned on his former colleagues, as if they were adversaries, in his zeal to extract the greatest amount of productivity for the company, being more committed than his own employers to the goal of increased production. (An obsessive-compulsive individual, Taylor is reputed to have timed his various activities, counted his steps, and analyzed his motions—from his childhood on—in an effort to increase efficiency.) But it was "Taylorism," as set forth in The Principles of Scientific Management (1911) and other publications, that had a tremendous impact on American business and industry and that continues to be, according to management consultant Peter F. Drucker, industrial sociologist William Foote Whyte, and others,17 a vital force in modern corporations and other institutions.

Although the workers-artists studied by Boas and Grosse both conceptualized and constructed a whole object, and many of Taylor's fellows were master craftsmen knowledgeable about the complete process of production, Taylor sought to segment the process of labor. He dissociated that process of work from the skills of
workers, separated conception of the product from its execution and concentrated a monopoly of knowledge in those who were construed to be representatives of the company. Taylor’s purpose was to wrest control of the labor process from the men in the shop—the “laborers” who were, in Taylor’s view, highly individualistic without ties to others, motivated largely by self-interest and money—and to place it in the hands of another group of people—"management"—who presumably would have in mind the company’s best interest, that is, the greatest productivity and therefore wealth of the organization. One of the methods that Taylor stressed was that of piece rate payments, basing a worker’s pay on the amount produced. Another was specialization. Being confined to one task or to a few simple tasks, the laborer would develop much greater speed than if the tasks were many and varied. A third was standardization. Since, in Taylor’s view, there was only one correct or best way to do something, then an industrial engineer should design this operation, the laborer should be instructed in it, and someone else should supervise the job to ensure that it was done in the prescribed way and that variations were not introduced. Managerial control and discipline required placing jobs within a structure of authority, hence the hierarchical form of organization so common today.

While Taylor did not invent any of these methods and principles or singlehandedly revolutionize the organization of industry, he did, it is widely recognized, assemble and give coherence to ideas prevalent during his day. By articulating a philosophy and giving it a name—"scientific management"—Taylor seemingly created a whole form that was pleasing in its utter simplicity. But a history of factory slow downs, walk outs, shut downs, and sabotage, and the continued complaints about "dehumanization" of the workplace, reveals that there were major flaws in the conceptual foundations of Taylorism. Various attempts to shore up the structure—made by the several schools of industrial psychology and human relations—have not gotten at the fundamental problem. It is now time to suggest a serious reexamination and reassessment of the philosophy, principles, and methods inspiring the organization and functioning of modern corporations, drawing on the studies of early industry by such investigators as Boas and Grosse. For it is the inferences and hypotheses of these researchers which could add the missing human element, and provide the basis for developing a perspective and set of principles involving humanism, which seems to be needed so greatly today.

Recent years have witnessed a growing "social consciousness" in industry and the extension of corporate responsibility to consumer and environmental protection, an insistence on the redesign of work, and a challenge to the philosophy and practice of management. Significantly, one of the critics of management is not only a consultant to industry but also a humanist with a background in religious studies. Philip W. Shay has called into question the mechanistic view of management pervasive in modern corporations, contending that a new discipline of management should be established, "as a practical art with scientific overtones," growing out of a reexamination of basic management concepts using behavioral research as guide. "Management can cull new ideas from many fields of knowledge, disciplines, and tools and techniques to help focus on a broad horizon," writes Shay. Though he did not do so, Shay could have mentioned studies of folklore and of traditional art and industry as sources of new ideas. Achieving his goal of having organizations "designed for people as they
really are, not as classic theorists would have them" requires such sources of information and insight, for it is in their folklore that human beings express, reveal, and maintain their humanity. 19 Exactly what this new discipline of management should be is not quite clear in the writings of Shay and others, but given the increased concern with corporate responsibility in the social sphere, it seems reasonable to suppose that the tools and techniques for running an enterprise will have to be governed by humanistic principles.

To be instituted, this "Management by Humanism," as I think it should be called, requires two significant changes, one in attitude and the other in the data base on which concepts and assumptions are founded. While the complexity of modern business demands some division of labor and a degree of specialization and standardization, it does not compel assembly-line procedures with a nonhuman tempo, a pyramidal structure of authority, or an adversary relationship between "labor" and "management." Innovative and far-reaching experiments at Volvo plants in Sweden have demonstrated this. "We started with the idea that perhaps people could do a better job if the product stood still and they could work on it, concentrating on their work, rather than running after it and worrying that it would get beyond them," writes Pehr Gyllenhammar, president of Volvo. "We decided...to bring people together by replacing the mechanical line with human work groups," he adds. "In this pattern, employees can act in cooperation, discussing more, deciding among themselves how to organize the work—and, as a result, doing much more." 20 The change in attitude would incorporate what Barbara Garson discovered in her interviews with and observations of a large number of individuals: "People passionately want to work" (author's emphasis), she writes, and further, "I realize now...that work is a human need following right after the need for food and the need for love." 21 It would recognize the art of work, acknowledging that working is a creative endeavor involving a degree of play. This change in attitude might be facilitated—and would certainly be reinforced—by an expanded data base, one that includes folklore and folk technology in the workplace, past and present. For what the president of Volvo came to realize was already being demonstrated on the line in the Vega plant in Lordstown—laborers themselves had evolved a technique, as folklore, seemingly more in keeping with human needs and capabilities than that which had been engineered and thrust upon them. (How easily it is forgotten that workers also manage, just as managers work. And how often it is ignored that there are useful antecedents for management in early industry and important analogues in everyday life.)

Just as Boas had to defend the proposition that primitive industry resulted in products worthy of the name art, so too does it seem necessary to demonstrate that contemporary industry has its art and artists. For it is usually supposed (sometimes with good reason) that the present workplace is barren of the conditions necessary for art to flourish. It must be stressed that individuals should be recognized and treated as such, and not submerged in the undifferentiated mass of the "labor force" or conceived of as merely a "factor in production." They need a degree of control over the product and some responsibility for its design; instead, many merely carry out others' instructions for assembling a small part of the whole product. They must have freedom from constraints, but in fact even physical movement as well as communication and interaction—like imagination—are often curtailed. For
an individual to be creative, it is generally assumed, the work should be challenging, not routine and stultifying. Little wonder, then, that few students of work employ the framework of art and esthetics in their research or notice the more subtle attempts of workers to develop and elaborate their tasks into forms having esthetic value.

It is precisely this perspective emphasizing the art of work that is needed both to understand the nature of homo faber and to improve the very conditions as well as goods and services whose quality is so often deplored. At present, most people whose labor is simplified, specialized, and standardized must content themselves with subtle (some might be tempted to say "pathetic") attempts to develop and elaborate tasks into forms having esthetic value crucial to their sense of self-worth and well-being. Some of them, of course, dream of independence, usually epitomized by being self-employed like private investigator Sandra Sutherland. Less than ten per cent of the American population is self-employed, however, and as Sutherland pointed out there are constraints on her creativity, too. The reality for most people, as Sutherland noted in regard to herself, is that they must do the best they can with what they are allowed. But it seems reasonable to assume that if we are allowed to do more, we will accomplish more. For all of us are human beings having a feeling for form, as a condition of our being human, which is insistent and compelling, often having its fullest and finest expression as art and play in situations not of labor and toil but working in a broader sense—one in which we find some degree of personal fulfillment rather than drudgery.

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Notes

2 While folklorists have always been attracted to the artistic dimension of much of Folklore, and while much of the folklore collected has been from workers and in some way related to work, few of them have examined the nature of workers as artists or considered the art of work. Two exceptions are Robert S. McCrall, Jr., "The Production Welder: Product, Process and the Industrial Craftsman," New York Folklore Quarterly 30 (1974): 243-53; and Michael J. Bell, "Tending Bar at Brown's: Occupational Role as Artistic Performance," Western Folklore 35 (1976): 93-107. For someone who is truly conscious of, and seeks to exploit, herself as artist in an occupational role, see the comments by Dolores Dante quoted by Louis [Studs] Terkel in Working (1974; reprint New York: Avon, 1975), pp. 389-95.
3 Franz Boas, Primitive Art (1927; reprint New York: Dover, 1955); Alfred C. Haddon, Evolution in Art: As Illustrated by the Life-Histories of Designs (London, 1895); and Ernst Grosse, The Beginnings of Art (New York, 1897), first published as Die Anfänge der Kunst (Freiburg, 1894).
4 For examples, see remarks by Fairfield and several contributors to Humanizing the Workplace, ed. Roy P. Faithchild (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1974).
5 Boas, Primitive Art, pp. 9-10.


9 Garson, All the Livelong Day, pp. 155-56.


12 Boas, Primitive Art, pp. 58, 62.


15 George Strauss, "Is There a Blue-Collar Revolt Against Work?" in Humanizing the Workplace, p. 35.

16 Grosse, Beginnings of Art, p. 308.


18 I am drawing on the extensively quoted material and the author's discussion of it in Braverman, pp. 85-121; and a brief synopsis in Whyte, pp. 6-7.


Biology of Storytelling
ON CONTEXTS

Hermann Bausinger

Linda Dégh has published some very important studies on how European folk cultures have influenced American culture.¹ Investigative research in the opposite direction is very sparse, or to be more specific: if and when European scholars deal with the cultural influences of the United States on European countries, they usually settle the point with a few all-embracing conclusions on how the agents of American mass culture are dominating European mass media. Now, this point of view is not at all wrong: the "global village" happens to be of American coinage, and it is probable that there are people all over the world who do not share Marshall McLuhan's enthusiasm for this concept.² By taking on such global perspectives, however, we run the risk of missing the special texture of indigenous traditions and foreign influences and thus of overlooking the real details of everyday Euro-American culture.

I am going to deal with one of these details: with coke. Coke is not only a strong indicator of the economic influence of America on European (and non-European) countries; it is also an important element of everyday life in many countries—the everyday life not of all the people but of great parts of the population, especially of the younger generations. For them, coke is what Goethe called blood, a "very special juice"; for instance, it has the highest rate of consumption in discotheques, serving as a sort of functional equivalent of alcoholic drinks; and in other contexts, when young boys bet with each other, they will not bet with apple juice but with coke.

These examples might be called part of our cokelore,³ the more hostile aspects of which also apply here in Europe. In a certain sense, coke and cokelore prove that not only "elements of high culture seep into folk repertoires,"⁴ but also that there is no real chance to separate a strictly "commercial popular culture"⁵ from the traditional ways of life: commercial popular culture establishes its own traditions which cannot be understood only in economic terms. Thus coke, in contradiction to its supposed acidic qualities, links popular culture and folk culture. I have the impression that Linda Dégh has explored this very aspect of transition in many of her recent papers, demonstrating that it is not only a "haunted bridge"⁶ which connects the two realms.

I am not at all sure, however, if Linda Dégh would like her name attached to cokelore; maybe she shares that antipathy many adults and especially highbrow people have for this sticky sweet drink. Thus I hasten to add that this paper is not only about coke, but also on contexts. And one might say that Linda Dégh wrote one of the most informative and outstanding books on contextual folklore⁷ even before the contextualists outlined their theoretical framework for the "ethnography of speaking folklore."⁸ Within the limitations of this essay, it is impossible to deal with all the elaborations and differentiations of the contextual folklorists.⁹ I only wish to point out that it can be misleading to
speak of the context. Context is an "umbrella-name," as Richard M. Dorson put it. In my view, there are various contexts; or as one might also say, there are various aspects of a context with various ranges. In other words, if context is "the real habitat of all folklore forms," it is worthwhile to distinguish the different levels of this habitat.

On the one hand it may be useful to remember that context, originally, did not necessarily go beyond the horizon of a given text. In this sense, to observe the context means to consider the other parts of a text while interpreting one part. This may seem to be a self-evident postulate. But it is not by chance that every now and then even philologists have to be reminded of this holistic approach, and one has to concede that this philological virtue is often dismissed by self-assertive explicators of tales. But to stress this textual context (to put it in pleonastic terms) does not only mean a plea for philological punctuality and precision. It should be noted that most of the traits we consider contextual—in the wider sense of the word—are reflected in some way or other by the text itself. The realization of a text under certain conditions and in a certain environment would not be half as remarkable as it is if the environment and the conditions were not reflected by the text in a complementary manner. I do not want to state definitely that "the text is the thing," but that close observation of the textual context generally enables the scholar to make some statements not only on the text, but on the milieu in which the story was told. Historical research on stories, by the way, would be very limited without this possibility.

But, to return to coke and cokelore. Of course, since most coke stories are single episodes, their texts do not reveal too much of their setting and background. If I read that somebody told a story about a tooth dissolving in coke within half a day, I do not know whether the narrator believed the story or not. But the "attempt to authenticate the incident" can be, and often is, reflected by the text. If, for instance, the narrator refers to "a dentist I know" as the original source of the story, I know by this "context" within the text that the person telling the story intended to point out the credibility of the story by emphasizing the trustworthiness of his informant.

But do I really know? There is a form of presentation which makes use of such positive declarations with negative aims: the ironical narrative. Irony is most effective when totally disguised, and although ironical authors and narrators often unmask themselves at a certain point or drop pretense for a few moments to avoid being misunderstood, such actions are not entirely necessary. Therefore, for all intents and purposes, the text of a belief legend can be identical with that of a story in which belief is ridiculed by means of irony. And here I am not referring only to written texts—if an ironical narrator is a good "actor," it is possible that not even a multimedia record of his story will reveal his intentions. The narrator's intentions are revealed only to the extent that the whole "storytelling event" is included in the record. Here I refer to the "performance" of the story, to the audience and its reactions, to the whole scenario of narration—in short, to situational context. This is the context generally discussed by contextual folklorists. "Breakthrough into performance" leaves behind pure philological interpretation; "the performance situation" is regarded as "the crucial context for the available text."
To give a somewhat contrived Coca-Cola example: the most surprising trait of American cokelore for a European—or at least for myself—is the contention that coke "makes an excellent contraceptive douche."\(^{18}\) To me, that is a simply fantastic notion,\(^ {19}\) and maybe that is why I prefer to think of it as ironical in tone. Anyway, this notion can be employed in various ways. A boy may tell a girl about this magic-biological quality of coke in order to get what he wants; in that case, he will pretend to believe this story. On the other hand, some young people may poke fun at those who do believe it or who have been deceived by the supposed contraceptive properties of coke. Finally, a story about the supposed vigor of coke may also serve as a corroborative warning for naive girls.

I know, of course, that none of these events is a real "performance" with artistic structure and sophisticated collective acting and communication between narrator and audience. But in any case, such occasional storytelling, and even the mere allusion to stories, includes configurations which show the importance of situational contexts "in the bud." The fact, however, that the "situation" can be reduced to such a minimum of persons and scenery may also be taken as evidence that it is not only the situation that determines the ways and the sense of a tale. Situation is too narrow a horizon to define the whole structure of the storytelling event. Or to say the same thing in a different way, situations themselves are predetermined by a wider context. One could call this wider horizon social context.

Speaking of "the folklore of academe\(^ {20}\) (to which much cokelore belongs) implies that the social setting and the whole climate of colleges and universities produce specific storytelling events and may charge even quite trivial and widespread stories with special meanings. In our case, one might state that cokelore on the whole, although not severely restricted to academic youth, is primarily part of the lore of female and male students. Of course, the popularity of cokelore in this age group is due in part to the simple fact that these youngsters consume more coke than any other age group. But beyond this commonplace insight one might ask at least whether these circles do not have a special predisposition for the strange kind of scientific magic represented by most of the coke stories. College work means confrontation with problems under the premise that these problems can be solved by rational means, but it also includes the experience that the number of problems multiplies with every partial problem solved. This may be a rather bitter experience, and I suppose that is is not only sweetened by coke but also by cokelore—that is, by traditions which arise at the point where ambitious scientific explanations come together with far more comfortable pre-rational general explanations. It is not proper for academic people to believe in witches, but in a certain way it is quite fitting for them to believe in sorceries scientifically disguised—or to state the matter more precisely, to play with the belief in such sorceries.

In the opening pages of his Joseph novel, Thomas Mann deals with myth, especially with its origin. He shows that when ever a scholar seems to have perceived the real and ultimate origin of a myth, sooner or later he has to realize that there are vestiges that lead to a still older and more distant origin. Thomas Mann compared the scholar of myth with a wanderer going across the dunes who thinks every dune he sees to be the last one before the shore—but having arrived at that point he is struck by seeing still another dune in front of him. In a certain way the scholar
of contexts is likewise confronted with Küstenkulissen, seaside scenes leading into ever greater distances. Thus, one cannot even limit oneself to the social context framing the special situations of storytelling; there are reasons for going on to a far wider horizon, to the context of the whole society. Perhaps one might speak of sociatal context. I am aware of the danger that the term context is stretched out by this application to such an extent that its strings get worn out. Does it make sense to state that in a certain society only those stories which mean something to this society are told? I think that even this general statement is not as trivial as it sounds; Alan Lomax, for example, has gone to great lengths to show the efficiency of this supposition for the understanding of songs. Above all, however, that statement can be concretized; the really interesting question is not if, but how, society determines stories and is reflected by them.

As an example of this premise, I refer to the most aggressive part of folklore: to the horror stories about mice or similar "repulsive remains" found in bottles or cans of coke. Gary Fine took the frequently reported versions of this type of story as the material for a discussion of the "multiple origins" of folktales. He thinks multiple origins can be proved through legal documentation: in a great many cases, the courts decided in favor of plaintiffs who had demanded financial compensation for their distasteful beverages. As I see it, there are still other possible interpretations of this phenomenon. But beyond this, one might and should ask for the reasons why these stories, whether they can be traced back to a real origin or not, are as frequent and widespread as they are. I hold that these stories reflect, in whatever fleeting way, some general and deep problems of our society. I will distinguish three different problems which, nevertheless, are interdependent and interwoven in almost every concrete story about strange remnants in coke.

First, it seems important to me that in most of these little stories it is not a tool, a button, or similar materials which is found in the liquid, but a small animal. The idea of a living creature put to death by being canned in Coca-Cola does not only remind us of the alleged corrosive vigor of coke; it also stands for the opposition of the smooth superficiality of our everyday nourishment to real, vital life. In this perspective the mouse or fly, or whatever creature, is not totally without positive connotation. This fact does not at all turn my interpretation into nonsense: we know by our dreams, or at least by psychoanalytic theories relating to them, that ambiguity is a substantial quality of many symbols.

Second, the emergence of those animals may be taken as a small breakdown of that tremendous machinery people distrust but are dependent on. Of course, it is of vital interest to the Coca-Cola Company to forward as few dead mice as possible—theories holding that capitalists will produce only "exchange values" without any regard for the real values (the usefulness of an item) are flat simplifications. But the realization of the exchange value of a product is, indeed, the central aim of capitalist production. Consumers feel that in some ways factories and supermarkets would just as soon sell them dirt and dust as long as they would pay for it—and sometimes they really do: the dead mice are proof of this.

Discontent, however, is not restricted to this economic aspect. There is a wider, more general, unspecific uneasiness which can be understood as a consequence of alienation. Amitai Etzioni
defines alienation as "a social situation which is beyond the control of the actor, and hence unresponsive to his basic needs." Etzioni states that in addition to total alienation there are social conditions which may be referred to as "inauthentic"; here, the surface seems to be responsive whereas "the underlying structure is unresponsive." It may look a little bit odd to try to pour coke into these sophisticated terminological molds. But one might say that even the modes of our nourishment are often only in pretense responsive to basic needs—actually, these basic needs could be met in a different, less extensive, and more immediate manner. Etzioni also speaks of the aggressions which are evoked by alienation and inauthenticity. Etzioni says that "the aggression of a person in an inauthentic condition . . . will be diffuse and at least in part internalized and 'bottled-up.'" When saying "bottled-up," he was not thinking of coke-mice, I suppose; but in a certain way these bottled-up mice gather up unspecified aggressions, and the little stories about them are outlets for the feeling that our world of glamour and propaganda is not at all trustworthy.

To return to the problem of contexts, this comprehensive societal context—and perhaps the social context too—might also be called function. Alan Dundes thinks it "necessary to distinguish context and function." I suppose that the existence and the rather broad use of the term function is responsible for our often very narrow understanding of the term context. To a certain degree one could, of course, ask Shakespeare's rhetorical question, "What's in a name?" But it is worthwhile to identify the different notions underlying the concepts of context and function. I must confine myself here to some slight intimations.

Dundes states that function usually "is an analyst's statement of what (he thinks) the use or purpose of a given genre of folklore is." That is true, but the mode of existence of context is not too different from this. There are, of course, real configurations of a performance and its social background, but usually neither narrator nor audience realizes this analytically. For it is the analyst, as well, who states what (he thinks) the context of a presented text is. The main difference seems to lie in the degree of abstraction. "Function is essentially an abstraction made on the basis of a number of contexts"; consequently function generally refers to whole genres and not to a single tale. But even a single story cannot be sufficiently explained by the context of the actual telling situation; the background of the social group and the impact of society determine the story and the storytelling event as intensely as the immediate surroundings. The performance situation is closer to the generation of texts; a precise record of it can best show "the involvement of the audience in the creative act." But nevertheless the wider frame of society may be even more compelling. The smaller group shaping a performance situation cannot escape its social—we could as well say, its cultural—predispositions. Thus, the wider social conditions are also present even in an individual text.

I hope that by reconsidering these terminological problems I have not bottled dead mice in my Festschrift drink. I agree with Roger L. Welsch, that "it is time for folklorists to start using definitions and stop being used by them." That is why I wrote on coke. But in order to be able to use definitions one must try
to outline their contours and to clear up their implications. That is why I wrote on contexts.

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Notes

1 See, for example, Linda Dégó's article on "Survival and Revival of European Folk Cultures in America," Ethnologia Europaea 2 (1968): 97-107.
6 One should add, however, that Linda Dégó is also able to make use of ghosts' bridges; see "The Haunted Bridges near Avon and Danville and Their Role in Legend Formation," Indiana Folklore 2 (1969): 54-89.
9 For a short survey, see Dorson, pp. 45-47; or Linda Dégó, "Biologie des Erzählguts," Enzyklopädie des Märchens.
10 Dorson, p. 45.
17 Ben-Amos, p. 5.
18 Bell, p. 61.
19 Nevertheless, I am able to give strong evidence in support of this hypothesis: we never used coke, and I have four children. . . .
20 Toeklen, passim.
21 Folk Song Style and Culture (Washington: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1968).
22 Bell, p. 62.
23 Fine, passim.
24 There is a joke about two guests in a restaurant, one of whom discovers a fly in his soup and protests; he is invited to a luxurious cost-free meal, whereupon the other guest asks the first one if he still needs the fly—if not, could he lend it to him?
I think that, in a similar way, mice could also be borrowed or brought along into a restaurant from the outside.


27 Ibid., p. 256.

28 Ibid.


30 Ibid., p. 256.

31 Ibid.

32 Henry Glassie, "'Take That Night Train to Selma': An Excursion to the Outskirts of Scholarship," in Folksongs and Their Makers (Bowling Green, Ohio: Popular Press, n.d.), p. 29.

THE FORMATION OF ECOTYPES

Lauri Honko

... sie spezialisieren das Allgemeine, machen das Europäische national, die leere Form zeitgemäss oder geben dem vorgetragenen Märchen in der gegebenen Gesellschaft oder im gegebenen Augenblick Bedeutung.

—Linda Dégh

What makes folklore "typical" in a given physical and socio-cultural environment? Obviously not unique motifs or themes. Folklore motifs are seldom unique. An attempt to find folktales, legends, or anecdotes which do not exist outside a particular region or social group may prove to be difficult, and the results of such searches somewhat trivial. Nor are such unique motifs or themes, even where identified, necessarily most typical of the tradition community in question.

Nevertheless, we can sense the uniqueness of the "tradition climate" in a particular region or a social group. Motifs and tales which are known from elsewhere are organized and handled in a special way: they seem to fit neatly into the lifestyle and environment of the people. Thus it is not so much the question of "what" folklore is known but of "how" it is expressed and used. The style, function, and meaning of a folklore product become important, at times perhaps more important than the content. Nor can attention be focused only on a single folklore product; the analysis must place the folklore item within a wider body of knowledge and behavior and within a system of communication.

The task of micro-research and regional studies in folklore is to clarify how the uniqueness of local folklore has come about. This is a task which may also have practical value in our time, as the revitalization of local cultures has become both a human need and a political fact.

This new emphasis calls for the development of methodological tools. In previous text-oriented and broadly comparative folklore studies, the idea that tradition adapts to different environments was recognized only vaguely and used unsystematically to explain minor or specific variations usually considered outside the mainstream of historically significant change or diffusion. In his essay "Geography and Folk-Tale Oicotypes" C. W. von Sydow introduced the concept of oikotype (=ecotype) into folkloristics. The term was useful, he said, when one is dealing with widely spread traditions which form special types because of their isolation and appropriateness to certain culture districts. As this term was borrowed from botany mainly for use in diffusionistic studies of particular tales, it never developed into a theoretical model for the adaptation of tradition. Instead, the scope of the word diminished, ultimately denoting a local redaction of a tale with limited range and strong ties to local culture. With the notable exception of Roger D. Abrahams' study of folklore in Camingerly, an urban ghetto in Philadelphia, folklorists have not been interested in the ecotypification of tradition. The processes of tradition adaptation and molding to different environments have not been recognized as important objects of research. Until recent times folklorists were
not very keen on defining the environments of the traditions they were studying. The point of departure was always the text and its parallels, not a physical human community and its traditions.

To my mind it is wrong to restrict the concept of ecotype to haphazard marginal cases of folklore development. Ecotypes are formed wherever there is consistency and continuity in the habitat of a tradition. The setting is made up of such milieu-factors as natural environment, economic structure, social system, and cultural tradition. The interplay of these factors accounts for something like eighty per cent of variation in the adaptation of folklore; the rest of the variation results from more situational and personality-linked factors. "Adaptation for use" is the heart of ecotypification, and it is more natural to assume that folklore ecotypification is constantly at work in most of the traditions than to isolate only the most extraordinary traditions as manifestations of folklore ecotypes.

A detailed theory of tradition adaptation is necessary if we wish to proceed from generalities to more exact analyses of environmental change and variation in folklore. In this essay I identify four forms of adaptation which should be considered: 1) milieu-morphological or "exterior" adaptation, 2) tradition-morphological or "interior" adaptation, 3) functional or "momentary-situational" adaptation, and 4) ecotypification. These forms are interconnected within the folklore process; every analyst who looks closely at an authentic folktales performance has seen this. For analytical purposes, however, these distinctions should be useful.

Milieu-morphological or "exterior" adaptation. The importance of adaptation derives from the simple fact that tradition does not originate nor is it learned in the setting where it is actually used. Transfer of milieu is a common phenomenon in the folklore process, and almost always implies adaptation.

How is tradition "translated" into different settings? In a Scandinavian animal tale it is the bear and the fox, rather than the lion and the jackal, that confront each other although, historically speaking, these are two versions of the same story. Stories and traditions of foreign origin often include descriptions of unfamiliar natural settings. They must undergo a milieu-morphological or "exterior" adaptation before they can be widely and permanently accepted. I have labelled two subforms of this adaptation "familiarization" and "localization." Familiarization is the process whereby the natural setting and physical structure described in a foreign folklore item are replaced by well-known natural features from the physical milieu of the new tradition community. This adaptation is more obvious in some genres than in others. Some legend genres derive their plausibility from the concrete, visible environment and must conform closely to familiar surroundings, whereas in some folktales and myths, for example, the setting is unfamiliar by definition. Nevertheless, familiarization also applies to the fairy tale and myth, because their milieux are carefully related to and polarized by the observable environment from which they derive at least some of their elements.

Localization, the second subform of milieu-morphological adaptations, links a certain tradition to a thing or place in the experienced physical milieu. There is a well-known story in which a big rock thrown by a giant at a church lands elsewhere. This narrative is found in various regions but it is always connected with a large or unusual rock in the immediate environment of the narrator, thus acquiring a local flavor which can be preserved.
for centuries within a limited area. Legends explaining natural formations and place names often become epic lessons in local geography and history—and sources of international migratory legend motifs as well. One of my most impressive examples of milieu-morphological adaptation is a war legend from Kökar, an island in the Åland archipelago in the Baltic, where the well-known theme of the "moving forest" has been transferred into a maritime setting.

By studying milieu-morphological adaptation we should be able to identify and understand the distribution of folklore in the physical milieu of a community. Why are stories told only about certain places in the natural environment and not others? Unfortunately we lack thorough case studies in which all localizations of different traditions in a given milieu are subjected to systematic analysis. It should however be possible to present a hypothesis covering three factors which have widely contributed to the observable distribution of folklore in nature. These factors are exploitation of nature, milieu dominance, and the local-historical frame of events.

It sounds like an ecological truism to say that belief in a water sprite can only exist where there is water. But if one considers the ways in which man uses water (for drinking, swimming, traveling, fishing, and so on), the picture immediately becomes more complex, and it becomes possible to develop a model of the distribution of tradition according to forms of exploitation. Clearly only well-defined territories within the natural environment are inhabited by supernatural beings. The roles that these beings assume are related to man's exploitative conquest of nature. Thus the "tradition territories" which the folklorist will find in the natural environment should be viewed in connection with man's economic and other activities there and with associated systems of value.

Once the tradition territories have been established, there is still room for man's selective eye. Then the milieu dominants, to use Albert Eskeröd's term, play their role. These are natural objects which, because of their uncommonness or their unusual shape, size, or situation, stand out from their surroundings and actually dominate the field of vision. It was C. W. von Sydow who first gave examples of how the sacrificial tree is a spruce in a birch forest or a tall pillar of spruce which stands out from other trees, and how strangely shaped or isolated fragments of rock are pointed out as the dwelling of supernatural beings. Though milieu dominants may give rise to fantasies, name-giving, and story-making, and thus provide the germ of a new tradition, it is much more common for them to become fixed points for already existing traditions. When a milieu dominant has been established—that is, when people have begun to narrate about a particular natural object—other traditions can be expected to accumulate around it.

But even taken together, the milieu dominants and man's exploitation of nature do not fully account for all distribution of traditions across the landscape. One frequently comes across local legends or explanations of place names which suggest that the attachment of a tradition to a particular place goes back to historical events. What actually happened at that place is not always what is said to have happened there. Both the central character and the temporal setting may change radically. Nonetheless, an historical kernel may persist, and one of the tasks of the folklorist is to reveal it by way of careful source criticism and comparison. But regardless of the historical truth, the local—
historical reference attached to a natural site makes the place a stronghold of tradition. Independent of appearance and location, the natural site or object becomes the most important reason for the actualization of the tradition in question, and the most important factor in its continuity. People describe the historical event as they pass the place; the name of the place often recalls an essential detail of the story.

**Tradition-morphological or "interior" adaptation.** In the foregoing, I have attempted to describe the adaptation of tradition to the "world of forms" created by physical surroundings and the natural environment. But tradition itself is a form world where adaptations and transformations—less dependent on nature and other "external" factors than on characteristics of the tradition itself—often occur. Tradition lives as a system or within a system of communication. There are certain rules that govern the production of different genres and define their communicative functions. On the level of content there are certain preferences which we call collective tradition. To have admission to the repertoires of narrators, new tales and themes must pass both collective and individual filters of preference. In other words, to become active, tradition must be adapted to a previously existing system of communication. Should such adaptation not take place, the effectiveness of expression might be diminished or the new element might be simply rejected as controversial.

The processes involved in this "interior" adaptation to existing tradition include, among others, 1) linking of tradition to tradition dominants, 2) censorship of tradition, and 3) adaptation to a genre. Historical people, various heroes of narratives, supernatural beings, and other role figures recurrent in the folklore of a social group or region usually develop into tradition dominants. They tend to absorb other, more peripheral, and less preferred role figures. If a new story must be remolded and cast with a familiar character, the tradition dominants are easily at hand. Thematically similar narratives are told about different beings and persons in different areas; but this fact is more clear to the folklorist dipping into the archives than to the tradition bearers themselves. Such variation is tolerated in the archives but not in the field: to gain entry into the milieu, incoming elements must yield to tradition dominants.

Another aspect of tradition-morphological adaptation is the rejection and replacement of elements which may lead to norm conflict. This censorship of tradition conforms to prevalent systems and values, as well as to cognitions subordinate to them. Something which is viable in one sociocultural milieu is not so in another milieu or another geographical area. In the international master-thief tales the great skill and intelligence of the protagonist is roughly the same in different parts of Europe, North Africa, and Asia, but the ethical code behind the stories varies considerably. In Egypt and Greece, for example, master-thieves are glorified without reservation, whereas in Scandinavia the same skill must be veiled behind prophecy which justifies crime or behind some pacifying act of the thief. In other words, an adaptation to the moral code of the new audience is necessary if one wishes to carry a new story over a tradition barrier and to win the sympathy of listeners. Another interesting problem is that some folktales seem to go against the social grain relating acts which are strictly forbidden by prevailing norms. It may require a deep analysis of the actual function and meaning of the narrative and
its genre-specific properties to determine the significance of such anomalies.

This brings us to the third type of adaptation in which a theme is recast into a new genre. Interaction between genres, and the borrowing of elements that accompanies it, are well-known phenomena. Less attention has been paid to the fact that crossing a genre-boundary also implies subordination to another set of communicative rules. There seem to be genre-specific preferences as to what a ballad or a belief legend may say and what it may not say. In terms of theme there is also a division of labor among genres: what one genre conveys may not occur in another, which in turn has its own message.

Tradition-morphological adaptations are a matter of spiritual climate, not of physical surroundings. Together with milieu-morphological adaptations they comprise what I call "great variation," those decisive and lasting changes which ensure a position for the tradition in the folklore reservoir of a community. Once this variation has occurred, the result may be valid indefinitely.

**Functional or "momentary-situational" adaptation.** The ultimate meaning of a folklore product does not derive solely from the two forms of adaptation discussed above. A very important part of the process is adaptation to the actual situation of performance, with its many unique features. The personality of the narrator, the composition of the audience, the actual focus of interest of the community, events in the recent past, and hopes and fears for the future may forcefully influence the production of a story and the audience reaction to it. Though the same story already may have been told in numerous social situations or "micro-environments," there is always some novelty value and up-to-date relevance in the message it conveys. This is due to functional adaptation. Whereas milieu- and tradition-morphological adaptations are isolated occurrences giving relatively stable results (that is, there is relatively little need for further adjustment after the initial adaptation), functional adaptation characteristically produces variation and small changes continually, according to the special features of the situation. But such variation is momentary and does not affect the tradition in ways which would be observable in later performances of the product in question; thus it may properly be called "little" variation.

**Ecotypification.** But is it really likely that the piecemeal analysis sketched above will lead us to some kind of synthesis? How should numerous observations on folklore adaptation be organized to reveal the unique characteristics of a tradition community? To achieve this goal we must turn to the ecotype. Space does not allow me to analyze the previous uses of the term nor to dwell upon studies that have addressed this problem without using the term ecotype; all this I have done elsewhere. The folkloristic contribution to the discussion of ecotypes probably culminated in Roger D. Abrahams' study on traditions in Camingerly. Abrahams' most valuable contribution is his argument that ecotypification completely transcends generic boundaries, and embraces instead a motley collection of content elements, contextual factors, and stylistic and structural features; these materials, studied together, allow the researcher to connect the tradition to its specific social base. His cross-generic quest for "tropisms" is laudable; but his quantifying scheme—that what has high frequency is also (eco)typical—is oversimplified. Ethnologists and anthropologists (Steward and Wolf in the United States; Campbell, Stoklund, and
Löfgren in Scandinavia) have used the term ecotype somewhat differently, but always in relation to economic structure and natural environment. The question is, are these approaches relevant to each other? Can one in practice combine folkloristic material and economic behavior to analyze man's milieu adaptation and economic exploitation? Leaving detailed argumentation for another occasion, I submit that the answer is affirmative.

In short, I believe that in defining folklore ecotypes we should let cultural, social, and economic systems merge as they do in real life. Means of subsistence, social roles, and oral narratives should all be considered as factors in our attempt to grasp the reality of the tradition community. The elements which determine an ecotype should share these characteristics: 1) they force their way into and permeate several areas, 2) they appear frequently and are considered highly representative of the community, 3) they thrive and give rise to new variants, 4) they show advanced milieu adaptation, 5) they resist alien or divergent elements, and 6) they manifest a distinctive character.

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Notes

3 See, for example, Leander Petzoldt, Der Tote als Gast (FFC #200, 1968), pp. 27–30.
5 For this and other examples and full bibliography see my articles in forthcoming issues of Sananjalka, The Yearbook of the Finnish Language Society 21 (1979) and Studia Fennica.
7 C.W. von Sydow, "Det ovanligas betydelse i tro och sed," Folkmännens och Folktankar 13 (1926), and Selected Papers on Folklore, pp. 146–65.
8 See note 4 and a forthcoming book in Swedish, Tradition och miljö, ed. Lauri Honko.
9 See note 3.
HOW CAN WE UNDERSTAND THE RETENTION OF A FOLKTALE?

Vivian Labrie

With more and more interest focusing on the dynamic processes underlying the interaction between the taleteller and his narratives, a new type of methodological concern is likely to arise around the question of how to compare two closely linked—if not successive—versions of the same narrative. In this respect, the problem of comparative analysis must be discussed on an entirely different basis than it once was, since we no longer seek to identify thematic kinships within a corpus that is extensively disseminated through time and space, but try instead to establish the exact filliations and the patterns of distortion which inevitably occur when a version passes through well-known networks of transmission. The quest for origins is therefore set aside for the benefit of a better understanding of the oral transmission processes themselves.

In the wake of earlier attempts—such as those of Bartlett, Anderson, and Schier—more recent works, like Dégéh's and Vázsonyi's theoretical approach of a multi-conduit structure of transmission, or Nicolaisen's concrete study of the "congruity between family genealogy and narrative genealogy," strongly emphasize the need for more accurate types of measure than the simple counts of words or ideas that were once thought to be sufficient for comparing variants of the same narrative. Again it is the whole, and old, problem of the units of tradition that must be reexamined, and, to paraphrase Eilli Köngäs-Maranda's comprehensive review of the question, there is some room for "une nouvelle tradition des unités" that would be more suitable for this new "genealogical" approach to transmission.

The familiar historic-geographic method employs a comparative procedure broad enough to suit any one of a whole set of isolated versions. Therefore, it is compelled to work on the macro-comparative levels of types, motifs, and the like. The "memory-transmission" method—though it should also be attentive to the structure and idiosyncrasies of specific narratives—must confine itself to a more limited procedure in order to retain enough information to allow two-by-two comparisons of new, forgotten, or modified material from one version to another, thus coming closer to capturing the word (parole) expressed by the teller. This type of analysis works at a kind of psycho-comparative level where the narrative could be said to be still mingled with the speaker's own mental structures. The message studied is therefore primarily a personalized one, and the word as expression is not distinguished from the word as meaning, though this distinction may become apparent within the analysis itself. Consequently, if most studies must be restricted to the examination of intrinsic or extrinsic variables characterizing the versions at hand, allowances should be made for collaborative work with the informants themselves when possible.

Research Contexts Calling for Analysis of Memory and Transmission

There are two research contexts in which "memory-transmission" studies may prove particularly useful. In the first, we
are concerned with "teller-to-teller" transmission; in such cases, the versions studied are considered to be in filiation with one another, that is, there is a continuity between them, the tellers having been placed in an apprenticeship situation, one learning from the other. The initial version may be known (as is the case when the versions are produced in an experimental situation) or it may be lost in the course of the collective memory (as is most common with field data), though there is a clear relationship between the versions studied.

Versions in filiation may be arranged in a chain-like series (Bartlett's and Anderson's experiments are good examples) where one teller transmits his story to a single hearer, who in turn tells it to an audience of one, and so on. They may occur in a fan-like progression, where the teller communicates his tale to a group of auditors, some of whom will also tell the same story to another group, and so on. Though both patterns are known to exist in the field, usually in combination, it may be assumed that the latter is more central to the structure of oral transmission. These messages may be in strict filiation, in which case we are able to compare the exact versions transmitted from teller to teller; or they may show an indirect filiation, such as when one link is absent, or when we have versions from each transmitter but not specifically the ones that were transmitted by the original teller.  

In the second context, the emphasis is on "within the teller" retention, in which the narrations are organized into a series. If the first context was concerned principally with transmission, one version being produced by many individuals, this one is concerned with repetition, one individual producing many versions. Seriated versions are produced not as much by an initial version as by an initial knowledge to which the teller returns every time he wishes to prepare a new narration. Though this initial knowledge is fundamental, it is affected in a kind of feedback system by the successive narrations, which in turn will be apt to show a certain degree of evolution, not only in terms of forgetting, but also in terms of personal assimilation of an extraneous version.

In its natural course, the story evolves through both processes—filiation and seriation—but we must admit that this reality is always simplified whenever we study it, since we can never come face-to-face with anything but partial sections of this complex "circuitry." Neither the fieldworker, who cannot possibly collect every version (and who, in fact, is usually limited to very restricted portions of "chains" or "fans"—chains of no more than three to four links, series of no more than two to three versions) nor the experimentalist who designs simple situations in order to be able to control and analyze them, can pretend to do more.

What to Compare between Tales? On Knowledge, Narration, and "Synesthetic Continuity"

We cannot hope to compare the tales in their totality; therefore, we must select those aspects which seem most worthy of attention to help us unravel the mechanisms through which transmission and retention occur. Then, we develop tools of measurement that will make the comparison possible. We usually think of the tale in terms of its verbal continuity, but it would probably be too restrictive to limit close comparisons to this sole aspect, since the tale-teller may have retained a particular detail from the former transmitter's version without producing it in the version studied.

There is a real, if not always obvious, difference between
the knowledge and its verbal expression, and their relationship could be expressed this way. The knowledge is first established by the audition of the tale, and it is "polished" afterwards by every other audition, narration, or mental recall; its content is pure retention, or memory, either from the initial source or from any other reactuarization. This knowledge can be partially disclosed through the narration, or even through precise recording of the phases of remembering; it can also be attained directly without any narration if the researcher asks the teller some questions. Since memory is usually considered to be a reconstructive process, at least when no rote learning is used (which is rarely the case with folktales), the verbal expression, or narration, is not pure memory. It will contain elements that have been retained and reproduced, but it will also present elements gathered during the reconstruction to complement the memorized scheme.

To give an example of the difference between actual knowledge and its actualization in the narration, let us suppose that a verbal version mentions that the hero was given "a black horse that would fly a hundred leagues to a step." The teller may be simply reproducing the exact words that he initially heard, but it is also possible that his actual knowledge may be something like "the hero was given a domestic animal—or a mount—that could go very fast." Then he could have made a correct—or incorrect, if the original animal was an ox—guess that the mount was a horse; he could have decided that the horse was black—thus being creative; he could have expressed its rapidity through the cliché of "a hundred leagues to a step"—thus being technically talented. And still, his reconstruction could have been extremely similar to the model.

Every narration is a particular blend of memory, creativity, and stylistic ability, and it may be useful to establish precisely which of these characteristics the comparison seeks to illustrate. For example, it may be significant to measure the number of times direct dialogue is employed in a certain set of versions, but this measure should probably be interpreted as a clue for verbal skill more than as evidence of memory, and it may indirectly help us understand the general efficacy of transmission.

The preceding scheme may seem complex enough, but there is some evidence that we must consider another element in this "memory-transmission" analysis. In recent studies undertaken with accomplished storytellers, Bruford, Labrie, Laurent, and MacDonald are unveiling an intricate and unsuspected world of inner representation accompanying the learning, remembering, and narrating phases of the transmission process. 5 "Inner visualization" seems too weak a term to describe the richness and vividness of this representation, which includes auditory and kinesthetic sensations as well as visual ones, and which is sometimes so intense that it can be qualified as eidetic. This type of representation should therefore be described as a synesthetic continuity. In certain respects this continuity is similar to the narration, as it is linear and follows the same pattern of events, but many considerations show that it can be studied on its own. First, it can occur independently of the narration, such as when a person mentally repeats the story before telling it. Second, even when it accompanies the narration, it cannot be subsumed by it, just as nobody would venture to declare that the soundtrack tells everything of a movie. The imagery is a language in itself, more fluid and more multidimensional than simple wording, and thus, less easy to communicate. A third consideration concerns
structure: it is uncertain that every element conveys the same importance for both continuities. For example, the short segment of a "black horse that would fly a hundred leagues to a step" may parallel a very strong image of the marvelous animal, and a lengthy and dramatic dialogue may only have a vague and weak mental equivalent.

On the other hand, it could be argued that the synesthetic continuity is no more than the knowledge itself. Yet this point of view is open to discussion. In a way the mental representation of the tale is very near to the knowledge, since it is a mental process and it is more total than the single narration. But then again, this continuity is reconstructed just as is the narration, and it will not be exactly the same for every occurrence. The concept of version applies here and it is perfectly justified even though these versions are not usually made public.

A good analogy to help us understand the kind of complementarity that exists between knowledge, narration, and synesthetic continuity, would be to think about a "magic" (let us stay in the mood!) computer—the knowledge—that could combine stored information concerning a specific story with general information about other narratives and about the real world to produce ever-new and self-evolving movies from the same basic story, these movies being issued either in scenario-form (the narration) or screen-form (the inner image), or both. The program should also include forgetting and retrieval strategies, if we want to stay closer to the actual process at work within the teller. Measures of surface and linearity would then refer more to the oral or mental continuities, and in-depth or paradigmatic structural measures would be more representative of the knowledge.

Hints and Problems Concerning Data Collection

If we admit the legitimacy of working on any or all of the three above mentioned levels, we must then face the problem of finding relevant tools to gather data on each of them. In a knowledge-centered approach, it could be convenient to use, in addition to text- or image-analysis, lists or questionnaires that would require not only recall (where the teller remembers all by himself), but also recognition (where the teller is asked to check his memory for the presence of specific elements, this often being an easier way to retrieve information).

The knowledge of the tale can be seen as a bank of memo-
ized kernels of information—concepts, expressions, motifs—which constitute the narrative universe. Expressions and motifs will be best known through oral versions, but the concepts can also be studied through lists, associative games, or questions on the characters, objects, scenes, and locations. A simple question—such as "what is the list of the characters in this tale?")—will not only indicate the quality of the informant's memory, but also suggest an order of retrieval, pointing out the relative importance of the characters, and the same question addressed to a number of other persons will help to investigate the possible existence of a collective structuring of the tale.

On the other hand our curiosity for this knowledge may lead us to emphasize the logical development of the tale. Many methods can be devised to do so. One may investigate the process of free association as the teller recalls the tale. Another method consists of breaking down the initial version into parts and breaking down the parts into smaller episodes, then rating the other versions according to this pattern, and pointing out the similarities or differences between the original and other versions.
The informants' narrations or their descriptions of itineraries, if it is indeed possible to gather such data, can also be analyzed on terms of move-specific aspects, such as Proppian functions or movement in time and space.

A narration-centered comparison between two versions leads to the field of content analysis, and will necessarily work through strict recall, thus referring almost exclusively to the version produced. The length of the tale can be measured by timing the version (though this method cannot be more than approximate, due to hesitations, blanks, and the like), by counting the number of words, or possibly by calculating the proportion of dialogue. The faithfulness of the wording can be studied through word-to-word or element-to-element comparisons, or through establishing comparative lists of some formulations or expressions. The narrative's characteristics may be inferred through measures enumerating dialogues, markers, propositions, motifs, clichés, and common-places. Some codifications may be made according to theoretical considerations, such as the propositional grid of Kintsch and Van Dijk or the structuring variables of Breteau and Zagnoli. Style may also be investigated through linguistic strategies. The non-verbal aspects of narration are more difficult to bring to light. Phonological treatment could give some specific readings of intonation. As far as gestures are concerned, Geneviève Calame-Griaule has underlined the advantages and disadvantages of photographic and cinematographic recordings, but more studies are needed before we can speak in terms of specific procedures.

Very little can be said about measurements concerning the actual data collection on the level of synesthetic continuity, which is still an almost unexplored field of research. Since we have no access to the version itself (unless physiological measures eventually prove themselves worthy of use), we are bound to study this phenomenon through some kind of description given by the taleteller. Up to now some general verbal descriptions have been obtained, but there is still room for systematic descriptions that would try to parallel the informant's imagery with his own narration. The problem of encoding the imagery sensation in a communicable way is far from being solved, as is the problem of finding a graphic language suitable for image analysis, though some tools could be borrowed from methods of movie analysis. I am personally working on a method of itinerary-making, both as a way to establish a common ground with informants and as a way of exploring the spatio-temporal aspects of the structure of the tale. We could also think about pure graphic means such as drawings or tri-dimensional models that could be constructed by or under the direction of the informant. One promising but expensive prospect lies in the exploitation of audio-visual techniques. What better way to make a taleteller's visualization clearer and more visible than by converting one of his tales into a movie shot according to his instructions? Having caught the essence of his representation, we could then think about measures to quantify some dimensions of the production. Would such lengthy work justify the energy put into it? It could be given a try, possibly under circumstances where the needs for good popular diffusion and accurate scholarly studies would meet.

The ideas presented here are merely a sample of the possibilities that can be investigated. They do not even represent every method that has already been proposed or tried. We certainly have to be creative in this field if we want to expand our knowledge of the process by which a folktale is remembered and transmitted. It is also important to be conscious of certain
problems that may occur and of certain biases that are inevitable. For example, some choice must be made between numerical and qualitative scales of rating, the first one being quite unusual for folklorists but leading to interesting statistical observations and unexpected discoveries, if well used. Then, there is always the question of adopting emic or etic units: when does one of them become more suitable? Either may be applicable, since the conceptions and terminology of a folklorist may be no less accurate than those of a given teller when applied to the work of another. And when the text is broken into smaller parts, the implications of a discrete procedure where the sum of the parts equals the total length of the tale will differ from those of a procedure that picks up some, but not all, elements.

The absence of the initial version of a series of field-collected texts will present difficulties, as the researcher is denied a complete investigative framework. Even the most precise rating techniques must deal with the unclearly defined areas where invention and repetition intermingle: at what point does a related but divergent text cease to be a reproduction of its source?

In examining various aspects of retention, we would be unwise not to consider the work already accomplished by scholars in other fields toward resolving our mutual problems. A wide variety of disciplinary methods—especially those of linguists and psycholinguists who have already demonstrated an interest in narration—are converging on a kind of cognitive and semiotic approach to speech. Psychologists who specialize in verbal memory research are becoming progressively text-oriented and some of their techniques could be employed in folkloristic studies. The particular folkloristic problem examined here affords an excellent opportunity for collaboration, and may contribute to a confluence of the many currents of this mare nostrum of culture studies. Folklorists should feel impelled to tap these interesting resources in order to improve their own analyses.

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Notes


3 This problem was exposed with more details in Vivian Labrie-Bouthillier, "Les Expériences sur la transmission orale: d'un modèle Individuel à un modèle collectif," Fabula 18 (1977): 1-17.

4 See Vivian Labrie-Bouthillier, "La Tradition du conte populaire au Canada Français: Circonstances de la circulation et fonctionnement de la mémorisation" (unpublished Ph.D.
7 I have already used this method with good results. A short summary of the experiment can be found in my "Les Expériences sur la transmission orale." For more details, see my "La Transmission d'un conte de folklore comme fonction du niveau de développement intellectuel au mode de présentation" (unpublished Masters thesis, Université Laval, Québec, 1975).
10 I would like to thank Michel O'Neill for careful criticism which helped me greatly in preparing the final version of this paper.
FOLK NARRATIVE AND MEMORY PROCESSES

Mihály Hoppál

Introduction

In medical books of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, one can find a very interesting hypothesis, according to which there are four ventricles in the brain. The first two form a symmetrical pair within the large cerebral hemispheres at the front of the brain. They communicate with the middle ventricle in the forebrain, which connects with the last ventricle at the stem of the brain through a narrow canal. This hypothesis of three connected compartments was adopted by some scholars from the writings of Ibn Sinna or Avicenne, the great Persian-Tadshik philosopher and physician of the eleventh century. The diagram of his ventricular system was published many times during the sixteenth century, and later by the Englishman Robert Fludd in his book *Utriusque Cosmi* (1619-1621). In 1490 Leonardo da Vinci drew another beautiful picture of the ventricles.

The first pair of ventricles was said to be the site of the *sensus communis*, the mechanism of sensory analysis. This mechanism was connected with the nerve of the sense organs where images were created, and it passed these images on to the middle ventricle—the seat of reason (*ratio*), thought (*cognitio*), or judgment (*aestimatio*). The final step was memory itself (*memoria*), situated in the last ventricle. According to recent brain research, the hippocampus, the innermost part of the human brain, is crucially important in laying down or retrieving long-term memories.¹

It goes without saying that the invisible "black box" of our innermost mind is the memory, an element essential to the study of narration. So far, more attention has been paid to such visible and audible features of the narrative processes as principles of oral transmission, written-versus-oral versions of a tale, and style of the narrator, than has been paid to such invisible factors as the mechanism of memory, the universals of narrative grammar, and text-processing. These factors are highly dependent on memory; thus, text- and context-centered folk narrative research should focus on the processes of memory.²

To be more exact, the question of remembering and modifying folk narratives should be considered with the following points in mind:

1) mechanisms of human memory,
2) the inner (logical) and outer (linguistic) rules of texts,
3) the general rules of the narration,
4) the cultural context—in the widest sense of the term—including belief systems, value systems, and the effects of material environment.

I shall deal with only the second and third points. Recent studies in cognitive psychology and discourse analysis allow us to suggest that there is a striking analogy between memory and text-processes in oral transmission.³

Human memory mechanisms can be approached in two different ways: 1) through psychological research focused on the physical
system itself; and 2) through analysis of its products—in particular, short or long narrative texts. As a folklorist strongly influenced by current linguistic theories, especially text theory, 4 I shall choose the latter approach after offering a short survey of some works relevant to the question of memory in narration.

Research on Remembering: A Short Survey

Frederick C. Bartlett was one of the first psychologists to apply systematic study to narrative processing. He found that the recall of descriptive details in "folk stories" was very weak, but that the stories' general outlines were remarkably constant after intervals of months or even years. Those elements of the story that were poorly understood for cultural reasons were replaced by more familiar elements. Bartlett's major concern centered upon the social and cultural factors which imposed changes on the folktales and decreased its stability; he sought general principles to which the progressive change of versions could be attributed. 5 Bartlett tried to test the effects of "repeated reproduction by the same individual," and of "serial reproduction," by having each subject repeat what he believed he had heard from the previous narrator. Bartlett found that the story underwent successive changes before it arrived at a relatively fixed form which could become current within a given community. 6

In 1923, three years after Bartlett's initial article, Walter Anderson published his observations on the "unbelievable stability" of narratives, and suggested his so-called "Law of Self-Correction" in the narrational process. 7 Anderson's experiment has since been cited frequently by folklorists, although they have done little in the way of further experimentation. Unfortunately, similar experiments performed by experts in psychology, learning theory, social anthropology, and sociology have had almost no impact on folklore scholarship over the years.

Folklorists have contented themselves with only general statements about the "very good" memory of narrators. For example:

Today his friends marvel just as much at his retentive memory, a memory which enables him, for example, to remember the thirty-six narratives he learnt from his blind uncle as a very young boy. A further credit to his memory is the fact that out of thirty-one narratives which were recorded during a period of five years he gave the same reply as to the source of twenty-six items, different answers as to three items and was uncertain as to the other two.

Another example is this statement on the consistency of the text of given narratives:

The narrative is fundamentally the same in all texts . . . the story was the thing and this was almost always perfectly conveyed . . . they remembered the stories well, but the exact words often slipped away. 8

Bruford has made a detailed analysis, but does not define the general rules of the whole mechanism:

It seems clear that both brothers had learned some of their father's tale virtually word for word . . . Duncan had memorized only the barest framework of the story and had to recreate minor details and wording each time he told it. 9

Such failures to distill the grammar of narration have led researchers to one-sided and isolated conclusions. It seems the study of "regularities of oral tradition" 10 needs implementation; interdisciplinary methods will help to develop new ideas. There exist, for instance, new results in experimental research on the psychology of verbal learning and memory, which might throw
light on the working mechanisms of mind and memory. In spite of its fine techniques and accurate methods of analysis, psychological research on verbal learning and remembering is deeply rooted in the tradition of associationism. Such research says little of the comprehension and recall of longer texts, which occurs even over long intervals of time. From an anthropological and cognitive-psychological point of view, M. Cole and S. Scribner tried to analyze overall memory performance in naturally occurring situations among the Kpelle of Liberia. Narratives were broken into constituent subprocesses and analyzed, in order to determine how they were brought to bear on a given memory task. Free-recall studies indicated that the cultural differences in memory performance rest upon the fact that more sophisticated (highly educated) subjects respond to the task by searching for a structure upon which to base their recall. Uneducated subjects, on the other hand, are not likely to engage in such structure-seeking activity.

It is necessary to bear in mind that cognitive psychology alone is not powerful enough to solve all the problems raised in the experiments. Recent linguistic theories could be helpful in clarifying some questions of text processing. In the following section of this paper I will introduce some concepts of text theory to show their relevance to folk narrative analysis.

Propositional Macro-structures in Narrative

A new text-centered approach began almost ten years ago at the outset of the post-Chomskian era of theoretical linguistics. The field of interest was labeled text grammar, text theory, or discourse analysis. In West Germany one group of scholars called themselves the "Text-Linguistische Schule." Of course, there are great differences between the theoretical positions of the members. J.S. Petöfi (Bielefeld), for instance, works on a "Formal Semiotic Text Theory as an Integrated Theory of Natural Language," while Teun van Dijk's (Amsterdam) main interest shifts from narrative or text grammar to cognitive processing of literary discourse.

In recent years van Dijk has worked with Walter Kintsch, who studies mainly the propositional structures of discourse, and their various roles in comprehension, recall, and the representation of knowledge in memory. Kintsch draws upon recent developments in logically and semantically based linguistic theories. He has demonstrated, from a psycholinguistic viewpoint, that memory and recall of sentences and discourse is essentially semantic, and that the representation of meaning in memory should be considered in terms of propositional structure.

Now we should explain the terms and the main theoretical categories used in text linguistics. What is usually called a proposition?

A proposition is defined in terms of predicates and of arguments. It is usual to take natural language concepts as predicators in predicate logical syntax, whether they are verbs or nouns in surface structures.

This means that a text is simply an ordered sequence of propositions; under various pragmatic, stylistic, and other constraints, these propositions are mapped onto a sequence of sentences. In other words, each sentence of a given text or narrative can be rewritten in the form of propositions.

The global meaning of a sequence of sentences, or of a paragraph, or of a whole narrative story, is represented by semantic macro-structures or macro-propositions. Their function is to reduce and organize information; during this procedure, a whole
sequence of propositions is represented by one macro-proposition. 20
Van Dijk and Kintsch distinguish four types of macro-rules generating narrative macro-structures:

1) DELETION. Example: Mary played with a ball. The ball was blue -Mary played with a ball.
2) GENERALIZATION. Example: Mary played with a doll. Mary played with blocks -Mary played with toys.
3) SELECTION. Example: I went to Scotland. So, I went to the station, bought a ticket, and took the train -I went to Scotland by train.
4) CONSTRUCTION. Example: I went to the station, bought a ticket -I traveled to Paris by train. 21

With the help of the above procedures, it is possible to condense all relevant information from the text. Macro-structures have important cognitive functions in the narrative process; not only do they enable the interpretation of complex semantic information, but at the same time they organize this information in memory, and distinguish between relatively important and relatively unimportant information. Diagram 1 represents the processes of recall as an aspect of narrative:

Diagram 1.

This diagram shows that in the production and reproduction of a folk narrative text the following formation rules must be taken into consideration: 1) linguistic rules which generate the surface structure of the text; 2) macro-rules to organize relevant bodies of information and make up the macro-structures which are the main events of a story; 3) narrative rules related to the proper and general construction of the narrative; and 4) genre-specific formation rules such as stylistic constraints or techniques for building up a tale or ballad.

In the literature on narrative structures, there are a number of theoretical proposals for labeling macro-categories as units of the discourse, for instance, introduction, complication, resolution, evaluation, and coda. 22 Van Dijk and Kintsch also proposed a set of macro-categories for a hierarchical syntax of narrative, namely, setting, complication, resolution, evaluation, and moral. 23

During the last year I tried to compare the summary of a tale by Tolstoy with that of a folk narration, in terms of macro-structures. By determining which category dominated a whole
sequence of propositions, I was able to identify the representative macro-proposition. In 1970 and 1972 I recorded the Tolstoy tale from an old peasant in a Hungarian village. I analyzed these two versions, in comparison to the original, in terms of the macro-propositions. It turned out that all the important macro-propositions were completely recalled. In the two collected versions of the story, the folk narrator recalled some descriptive detail, and most of the dialogue was recalled word for word. The peasant narrator's versions were good summaries of the Russian writer's tale, containing all the narrative macro-structures of the original, while these ordered macro-structures served as a retrieval cue to the recall.

**Recall and Memory**

I will conclude with some remarks and facts about memory. A theoretical distinction may be made between short term and long term memory. Short term memory, which has limited capacity, functions as a so-called working memory, including perception, understanding, and thinking. Long term memory, however, is the depository of information transferred from short term memory. Short term memory is the place where all incoming information—a sequence of audible morphemes, for example—from our senses is analyzed and assigned meaning—in other words, this is where meaning is formulated. A text is gradually assigned a conceptual meaning in short term memory, but because of the limited storage capacity of that memory, the conceptual information is transferred to the long term memory. If we assume that a sentence is interpreted as a sequence of propositions we must take into account that each sequence is stored in long term memory as soon as subsequent sentences must be interpreted. The memory processes outlined above can explain plausibly the role of semantic macro-structures in narration: the macro-propositions are stored in our memory.

The representation of a text in memory is a complex conceptual structure, resulting from transformations by which the memory deletes, generalizes, and constructs macro-propositions. The macro-propositions which hold the most important information will occupy a higher place than others in the hierarchical structure of the text representation. There follows the implication that these special macro-propositions have a high structural value, due to their many links with 1) the micro-propositions from which they are derived, 2) other macro-propositions, and 3) schematic categories of narrative structure. (See Diagram 1). Here it is also interesting to note that when subjects are requested to give a summary of a discourse

the structure of this summary is very close to that of a delayed recall protocol. That is, a summary is a type of discourse providing (a personal variant of) the macro-structure of the discourse it summarizes.

Thus it seems obvious that recall in folk narratives is not mere reproduction; rather it involves reasoning and explanation. In other words, memory—hence, recall—is essentially constructive; it is based on rationalization of various sorts, and on the current knowledge of the person. It is significant that our knowledge and beliefs about the world will determine and select the words to be used in a given narrative.

Worth mention here are the effects of culture upon the mechanism of memory. My analysis indicates that culturally familiar, acceptable and comprehensive elements are more easily memorized and retained than are unfamiliar elements. Culturally-
determined memory process is much slower to change than was once thought; the validity of this statement applies especially to those types of cultural information which have relevance to ethnic identity—ethnonyms, toponyms, and anecdotes, as well as saga, myth, and other folk narrative. Culture retains all the information necessary for its identity. The various genres of folk narrative, together with the network-like structure of belief systems and everyday language, can be viewed as a culture's long-term memory. In the folk adaptation of Tolstoy's tale I have found a convincing example of "folkloric" or "folk narrative" memory at work, and it shows the degree to which the process of memory is culturally determined.

The pre-Columbian Mayan philosopher Rammikar had a similar perspective on memory: "The young man sees the vacant field; the old man sees the cottage that was once on the land." Our task as folklorists is to study something which, though invisible, is possibly the most essential element in narrative processes. This is not an easy task, but a cooperative interdisciplinary approach, beginning with textual linguistics, may be a most useful direction for future research to take.

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**Notes**

15 Pettifer, passim.
17 Walter Kintsch, The Representation of Meaning in Memory (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum, 1974).
19 Ibid., p. 95.
23 Van Dijk and Kintsch, pp. 61-80.
26 Ibid., p. 15.
MULTI-CONDUIT TRANSMISSION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE:
EXPANDING A FOLKLORE CLASSIC

Gary Alan Fine

A paradoxical virtue of many a seminal scholarly work is that the author may be unaware of its eventual impact, and unaware of the directions in which others will interpret and expand the argument. This process is apparent in the fine arts, where a magnum opus may be understood in ways unintended by its creator. The bewildering array of interpretations of Hamlet gives tribute to the wealth of meaning that can be discovered in a literary classic. In the social sciences, we find a myriad of interpretations of the works of Sigmund Freud, Karl Marx, or Claude Lévi-Strauss.

In folklore, few have produced the range of seminal papers, articles, and books that Linda Dégh has. In this chapter I examine one of these works, "The Hypothesis of Multi-Conduit Transmission in Folklore," a paper co-authored with Andrew Vázsonyi. I will discuss some of the implications of their article, implications they may not have anticipated and may not even endorse. I recognize the richness of their paper, and do not claim to provide a definitive exegesis of their arguments.

As the title suggests, they attempt to resurrect that once central, but now quite moribund folkloristic concept--transmission. Dégh and Vázsonyi recognize the weaknesses of traditional folkloristic approaches to diffusion, exemplified by the historical-geographic method (the Finnish School) and the experimental method (especially Walter Anderson's "Law of Self-Correction"). Dissatisfied with the assumptions of both approaches, they present an alternative model and proceed to suggest how it might be tested. Unfortunately the authors neither state the multi-conduit hypothesis, nor its assumptions, in a formal way. In order to specify their model further, I will explicitly present the basic postulates of their hypothesis:

1) A folk community consists of individuals who interact with each other, and this population can be specified.
2) The members of a community are more likely to have relationships with each other than with outsiders. Folklore is transmitted through these relationships.
3) Folklore diffusion operates through the sequential communication of folklore by community members.
4) Some members of a community are more skilled at communicating than others. Also, some people are more skilled at communicating certain genres of folklore than others. Skill influences the likelihood of retelling; competent tellers are more likely to communicate folklore than are less competent ones.
5) Community members have different levels of interest in particular folklore genres. Interest levels affect the likelihood of an individual transmitting that folklore genre.
6) Specialized communication conduits, in which people regularly transmit particular folklore genres, emerge over time. Therefore, different genres are transmitted through different conduits associated with them.

Although there are subsidiary premises associated with the multi-conduit hypothesis, these six postulates cover the model stripped
to its essentials. In order to understand the implications of this approach we must examine each of these postulates in turn.

1) A folk community consists of individuals who interact with each other, and this population can be specified. While this postulate seems self-evident, it emphasizes that folk groups must be defined through interaction, rather than through their lore or through demographic similarities of individuals. This model therefore denies that the presence of a linguistic variant or a folk architectural style is the defining characteristic of a group. Likewise the fact that individuals are all part of one ethnic group does not necessarily mean that they constitute a folk community. From this perspective, the existence of regular personal contacts is necessary for the presence of community. The diffusion process, rather than that the diffusion product or similar characteristics of the folk, is central to the existence of a folk community.

2) Members of a community are more likely to have relationships with each other than with outsiders. Folklore is transmitted through these relationships. This postulate follows directly from the previous one and suggests that the network of relationships among those in a community is denser than that among individuals who do not constitute a community. One can recognize the accuracy of this assertion through a thought experiment. Consider twenty young men chosen randomly from all the college-age youth in the United States. The number of relationships in such a population sample is likely to be extremely small. However, a college fraternity with twenty members will have a high density of relationships. Fraternity members may not all know each other, but each person is more likely to know group members than non-members.

This model parallels the network model of communities suggested by anthropologists and sociologists. Using the concept of network, J. A. Barnes describes the social structure of the Norwegian parish of Bremnes:

"The whole population is enmeshed in a close web of kinship and friendship which links together all the people on the island, but which also ties them to kinsmen and affines scattered throughout Western Norway, and indeed throughout the whole world."

A dense web of ties binds community members to each other and scattered ties exist to individuals outside the community. The community does not consist of probabilities of relationships, but of actual social connections. In order to postulate an interpersonal model of diffusion, one must assume, as Dégh and Vázsonyi do, that social relationships permit and encourage folkloric communication. Although situations occur in which strangers exchange folklore, transmitters are often close friends of their audience. In my examination of diffusion of folklore in Little League baseball, I found that a boy's best friends were overrepresented in the diffusion of rumors and memorats about the vandalism of an elementary school and in the diffusion of an urban belief legend about the death of a child from an overdose of Pop Rocks, a nationally distributed candy. This suggests that intimate relationships are a primary mechanism for the transmission of folklore, although the connection between the relationship and diffusion may vary for different genres.

3) Folklore diffusion operates through the sequential communication of folklore by community members. Like the first postulate, this seems self-evident. Many individuals participate in the diffusion of any folklore item, and this diffusion operates over time. At any time a "diffusion snapshot" can be taken which will reveal
the extent of diffusion and the routes that the item has taken to that time. This temporal component recognizes that diffusion is an interactive process, rather than an outcome. This approach is consistent with that of Elsie Clews Parsons, who criticized the folklorist who "often seems to think of the tale as a kind of independent entity, which travels about according to its opportunities... the tale, not the teller of the tale is the centre of attraction [for these folklorists]."

In their chapter Dégh and Vázsonyi describe transmission as occurring from individual to individual. This emphasis reflects the desire for conciseness—rather than a desire to ignore transmission to groups. Thus, while the path of diffusion which Dégh and Vázsonyi present is possible—

---the alternative model [below] is equally valid, and is not contradictory to the multi-conduit hypothesis. This second figure takes into consideration that much transmission occurs in settings in which more than two people are present:

The extent to which folklore diffuses from individual to individual or from individual to group is in part a function of genre. For example, gossip is often communicated to individuals, while ballads are often sung to groups. Further, the size of the audience may result from the density of the communications network (as networks in which most members know each other and are particularly likely to engage in group interaction), or may result from the medium of diffusion (information spread by telephone, like Dégh's and Vázsonyi's example of the death rumor conduit passes from individual to individual).

4) Some members of a community are more skilled at communicating than others. Also, some people are more skilled at communicating certain genres of folklore than others. Skill influences the likelihood of retelling; competent tellers are more likely to communicate folklore than less competent ones. Dégh and Vázsonyi suggest that there are people who do not qualify as folklore transmitters. Numerous explanations are possible to explain why only certain individuals become active tellers. However, one reasonable explanation is that people recognize their skill in engaging in oral transmission. Some individuals are eloquent or gregarious, have phenomenal recall, or have engaging voices. To the extent that an individual recognizes this, it will affect involvement as an active teller. Ability influences the perception of ability, and this, in turn, affects behavior.

Although general abilities are associated with the transmis-
sion of folklore, more important are those skills which permit individuals to specialize in certain genres. Dégh and Vázsonyi note, jokes, for example, are dispensed through the joke conduit by a sequence of witty people, and tales progress through the tale conduit shaped by different types of storytellers, and so forth.

Good illustrations for the necessity of special skills are the ballad singer and epic narrator. One of Dégh's and Vázsonyi's most significant criticisms of Walter Anderson's memory experiment is that participants in the experiment were not selected for their ability to communicate folk narrative.

Whether the abilities involved are general or genre-specific, the argument asserts that these different competencies affect the likelihood that an individual will be an active teller. To the extent that an individual recognizes his or her ability (and consequently audience reaction), the amount of transmission by an individual should be affected. While this postulate seems plausible, there is no conclusive evidence supporting it, other than idiosyncratic accounts of particular informants. The extent to which a correlation exists between skill and likelihood to become an active teller may be a function of the genre. In short, for common genres (proverb, rumor), skill might have little effect; whereas for a complex genre (ballad, epic) skill may be an important predictor.

5) Community members have different levels of interest in particular folklore genres. Interest levels affect the likelihood of an individual transmitting the folklore genre. This postulate is crucial to their argument, as it provides a rationale for rejecting the traditional view that folklore diffuses like a stream's current or "in so regular a way as the wave rings on water." They question the traditional metaphor of undifferentiated diffusion by suggesting the differential likelihood of interaction (postulate two) and differential effects of differences in ability (postulate four). However, Dégh and Vázsonyi emphasize that level of interest predicts the direction of transmission:

Each participant of one sequence can be the member of another as well. However, in reality individual roles can sometimes be easily distinguished. People who prefer to tell ghost stories, for example, are not identical with the tellers of Märchen; and those who mediate the gossip of everyday life are unlikely to tell, let us say, historical anecdotes.

Their statement can be tested, but to date it is only supported by anecdotal material. We all know individuals who prefer telling (and listening to) certain genres. Some tell jokes often, others love to sing ballads, and still others are fascinated by gossip. However, generic conduits may not be as distinct as Dégh and Vázsonyi suggest. Most people are familiar with many genres, although their degree of involvement may vary.

6) Specialized communication conduits, in which people regularly transmit particular folklore genres, emerge over time. Therefore, different genres are transmitted through different conduits. This is the most controversial component of Dégh's and Vázsonyi's argument. They argue that relatively formal and permanent conduits form and that people use them regularly to transmit information. If taken literally, this postulate raises doubts about the validity of the hypothesis. There are probably few instances in which diffusion will follow the exact same pattern for any two folklore items, even if the content is similar. Diffusion paths depend on who happens to be present at a given time, a person's
continually changing relationships, and the direction from which
the folklore item enters the communication system. Consider the
folklore conduit A-B-C-D-E-F. If A hears of the folklore item first,
the path will be different that if D or F is the first hearer. In
a study of children's folklore, I ascertained the diffusion pattern
of thirty-five cultural items from forty-eight preadolescents, and
found that every item had a different diffusion path. Fixed con-
duits which regularly transmit folklore are not likely to exist.

The one example of diffusion channels that Dégh and
Vázsonyi present is a situation in which highly structured commun-
ications channels operate. Theodore Caplow found that the spread
of rumor during World War Two among the Pacific Fleet followed
regular channels. This is an unusual situation because of the re-
strictions on communication between troops, and Caplow stated that
the "channel system" is a function of the social structure of war-
tine, and not generally applicable.16

This criticism does not contradict the multi-conduit hypothe-
sis, if we assume the theory refers to probabilities of diffusion.
Thus, the hypothesis should not be understood as deterministic,
which overspecifies informal structure, but rather implies a
stochastic process. Individuals do communicate items outside
their discourse specialities, but they are less likely to do that.
Further, it is wrong to assume that one sequence of communication
always operates; however, individuals do have a general concep-
tion of who will be particularly interested in their folklore reper-
toires.

This process operates in a hypothetical example of the trans-
mission of a dirty joke—a genre chosen because of its sensitive
content. People may view some members of their social network as
inappropriate audiences, knowing that other acquaintances might
appreciate the remark. It is unlikely that people will make a
special effort to contact their acquaintances to transmit a joke;
rather, the person will wait for an appropriate moment for dissem-
ination. As a result, many acquaintances are the possible next
node in the conduit. The specific path that an item of folklore
takes emerges from interaction. Conduits are considerably more
flexible than a strict reading of Dégh's and Vázsonyi's chapter
indicates.

Their argument is not inadequate, but it must incorporate
the fluidity of the social process. The circumstances in which A
always hears from B, or B always tell A, are rare. The multi-con-
duit model must recognize that much informal social organization
is grounded in chance or irregularly scheduled encounters.

DETERMINANTS OF CONDUITS

In the rest of this chapter I will describe some of the so-
cial and psychological forces which influence the direction of dif-
fusion, expanding Dégh's and Vázsonyi's argument. I will focus
on four aspects of individuals and their relationships: 1) position
in a social structure, 2) likelihood of interaction, 3) motivation,
and 4) personality.

Position in a Social Structure

In large communities not all members do or can communicate
with each other. As a result, regular lines of communication de-
velop, and these channels may be a function of an individual's
position in a social structure. While few contemporary Western
communities have explicit prohibitions against communication a-
mong social categories, effective barriers are nonetheless present.
Even when conversation is allowed, the content of this conversa-
tion may be limited by convention.

These limits affect employer-employee relations in a large company. Workers discover that they have little direct contact with management, and may find such contact difficult even in situations when it is appropriate. The contact between workers and managers is frequently channeled through a few individuals who are selected (often by management) to perform this role. Thus, the management of a corporation may appoint (or permit to be elected) worker representatives; they may hire foremen whose roles are in-between labor and management, or may select individuals from their own ranks whose special responsibility is to communicate with workers. Items of folklore which do spread throughout all levels of the company will be channeled by the structure of the firm—the conduits (those parts of them which depend upon the formal structure of the company) may be regular means for transmitting information.

Likelihood of Interaction

Central to the possibility of diffusion is the chance of any two individuals interacting. Despite similarities of interest or personality, individuals can not form conduit linkages if they do not know each other, and thus can not discover these common features. Until parties to an emerging relationship recognize that they share a social tie, the conduit connection will be unstable.

Three major components influence the likelihood of interaction: 1) physical proximity, 2) overlapping social networks, and 3) shared organizational affiliation. The effect of a common physical location is the most obvious of these components. Barring the few relationships which are conducted only by phone or letter, social ties require physical co-presence. However, the physical co-presence of individuals only indicates that a higher probability for a communication tie exists.

Individuals who have common acquaintances (and are part of a common social network) are more likely to meet each other than individuals who do not. Social life is structured by chains of contacts, and people frequently introduce acquaintances previously unacquainted. The larger the number of shared acquaintances, the greater the likelihood of an introduction. Within a community, individuals with extensive social networks are crucial links in extending the social networks of others and in disseminating folklore themselves. If these individuals are active tellers, those cultural elements will be spread more widely than if individuals with more constricted social networks are the active tellers. Unfortunately we have no evidence about the correlation between propensity to be an active teller and extensiveness of social ties. However, such a correlation intuitively seems plausible, since both diffusion and social connections are related to gregariousness.

Shared organizational affiliation increases the likelihood of a communication bond in that it provides a setting for interaction. In examining Little League baseball conduits, I discovered that organizational affiliations affected diffusion. Specifically, a boy's team, school, and grade connects him with other social actors. In addition, organizational affiliations, such as boy scout camps, religious groups, extracurricular clubs, and so on, expand an individual's web of contacts, and connects him or her to a variety of conduits from which folklore can be acquired.

Personal Interest and Appropriateness of Communication

The potential teller's interest in a particular folklore genre,
and his or her audience's interest in this genre, affects whether transmission will occur. As Dégh and Vázsonyi have recognized, narrators of one genre may deprecate another:

For example, two of the outstanding magic-tale-tellers whom we have encountered in our field work refused to relate legends, being reluctant to claim the narratives "as truth", whereas in their field of competence they freely used their imagination. In another instance, one of the bookish village wiseacres can tell only historical legends and holds contempt for those who waste their time listening to old wife's [sic] tales. 20

These individuals are not motivated to participate in other conduits as active tellers, although they may listen to those genres they disdain. We need not assume that personal choices are correlated with personality, but may emanate from skill, experience, local norms, or personal beliefs. While decisions about transmission may derive from personality, this is not a fundamental assumption of the multi-conduit hypothesis.

In addition to influencing the probability that an individual will actively disseminate a genre, interest also affects the probability that an individual will hear certain folklore content. While the effects of choice are especially evident for narrators (who select what they tell), choice also affects listeners, who --although they can not select what they hear in most informal interaction—may have public reputations based on their preferences or may place themselves in situations in which content they are interested in is likely to be spread. As discussed above, sexual material represents a particularly graphic example of audience selectivity.

**Personality**

Dégh and Vázsonyi assume that folklore genres are diffused through conduits composed of individuals who share basic personality traits:

Storytellers learn their stories from similar personality types and likewise pass them on to their peers. In the narrational community, the congenial persons are those who listen with pleasure, memorize, and perpetuate the tales. The tale-conduit constitutes the sequence of people who display similar attitudes towards one or several tales... The maintenance of the "extraordinary stability" of the tales as messages passed from generation to generation can be explained with the multi-conduit system: the communicative chain of congenial individuals. 21

Dégh and Vázsonyi recognize that there is no systematic evidence for their assertion, and suggest that the question be explored. They briefly describe an informal exploration of their own. 22 They read an Hungarian folk tale, "The Blackmantle" (AT 507A) to a gathering of Hungarian authors and their spouses. The following day they asked those who had been present to repeat the tale, but allowed only those who seemed enthusiastic to participate. The participants remembered the tale "practically without a flaw" and half of them had a hysteroid personality type (as measured by the Szondi test). This study is explicitly presented as suggestive (which it is) and not as confirmatory (which it is not). Despite this caution, I wish to raise some issues with research of this type.

First, we might ask: What is personality? Some critics of personality theory have argued that the term is not meaningful as traditionally used. Critical approaches to personality suggest that what is considered to be the "personality" is little more than regularities in responding to situations. "Personality," therefore, changes dramatically as a result of situational requirements. The issue is whether the results from personality tests depend upon
the specific situation in which the test was given. Responses to the Szondi test given informally by friends might differ considerably from the results if given by a stranger or when the respondent's livelihood is at stake. We might also ask: Do these tests measure an individual's "core" self, or his or her presentation of self? Debate on these issues among clinical psychologists and social psychologists has been vigorous. The existence and complexity of the debate should indicate to folklorists the intellectual thicket into which this approach will lead.

Second, Dégh's and Vázsonyi's demonstration does not tell us if people in natural conduits (composed of a sequence of active tellers) share common personality traits. They present evidence that individuals with similar personality traits remember stories well, but not that they naturally belong to the same conduit chains. Such an assumption is necessary for belief in the role of congenial personality traits in transmission.

Third, research on "personality" must show that those who did not wish to participate, those who could not recall the story, and those who were not part of the conduit had significantly different personality profiles from those who participated or were part of the conduit. The meaning of the data would be different if we learned that 5% of the non-tellers were hysteroid, as opposed to 50% (the same percentage) or 95%. In other words, researchers must provide evidence about the expected percentage of that personality type within the community studied.

Finally, one wonders whether people of one personality type remember or transmit everything, and that no others are active tellers. If this is true, the finding that Dégh and Vázsonyi present could provide evidence against the multi-conduit hypothesis, not in support of it.

This emphasis on common personality traits is the most debatable aspects of Dégh's and Vázsonyi's argument. While the other components of the hypothesis expand our understanding of diffusion and variation by explicating patterns of interaction, the emphasis on personality leads us into uncharted territory. As a sociologist I question the extent to which we can specify personality and the extent to which that construct channels diffusion. However, there is obviously more than a grain of truth to applying personality theory to folklore.

DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

The multi-conduit hypothesis describes folklore as filtering through a social network. In so doing, Dégh and Vázsonyi have connected folklore theory to intellectual breakthroughs in network analysis in anthropology and sociology. However, their approach potentially extends the network model by emphasizing the content of what is transmitted and not only the structure of the network. If taken seriously, this can lead to a significant and necessary expansion of the network paradigm, but it requires an interdisciplinary approach including the work of folklorists, sociologists, and anthropologists.

In addition to the value of the multi-conduit hypothesis for network analysis, it promises better understanding of cultural diffusion, a topic no longer widely examined by folklorists. Yet there is much work to do. Among the topics which folklorists might explore from a multi-conduit perspective are the following three.

1) Folklorists should describe the conduits operating within a community. They might ask: How flexible or stable are con-
duits? How much information is transmitted? How frequently do members leave or join conduits? How many conduits can an individual be a member of? Do different genre conduits have different structures? These are questions about the nature of communication channels which share one factor: we have no evidence by which to answer them.

2) What is the process by which skill, interest, and personality affect the formation of conduits? Further, how do these effects vary for different genre conduits? Intensive interviewing and psychological evaluation is necessary to answer these questions.

3) How is information transmitted outside a community? What are the dynamics of diffusion among social groups? The multi-conduit model can be expanded to issues of inter-cultural diffusion, as well as intra-cultural diffusion. Because of the complexity involved in collecting data, this question will be difficult to answer, but should be attempted.

These are but three clusters of problems which emerge from a close reading of Dégh's and Vážsonyi's chapter. My intention in this article has been to raise some points which are implicit in the multi-conduit model, point to some issues which need to be addressed in future research, and suggest avenues for others to explore. In summary, I hope this chapter has focused attention on this rich and subtle approach, which, if given attention, has the potential for transforming significant areas of folklore theory with attendant benefits for other social sciences as well.

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Notes
2 Actually it might be better to speak of their approach as a theory rather than as a hypothesis, because it lacks a specific means of testing it and it is broader than most scientific hypotheses.
3 By "density," I mean the number of actual relationships in a population divided by the number of possible relationships. The larger this number, the more dense the network of relationships.
7 Dégh and Vážsonyi, p. 222.
8 Ibid., p. 214.
9 Ibid., p. 211.
10 Ibid., p. 212.
12 Carl W. von Sydow, Selected Papers on Folklore (Copenhagen: Rosenkild and Bagger, 1948).
13 Ibid., p. 18.
14 Dégh and Vážsonyi, p. 213.
15 Ibid., p. 222.
18 Fine, "Folklore Diffusion."
20 Dégh and Vázsonyi, p. 213. Second example from Ivan Balassa, Karcsei mondák (Budapest, 1963), pp. 88-89.
21 Dégh and Vázsonyi, p. 248.
22 Ibid., pp. 250-51.
THE RETURN OF THE DEAD LOVER:
PSYCHIC UNITY AND POLYGENESIS REVISITED

Donald Ward

Folklore research of recent years has been characterized by a pronounced renewal of interest in the beliefs and narratives surrounding the creatures of the supernatural. In 1976, for example, a special session was devoted to supranormal phenomena at the meeting of the American Folklore Society in New Orleans. Similarly, in May of 1978 a conference was held in Vancouver, B.C., on "Anthropology of the Unknown: Sasquatch and Similar Phenomena"; in November of the same year, the University of Nebraska sponsored the "International Symposium on Creatures of Legendry."

One of the most striking aspects of this revitalized interest is that scholars engaged in current investigations are no longer content merely to utilize the materials that were collected by folklorists of the past. Recently, there has been a great deal of field investigation of these traditions as they still function in the present. For example, in Canada, Catherine Jolicoeur has recently collected thousands of supernatural legends among the Acadians. In my own research, I have investigated over a thousand cases of encounters with supranormal phenomena, taping memorats and recording contextual data. Great numbers of similar materials have been deposited, over the last few years, in the archives of the Folklore Institute at Indiana University.

Although many different people are engaged in this work, the impetus for virtually all the activity can be traced to a single source: Linda Dégh of Indiana University. It is curious, yet somehow characteristic, that it took someone from foreign shores to point out to us that these traditions are alive and well, right under our noses. Linda Dégh's many other achievements—such as directing the attention of American folklorists to such neglected festivals as Halloween, and insisting that folklore be studied not only in the immediate context of narration, but within a larger social context as well—are all too prolific to enumerate here. Suffice it to say, that Linda Dégh has been one of the most influential figures in twentieth-century American folklore; her decision to continue her career here, rather than in her native Hungary, has brought our discipline benefits beyond measure.

Indeed, the topic of my essay—the story of the deceased lover who has been enticed back from the dead by the longings of his beloved—is one on which Linda Dégh herself has written. The tale is known in almost all the genres of popular narrative, in the folktale (AT 365, "The Dead Bridegroom Carries Off His Bride"), in the legend, in the German ballad (Erk-Böhme 197, "Lenore"), and in the English ballad (Child 272, "The Suffolk Miracle").

The story is told in its most complete form in German popular legends. By way of example, I quote here a variant narrated in 1963 by Michael Wagner, who was originally from the town of Meierhöfen in Zips, the German-speaking region of north Slovakia. The area had been settled by Germans from Saxon in the thir-
teenth century, and it remained a German-speaking colony until 1945, when its approximately 65,000 inhabitants were displaced as a result of World War II.

Once in Mühlenheim there lived a young girl and a young man who were very much in love. They saw each other whenever they could—they took long walks together in the moonlight—they were very much in love. Yes, like Ma and me, we love each other too, but we're married. But this young pair, ya see, they were almost too much in love; it was, ya know, a first love for both of them, and they just couldn't be separated; they were very much in love. And, as God's will will be done, the youth fell sick one day, and he actually died. The girl cried and cried for three days, and she thought life just couldn't go on. Well, they buried the boy, but the girl just cried and cried. And then one night there was a knock at her window. She was still awake; she goes out. She doesn't see anyone. She comes back in. Then there's another knock. She goes out again. No one there! She crawls back into bed. She begins to sweat, she is so afraid. Ya know, people used to be more afraid of those things in those days. Then, just at midnight, there was another knock, and another, three times a knocking at the window. When she's outside, she sees a figure. It was her beloved, who had been buried three days before. There was a horse, a white horse standing next to him. Then he said to her, "Come, get on the horse." So she swung herself right up on the horse, and both of them were sitting on the horse. She was so happy that her beloved was with her again. She was convinced that he had not even died. And off they went riding. There was a full moon, bright as day. They ride for a while, then the boy asks: "Girl, aren't you afraid? It's midnight, the hour of the spirits." The girl replied, "Why should I be afraid? I'm with you." After riding farther the boy asks again if she is afraid. "Not when I am with you," she replied. He asks a third time, "Girl, aren't you afraid?" "Why should I be afraid?" she said.

By now they were in front of a grave, the grave at the cemetery where he had been buried three days before. He got off the horse and disappeared into the grave and left her standing alone. The girl ran home screaming, and she was so frightened that it took quite some time for her to return to her senses, and until she once again believed in natural things.7

The story gives vivid expression to the widespread belief that too much grief and mourning does neither the deceased nor the living any good. The deceased are disturbed by it, and it can even entice them back from the land of the dead. This particular variant also stresses the theme that the girl made a near-fatal mistake by not accepting the finality of her lover’s death—believing, as the legend puts it, "that he had not even died." The legend thus imparts a lesson that is psychologically important for all peoples of all times and places: loved ones, once dead, are gone forever, and one must be willing to accept this unhappy fact.

The girl's feeling of security in the presence of the spirit was also a serious mistake, for the legend stresses that the souls of the dead pose great dangers for the living. It is quite proper, when confronted with such spirits, to feel fear and terror.

In his well known monograph on this legend, Will-Erich Peuckert argued convincingly that the ballad variants arose secondarily, and that they were based on legend variants in which there were verses that were sung by the narrators.8 The following is a variant of such a legend:

A girl once had a lover who was in the army and who died in battle. The girl grieved a great deal, and she wept bitter tears and longed for her deceased beloved. Then one night a horseman on a white steed appeared outside her window. It was her beloved. He knocked and called out, "Annie, get up and come with me!" She got up immediately and went out. He ordered her to climb up behind him on his horse, and she did so, and off they rode. The moon was shining in the sky. After they had ridden for a while, her beloved cried out:
But she replied, "Why should I be afraid? I'm with you." (The verse is sung two additional times, and each time the girl answers with the same words.) After repeating her answer the third time, she noticed they had arrived at the schoolmaster's house that was not far from the local cemetery, and now she began to feel the cold chill of fear run down her spine. And as they rode by the schoolmaster's shed, she jumped from the horse and raced for the shed, for now she was terrified and she knew she would be safe under the eaves.

Then her beloved called from his horse, "You're lucky that you jumped and ran for shelter, otherwise I would have torn you into a thousand shreds! I was just about to be delivered, but now I have had to ride a very long way to come here." He then warned her never again to conjure forth the dead through excessive mourning and longing. He then turned and rode off.9

Peuckert based his examination of these narratives on the assumption that all the variants of this tradition were genetically related to one another. As far as I am aware, this assumption has never been questioned in regard to this narrative type. Evidence that I have uncovered in my own field investigations indicates that the time has arrived for careful scrutiny of the assumption of monogenesis for this and similar traditions.

Legends and memorats involving "Night Visitors," or "Bedroom Intruders," as they have been called, are probably far more common than most folklorists are aware. They are related, in essence, to the Nightmare tradition; the word Nightmare refers in its original sense, not to a bad dream, but rather to a female demon who intrudes into one's bedroom and presses heavily upon her victim's chest.10

In the UCLA files, I have personally archived literally scores of taped interviews with people who have had such experiences. These encounters invariably involve a number of interrelated physiological conditions: an altered state of consciousness—most often a hypnagogic or hypnopompic state—the time when the subject lingers between sleep and waking, when both the conscious and unconscious minds seem to be functioning. Frequently the subject will be lying on his or her back, with open eyes, unable to speak or move, for the person is paralyzed. The state is invariably accompanied by a feeling of terror, and by the sensation that a great weight is pressing against one's chest. It is at this point that the subject perceives some kind of apparition at the foot of the bed.

In a recent article, David Hufford has suggested that at such times the subject's brain is in the state of REM sleep, the period during the night when one dreams and the body is paralyzed. In such cases, however, the body itself has not yet attained the sleep state, for the eyes are still open, and one is fully aware of the surroundings.11 Although it is probably impossible to prove such a contention as Hufford's, he is clearly on the right track, and his suggestion that a relatively common and recurring physiological state underlies the experience is doubtless correct.

Hufford also has called our attention to four important features of the Nightmare experience: 1) the experience is very widespread; 2) it has been regularly reported in Western culture for more than two thousand years; 3) it has been attached to a variety of narrative frameworks; 4) these narratives display a consistency of detail that functions independent of tradition. Hufford
maintains that this last feature is the most surprising and the most difficult to account for.12

Hufford's brilliant essay has broken new ground, and has contributed substantially to our understanding of these frightening encounters. My own field investigations of such experiences corroborate Hufford's findings in virtually every detail, save one: Hufford claims that most of the encounters he investigated did not have any noticeable sexual component.13 In the cases I have recorded, in which the subject has perceived an apparition in the bedroom, it has invariably been the case that females saw male intruders and males saw females. I have also noted that, although the subject frequently denies anything sexual in the encounter, their descriptions tell us otherwise. A typical example was a young woman who encountered the very realistic apparition of a good-looking gentleman in a business suit, standing over the foot of her bed. He leaned over and began stroking her legs. "He was very gentle," she said, "and there was nothing sexual in the encounter at all, he was more fatherly." The fact that she did not perceive the encounter as sexual certainly is important and should not be ignored. Nevertheless, when a woman is lying on her back in bed, and a good-looking man (real or imagined) is stroking her legs, there is surely something sexual in the experience, whether she perceives it as such or not. I could give many more similiar examples. In many of the cases, the subjects deny a sexual component (even though it is obviously present). In other cases the subjects perceive the encounter as intensely sexual.

Another important feature of these experiences is that the encounter invariably triggers what is known as the numinous reaction. Rudolf Otto, the first to identify and explicate this phenomenon, noted that there are times in most people's lives when they experience a feeling that is totally different from the normal emotions one is accustomed to experience.14 This strange feeling generally occurs when one encounters forces that are perceived as being uncanny and outside the range of one's normal field of experience. Otto points out that numinosity combines feelings of awe, mystery, terror, fascination, and reverence all at the same time. He argues further that if one has never known the feeling, it will be difficult for one to grasp the unique nature of this emotional experience.

One could speculate that numinosity occurs only at relatively rare times, when a specific combination of areas in the brain--areas that for the most part never work in unison--are activated. The result of such an occurrence is invariably that not only does one experience terror and awe, but also a tendency to be forced--by the very nature of these emotions--to attribute near-mystical significance to the phenomena comprising the experience. In such cases the encounter becomes not only a scary adventure, but also a deeply meaningful experience.

Elsewhere I have suggested that this numinous component ultimately contributes to a process of mental therapy that frequently accompanies these encounters.15 Subsequent field investigation has added emphatic confirmation to my earlier observations. Time and again I have noted that the feeling of numinosity which accompanies the encounter is so intense that the subject is shocked into looking directly at previously suppressed problems, and into taking action to resolve those problems. I have found it especially revealing that the investigator need not resort to complex theories of depth psychology in order to observe these therapeutic func-
tions. They are right on the surface, and remarkably obvious even to the casual observer.

As of this writing, I have recorded about sixty cases of Nightmare-related experiences. Of these, about eight of them involved encounters with deceased loved ones. One such account was narrated by a young black woman, eighteen years of age, who recalled an experience she had had five years earlier, when she was attending the ninth grade of an inner city school. She was just emerging from puberty, and was experiencing all the joys and throses of her first love. Her long narrative describes the emerging romance in some detail, telling how she first met the boy in her class, how she always helped him with his homework, often writing his assignments for him. Actually, their young love never progressed beyond these initial stages, for the boy was killed when he was thrown from a horse into the path of a speeding gasoline tanker truck.

People who no longer can recall the details of early love in their own lives may well be tempted to trivialize such relationships as "mere" puppy-love and not attribute any significance to them. But the girl's feelings were deep and intense, and she suffered a great deal of grief over the boy's death.

I now quote from her narrative in medias res, from the point where she told of his accident:

In school, the day of his funeral, we had a prayer service in remembrance of him. This was for those of us who were unable to attend the funeral. I was so torn apart at that time, that I couldn't function at all. That night I went to bed around 9:30, the usual time, but I couldn't get Tom out of my mind for nothing. I tried to think of something pleasant, but I couldn't do it. So around 11 o'clock or so I finally fell asleep. Well, a few hours later I was awakened by something; now I do dream, and I even day-dream, but this was something different; I was awake, but not completely. I had a good feeling. I'm not sure—I was somewhere in between being awake and asleep, but I know it was not a dream. While lying in bed, my attention was focused on the doorway connected to the hall which led to the den. My father was dead, so mama kept two lights on in the house, and one was in the bath next to our room, not just mine, my sisters shared it with me. Anyway, I saw a silhouette of a person, male. I couldn't place it, but somehow I knew it was Tom, because I wanted him back so much. I guess at that time I was totally obsessed by him. To tell the truth, right now I feel a little frightened—just in talking about it. I saw a light figure, and it was calling me in a soft voice, but nothing that you or someone else could understand. Tom wanted me to get up and come with him, but I refused to do so, at least on this night. Now I will admit that as months went on, I did go with him; we went into the den and I sat with him. Once I found myself lying next to him, but never touching. He looked really relaxed, he was a light-gray color with white teeth. My mother found me one morning sleeping on the couch, and she asked me why. I could've told her, but I didn't find it important to explain it all to her at that time. Whenever I saw him, he never would harm me, only wanted to talk. I was not scared when he was there, but when I would have to get up at night to use the bathroom, I would be terrified. Tom kept coming to see me for a year. Then I started to get a little interested in boys, and I didn't have much time to think about him. I still don't understand why he would visit me so much. He would always call out to me. This happened usually around midnight—it happened about four times during the year, always around the same time. See, I don't want anyone to misunderstand me, some might call it sleep, but I knew I was awake! I felt myself awake, I could pinch myself and say ouch. He was as real to me as I am to you or anyone who sees me daily. I finally told my mother that I saw and spoke with the boy in my class who got killed and she believed me. I do think she was a bit doubtful, but she didn't want me to know. Well I still think of him and I hope that he will rest in peace.

The remarkable agreement between the actually experienced
encounter and the traditional narratives cannot fail to be noticed by even the most casual of observers. In each case, we find two people very much in love, one of them being torn away by a tragic death. In each case the girl grieves intensely, and her longing for her beloved is so strong that she—at least in her imagination—brings him back from the dead. As the black girl put it, "I knew it was Tom because I wanted him back so much." In each case the ghostly figure appears around midnight and tries to lure the girl to come with him. "Annie, get up and come with me!" he demands in the German legend, and the black girl relates, "Tom wanted me to get up and come with him." Among the differences, of course, the most obvious is that the black girl had actually lived out her story, while the legends are traditional stories that had been around for many decades, perhaps even centuries.

Further questioning of the young informant revealed that the girl had known of—and shared in—beliefs about ghosts and revenants. It was obvious that such beliefs had been a contributing factor to her experience. But she had never heard of any story in which a loved one returned from the dead to talk to his former beloved. It is evident that this experience is not just a case of traditions being activated into real experiences, but rather, a case of the girl's own psyche generating an experience that somehow happened to fit the traditional mold.

There is an apparent contradiction in the girl's story regarding her emotional reaction to the encounter. On the one hand, she says that she "had a good feeling," and that she "was not scared." On the other hand, she admits that she becomes "a little frightened" even now when she relates what had happened. Moreover, she also said she was "terrified" whenever she had to get up at night and use the bathroom. Furthermore, on the night of the first encounter, she refused to get up and accompany the apparition, indicating that she felt at least some uneasiness. This apparent contradiction is, I believe, attributable in part to the complexities of the numinous reaction. Terror, awe, mystery, fascination, and reverence are all present at one time, and while narrating the encounter, the girl may have chosen to limit her description to only these emotions. This kind of confusion is typical of most of the cases I have investigated. The subject will invariably insist that there was no fear involved, and that the encounter gave them a "good feeling," yet, at a later point, the person will refer to the great dread and fear that accompanied the encounter.

The young girl's experienced encounter is certainly not identical in all details to the traditional legend. Although she relates that she got up and accompanied the dead youth, she did not go riding off into the night with him. More important is the fact that the legends invariably stress the theme that it was wrong for the girl to lure the deceased lover back from the dead with her longings, and that it was wrong for her to accompany him so willingly. These elements, while alluded to, do not play a vital role in the girl's account. I strongly suspect that if her memorat were to become a traditional legend, that the collective tradition would work to mold the narrative in such a way to emphasize precisely these themes.

I have collected some variants of the narrative that do indeed stress the theme of excessive mourning, so much that it becomes the focal point of the story. One such account was related to me by a forty-year-old black woman from a metropolitan area. She had just finished narrating her own personal memorat of a
night encounter with the spirit of her former boy friend, who had not died, but had left her. She was convinced that her intensive longing had actually conjured forth his spirit from his body. She then concludes her story by reporting what had happened when she told her story to a friend:

I was telling a friend of mine about it, and we were all trying to think positive about it, you know, that it was he and I, but it was just me. And so one girl friend of mine who really thought it was us—he and I communicating—she said that, a, what had happened to her some years before, and the reason she really believed is that her fella—that she was planning on marrying at the time, and was in love with, got killed. And when she found out and went to the hospital—she was a nurse, and they brought him to the hospital where she worked, and she went up there and she found that he was dead, then she just walked out off the job, and went home and more or less collapsed. And she was this way for about a month—she just—her kids, her sisters and cousins, ya know, had to look after her kids; I mean, she was just so devastated and shocked at the time, ya know, that she didn't think that she could ever get over this experience. So, she said one evening she was lyin' in bed, and this man had gotten killed, came in the room and he said, "Jonnie, you have got to get yourself together," he said, "I am gone," ya know, "and I love ya, but you have to get yourself together for your children." And she said she asked him questions, they talked; I can't remember their words at this moment, 'cause if I do, I might be, ya know, exaggeratin', if I explained some of the things she said he said. But ya know, she said that they talked for some time, and when he got through, he left... told her goodbye, and from this to that she says, she got up, she started back to work, and now she is happily married to another man, which is some years later.

The message of this story is clear: too much mourning for the dead serves neither the deceased nor the living. A frightening encounter is sometimes needed to shock people back to the reality of everyday life.

Unfortunately, I was never able to locate and interview this second woman. Thus there is no way to determine whether this second-hand memorial is an account of an actual experience, or a traditional experience legend that was told as if it were a first-hand experience.16

I believe that this information has many relatively obvious implications for the study of folklore. We have learned that there are certain physiological characteristics—induced by body position, hypnogogic and dream states, and the like—that produce apparitions and experiences that are remarkably the same wherever they are encountered. Such experiences seem to be induced not so much by what the subject has learned via the processes of enculturation and socialization, as they are by some shared qualities of brain and physiology common to people living in vastly different cultures. There are, moreover, basically human attitudes toward the departed loved ones that transcend cultural boundaries. Finally, the numinous reaction that the subject experiences during such events seems to be a trait shared by homo sapiens everywhere, rather than a product of cultural conditioning.

It is this numinous reaction to such encounters which enables the subject to attribute mystical and religious meaning to such experiences; this attribution of meaning, in turn, enables the subject to make full use of the experience for purposes of mental therapy. In short, the data point to the inference that homo religiosus has become so, not simply because of the processes of enculturation and socialization, but rather because of some innate functioning in man's brain about which we knew very little until now. This innate ability, moreover, seems to be crucial in helping to restore to the individual the degree of sanity needed to
survive in a chaotic world.

Finally, I believe that certain shared traits of the kind that earlier scholars called the "psychic unity" of mankind do indeed exist, and that these traits can give rise independently to narrative traditions that resemble one another to a remarkable degree. The time is here once again, I believe, to look at the possibility that many of our traditions have polygenetic origins.

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Notes

1 The papers of the session by Wayland D. Hand, Linda Dégh, David Hufford, and Donald Ward have since been published in Fabula 18 (1977): 212-48.


3 The conference was planned and organized by Richard Thill. I understand that plans to publish the proceedings have encountered difficulties.

4 The materials are currently in the archives of the UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.


8 Peuckert, Lenore.


11 Ibid., pp. 82-85.

12 Ibid., p. 76.

13 Ibid., p. 80.


THE FOLKLORIST
AND THE FOLK
Nothing titillates a historian more than the discovery of a significant figure who has somehow remained in obscurity. Considered in this manner, the career of James Athearn Jones (1791-1854) gives a new élan to anyone writing the story of American folklore scholarship, for no name in the history of the discipline is less familiar today than his. Even in his own time Jones was little known, having failed at various literary exercises. Yet this lawyer, editor, and novelist is not unimportant, for he produced a three-volume collection of Indian traditions which is one of the earliest works entirely devoted to the aboriginal folklore of the United States. To some extent these volumes are indebted to the work of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, since Jones borrowed four of his texts from the explorer's Travels in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley, a deed for which he has unjustly been called a fraud.  

From his early youth James Athearn Jones had literary ambitions. Born in the town of Tisbury, on the island of Martha's Vineyard, he received scant and casual schooling, probably learning as much from private reading as from his formal education. At a very young age he dabbled in verse and prose, and some of his efforts achieved print in such publications as United States Literary Gazette, Atlantic Souvenir, and The Token. In 1820 a ninety-two page book of his poems titled Bonaparte: with the Storm at Sea, Madaline, and Other Poems appeared. According to the "advertisement" these verses were penned ten years earlier, when the author was only nineteen, and retained the "errors" of the originals. Evidently Jones did not expect fame from this publication, for he says the poems are submitted to criticism "unaccompanied by a single prayer for a favourable review" and he realizes "it is not probable that [the author's] name will ever reach beyond the desk of his bookseller." Included among the verses in this book is a rather lengthy diatribe against the English for their treatment of Napoleon, two other longer poems, and several fragments, none of which uses a native theme.

In later years Jones published more verse, some of which was reprinted in anthologies. Admirers of his poetry included Theophilus Parsons, editor of the United States Literary Gazette, who compared him favorably with William Cullen Bryant; and John Trumbull, patriarch of the Connecticut Wits, who called him a "genius capable of arriving at distinguished excellence." It is hard to believe that these men really read the stilted, saccharine, and unoriginal works of Jones, for in both subject and treatment his metrical exercises are cliché-ridden and justifiably forgotten. If these efforts constituted their author's only contribution to American cultural history his name would today be of interest only to antiquarians.

However, the man who grew up on Martha's Vineyard had an insatiable love of travel, a fact that is reflected in his later writings. He made several voyages to the West Indies when a youth. In addition, many trips throughout his home country
carried him south to the Carolinas and New Orleans, and west to Ohio. By 1825 he was able to state that he had visited every place of importance in the United States. In 1817, shortly after marriage to his cousin Avis Athearn, he began to study law and, although apparently never admitted to the bar, in 1822 he began practicing in New York City. During this period he taught school and began work on the first of his major books, a turgid novel of the Revolutionary War titled The Refugee, which he published in 1825 under the pseudonym of Captain Matthew Murgatroyd of the Ninth Continentals. He had been active meanwhile in the field of journalism for several years, and in 1827 became editor of a pro-Andrew Jackson Philadelphia daily, the National Palladium; he resigned this post after the 1828 presidential campaign. There is some mystery about the next two years of Jones's career. It is certain that he went to England late in 1828 and remained there until 1830, during which time his Tales of an Indian Camp (1829) appeared and was republished as Traditions of the North American Indians (1830). About his other activities there is no information except a rumor that during part of this time he was mentally unstable.

By 1831 Jones was back in America, where he published his second and last novel, Haverhill; or, Memoirs of an Officer in the Army of Wolfe (1831). A vast improvement over his first attempt at fiction, this story of colonial Salem, Wolfe's campaign, and the West Indies has received praise from some twentieth-century critics for its skilfully utilized dialogue and local color. After this, Jones retired from the "literary life" to a farm in Tisbury, later moving to West Tisbury where he became a storekeeper. In 1850 he returned briefly to journalism as the editor of the ill-fated Buffalo Journal of Commerce which folded after only three months. After remaining in Buffalo for another year, Jones moved to Brooklyn where he contracted cholera and died on 7 July 1854.

For his work in the field of folklore, Jones has been called everything from "an indefatigable collector of Indian legends" (responsible for "the first major effort to preserve the folklore of the American aborigines") to a fraud. The latter characterization arises in part, perhaps, from the knowledge that Jones borrowed tales from various authors without giving them credit, at least in his first edition. More likely, though, the accusation of fraud derives from the introduction that precedes the first edition, and purportedly explains the collection's origin. According to this account, the manuscript was compiled by M. Philippe Verdier, a seasoned world traveler, who was commissioned in 1695 by The Theoretical and Speculative Society of Paris to lead an expedition to the New World for the purpose of gathering accurate data on the customs and traditions of the Indian tribes. Thirty members of the Society provided Verdier with a list of questions which he was to attempt to answer. These were of two types: the first set relating to the ancient inhabitants of the country, the second "to the race who were its then possessors." Furnished with instructions, Verdier set out in May 1697, arriving in Iroquois country a year later, where he remained until 1700. Here he gathered information proving the American Indian to be derived from the same stock as the Tartars. In the year 1700 Verdier left Iroquois territory and, accompanied by seven Seneca chiefs, journeyed to the Ohio. During his three years in this region he discovered evidence proving that the mounds of the area were burial places erected by "Malays who chartered the
ship Argo from Jason, and came over from the Sandwich Islands in the ninth year of Pope Boniface the third." 11

After being in the New World for six years Verdier, although being hard at work all the time, "thought he had not enough to secure a gracious reception at home." Therefore he called a general meeting of all Indian tribes "in order to acquire a knowledge of their traditionary lore, and it is from this period that he seems to have laboured to a more useful purpose than that of making 'velvet purses of sows' ears, and twisting ropes of sand." 12 This convention took place on a prairie of almost boundless extent, the lodges of those attending covering a thousand acres. After feasting and dancing, members of the various tribes began to tell their traditional narratives.

In presenting this wild and improbable story, Jones reveals his own opinions of theorists and folklore. Those who sought to trace the origins of Indians come in for particular ridicule, as in this passage explaining how M. Verdier arrived at the conclusion that the aborigines were descended from Tartar stock:

The former, M. Verdier proves, by a long train of reasoning, to be descended from a Casmuck, who, in the year 622 (the year of Mahomet's flight from Mecca) married a Samoyede woman, and, with a party of his countrymen, crossed Behring's Straits to the Western Continent. The exceedingly subtle and plausible process by which he arrived at the exact year in which they crossed, and determined that the emigrants were of two different tribes—again, that the chief was tall and lean, his wife short, pursy, and thick-breathed, proved the value of trifling circumstances to the creation of beautiful theories, and with what wonderful ingenuity philosophic minds apply themselves to subjects capable of being theorised. Thus, from the circumstance that the Indian curs, when they were possessed of a bone, would snarl and show their teeth if one went near them, and even hide it in the ground rather than have it taken from them, he drew the conclusion that they were the true canis sibericus, which is known to possess these singular traits of canine sagacity and ferociousness. Additional proof was found in the fact, that an Indian dog of the same species bit M. Verdier in his heel, setting his teeth in precisely the same spot, where, some years before, a Tartar dog had placed his, making but a single scar. He caused an Iroquois cur to be tied by his tail to a log of wood, and the celerity with which he drew it, yelping and screaming over a bed of ice, fully convinced M. Verdier that he was a legitimate descendant from those which perform the part of dray-horses among the Tartars. So much for canine resemblances, which one would think of little importance, yet were the chief prop to a learned theory upon this very subject, published some years ago by an erudite American gentleman. 13

On the other hand, "traditionary lore" is entitled to respectful consideration because in the case of the American Indians "their Traditions are their history and learning." 14

Jones' account of M. Verdier apparently met with some criticism, for in the following year a new edition of the collection, supplied with a new introduction, appeared under a new title. In an "advertisement" prefixed to the work, the author explains:

It has been thought that the introduction prefixed to the first edition, and which was intended as a mere framework upon which to hang the traditions, was not satisfactorily contrived, and that the title did not set forth the true nature of the work. I think so myself, and have therefore suppressed that introduction, and given to the work a strictly accurate title. I have supplied the place of the introduction with a brief statement of the opportunities I have had of studying the Indian character, and with an exhibition of proofs of the genuineness of the traditions themselves. The public having been pleased to say that "if the matter was genuine, the manner was good," and that a successful attempt to "stamp the legends with the
character of authenticity" would elevate them to the dignity of "historical rec-
ords," I have been at some pains to collect and offer the required proofs.\footnote{15}

Among the opportunities to which Jones referred was the fortu-
nate "accident" of being born within a few miles of several
bands of the Pawkunnawkuts tribe, who "sank their primitive ap-
pellation in the less poetic name of Gayheads." Jones' initial
interest in the group was motivated by the same mode of think-
ing that motivated the studies of most early Indianists: the
aborigines were curious and exotic. Reasoning in the manner
traditional with collectors of folklore, he mourned that white man-
ers and customs had made "sad inroads on the primitive Indian
character," but added that by the late eighteenth century "there
yet remains . . . enough to make them objects of ardent and
profitable interest." The incipient author's earliest exposure to
Indian folklore came from Indian servants and laborers on his
grandfather's farm, who gladly told him "their traditional his-
tory and wild legends of supernatural horrors." These tales obvi-
ously made a strong impression on the youth, for years later he
wrote, "so thoroughly has my mind become imbued with [the Indi-
ans'] superstitions, that at times I find difficulty in reconciling
myself to the plain matter-of-fact narratives of the men of my
own creed and colour. I have to pinch myself like one awaking
from an unpleasant dream, and to say to the wild creations of
Indian fancy, 'Ye are shadows all'.\footnote{16}

What impressed young Jones most was the red man's belief
in spirits, particularly as imparted by an elderly Indian house-
servant of his grandfather. Seemingly everything was a spirit to
her, but especially vivid was her description of an encounter
with the Father of Evil:

She described him as a rather tall and exceedingly gaunt old gentleman, wearing his
hair much as Andrew Skurliewhitter is described as wearing his in "The Fortunes of
Nigel;\footnote{17} his face the colour of flame, his eyes green as grass, an enormous yellow
cocked hat upon his head, and his robe of woven seaweed. She averred that he had
neither a club foot as some have pretended, nor a 'sooty black skin' according to
the opinion of others. She described the spot where she saw him with such exceeding
accuracy, that I never thereafter, for more than ten years, passed the particular
'bush in the little valley, three steps from the gate,' by daylight, without a shud-
der, and never at all by night.\footnote{18}

Jones later incorporated this woman's narratives into his
collection of Indian tales, but as a child he implicitly believed
her stories, "for could I be made to entertain a suspicion that
she who watched every night by my pillow, and gathered me
berries, and waded into the water to pluck lilies for me, and
procured me a thousand playthings--the devices of savage ingenu-
ity--could tell me false tales?" This first taste of Indian folk-
lore made Jones hungry to sample other aboriginal traditions, the
reason for many of his later travels among the Chicsaws,
Cherokees, Creeks, and Shawanos. By 1820 he had sufficient
materials to begin thinking in terms of publication, feeling that
such a collection would be both instructive and amusing. Another
reason, however, also prompted him to consider putting his texts
in print:

I had been early led to place a greater value upon the traditions of the Indians
than has been attached to them by those who do not view them as a series of
authentic annals. For myself, I hold them in the light of historical records, mixed
up indeed with much that is fabulous, but not in a greater degree than the early
annals of other unenlightened nations, who could not perpetuate them by means of
letters. . . .

I cannot but think that I have rendered an acceptable service to the world in preserving these traditions from the oblivion that surely awaits them in their uncollected state. The North American Indians are a people, who, in the nature of things, and according to that which has happened to all, are doomed to be of the number of those

The sole memorial of whose lot
Remains—they were, and they are not.

In a very few years nothing will remain of them but a nameless barrow. The day may come, when even conjecture will be at fault, as with the builders of the western mounds, in determining who they were, from whom they originated, what were their peculiar opinions, and the various other matters and things concerning them.

Probably because of the Verdier incident, Jones notes, "It has been thought that I should present to the public proofs of the genuineness of these traditions." However, apparently he had no detailed account of his sources, since he is unable to supply them for some texts. What information is given reveals that the tales were taken from a wide variety of sources, both printed and oral. The writings of Heckewelder, Lewis and Clark, Loskiel, Mackenzie, Charlevoix, and John Hunter were combed for material, as was Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's *Travels in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley*. This latter borrowing, which was fully acknowledged, probably contributed most to the idea that Jones was a fraud. The chief oral source was the author's old Indian nurse, Mima, but other informants are vaguely referred to and include an Indian preacher; a Winnebago visiting Washington, D. C.; a Seneca in Albany, New York; a Shawano in Piqua, Ohio; another Indian in Wheeling, Ohio; one in Fayetteville, North Carolina; and a Mr. Clarke, "an American gentleman of worth and intelligence."20

In presenting the fifty-six narratives, Jones demonstrates that he does not hold the text sacred, and that he possesses a fertile imagination. A number of traditional stories are practically created from whole cloth, using a reference or skeletal outline in some earlier writer's work as a starting point.21 Even texts copied from books are sometimes provided with additions and alterations, purportedly "to make it in keeping with Indian phraseology and opinions."22 Some tales are converted from prose to poetry.23 In other words, unlike Schoolcraft, Jones saw the material he gathered as raw data which could be transformed into living matter via the skills of the literary artist. Nevertheless, he contends, "I have endeavored to tell these stories as I thought a genuine Indian would tell them, using only their figures, types, and similitudes, and rejecting all inappropriate phrases, and those which savoured of a foreign origin." His purpose, then, was to present "genuine Indian traditions in the peculiar phraseology, and in strict consonance with the known habits and customs, of that singular people."24 Yet he only partially succeeded in this goal, perhaps because he shared a misconception common in his day that the red man's oratory was always highly figurative and circuitous. The aborigines in his tales often sound as if they were speaking from a podium, but their language is more simple and direct than that of the figures in Jones' novels. In stories supposedly taken from oral tradition, one reads of a man taking his wife in his arms "in a paroxysm of passion" and the following "Indian" description of the reply of "The Phantom Woman": "It came in tones soft and sweet as the wind of
summer lightly sweeping the bosom of a prairie." In short, Jones never transcends the desire to treat his texts as material for the literary grist mill.

Jones recognized that many of the narratives were widely traveled, and considered this as conclusive proof that the aborigines came from a common stock, probably Oriental. Therefore he saw nothing wrong with arbitrarily assigning a tradition deemed more or less universal among the Indians to a tribe otherwise not represented in his compilation. He did, however, attempt to determine from reports and journals of travelers in the more inaccessible parts of the continent which stories were characteristic among the Indians of those regions. Questionable or unclear statements in the body of the three volumes are backed up by a series of notes taken from the works of Major Long, Mackenzie, or Schoolcraft. Thus in a limited sense the collection is a treatise in comparative folklore.

Since his early interest in Indian traditions was stimulated by the supernatural, it is hardly surprising that Jones' volumes tend toward that aspect of aboriginal folklore. Enchanted canoes, ghosts, and spirits live in many of the tales, but other types of narratives are also represented. Among these other tales are several origin and etiological myths as well as a number of texts explaining why certain creatures are considered sacred by the Indian. All of these stories are called legends—even though the appellation doesn't always fit—meaning, as in the popular interpretation of today, "untrue stories."

Jones' volume made little impact in his day, so little that, even though passing through two editions, it has never been published in the United States. It is unlikely that either English edition was widely read in America, since in 1835 the American poet Charles Fenno Hoffman, who was well versed in matters pertaining to the red man, mourned that despite the fascination and variety of aboriginal tradition, "there are not found some who will improve their leisure by rescuing these wild tales from oblivion." Notwithstanding his lack of success, Jones' work is not unimportant, for his three-volume set may well be the earliest extended attempt at a comparative study of American Indian oral traditions, predating Schoolcraft's Algic Researches by almost a decade. It is doubtful that Jones' efforts are comparable to those of Bishop Percy in ballad studies, as has been suggested by one writer, but his work certainly deserves more than the obscurity in which it has rested for nearly a century and a half.

Ozark Folk Center
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Notes

3 Advertisement quoted in Flanagan, p. 444.
6 Quoted in Flanagan, p. 446, from Jones', *A Letter to an English Gentleman, On the Libels and Calumnies on America by British Writers and Reviewers*, p. 32, which was published in Philadelphia in 1826.
7 Captain Matthew Murgatroyd, *The Refugee. A Romance* (New York: Wilder and Campbell, 1825). That Jones was the author has been determined by his correspondence with the publishers regarding the novel. See Flanagan, p. 446, n.
8 For example, B. M. Fullerton in his *Selective Bibliography of American Literature 1775–1900* (New York: Dial Press, 1936), p. 164, says of the book that it is "at times startlingly good in its dialogue and particularly interesting in its descriptions of everyday life in the regions depicted."
9 Ibid. The late Mentor Williams calls him "an Englishman, who justly acquired a reputation as a fraud." *Schoolcraft's Indian Legends*, p. xviii.
11 Ibid., p. xx. The reference to Boniface the Third is either an attempt at satire or simply a confusion of popes, since Boniface the Third reigned only from 19 February to 12 November 807.
12 *Tales of an Indian Camp*, p. xxi.
13 Ibid., pp. xvi–xxix.
14 Ibid., p. xxi.
16 Ibid., pp. ix, xi.
17 A reference to one of Sir Walter Scott's Waverley novels.
19 Ibid., pp. xvii–xviii.
20 The references are supplied in Jones' Introduction to *Traditions of the North American Indians*, pp. xix–xxxvii.
21 "The Portioning of the Sons" (vol. 2, pp. 125–29); "The Caverns of the Kickapoo" (vol. 2, pp. 201–205); "The Mountain of Little Spirits" (vol. 2, pp. 207–222); "The Valley of the Bright Old Inhabitants" (vol. 2, pp. 223–60); "The Daughters of the Sun" (vol. 3, pp. 77–89); "The Hill of Fecundity" (vol. 3, pp. 183–90); "The Spirits of Vapour" (vol. 3, pp. 313–19) are some of the texts filled out by Jones.
22 "The Funeral Fire" (vol. 2, pp. 115–24) was copied from the writings of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and somewhat altered.
23 "The Lake of the White Canoe" (vol. 2, pp. 1–31), "The Idols" (vol. 1, pp. 173–199), for example.
24 *Traditions of the North American Indians*, vol. 1, p. xxviii.
25 *Tales of an Indian Camp*, vol. 2, p. 271.
26 Ibid., p. 278.
27 "The Teton's Paradise" (vol. 1, pp. 279–304) and "The Hunting-Grounds of the Blackfeet" (vol. 1, pp. 245–54) are examples of rather prevalent traditions which Jones assigned to a particular tribe.
28 Both the 1829 and 1830 editions were issued in London.
30 Flanagan, p. 453, says, "Students of the ballad still acknowledge their debt to the amateurish researches of Bishop Percy. It is possible that James Athearn Jones may have performed a similar service for the ethnologist." Flanagan seems to be the only scholar who has paid any attention to Jones.
A WHITE HUNTER IS NEARLY CRAZY

Lee Haring

Once in Amsterdam, a Dutch musician said to me, "It must be very difficult for you in America to write music, for you are so far away from the centers of tradition." I had to say, "It must be very difficult for you in Europe to write music, for you are so close to the centers of tradition."¹

We live, and build, and sing our songs, and try to make friends where we can.²

Privatism in America—the search for happiness or wealth seen as an individual activity—we often experience as privation. Our principal folk group has always been the lonely crowd, where "ten thousand was 'round me but yet I were alone." Attracting families which existed to support their men in making and accumulating money, the cities of the 1850s "depended on newly-formed loyalties and enthusiasms, shallow-rooted, easily transplanted."³ Our "natural" tendency is for the individual to come first; his membership in a group is secondary. Urban folklore is the patterned communication of tradition-bearing individuals with other tradition-bearing individuals. During the moment of the communicative event we may form a group, but this fluid and microscopic phenomenon will disappear soon after its appearance; it exerts no claims like those of the pursuit of happiness.

How different were the strong solidarity and reserve of the Székler group studied by Linda Dégh.

All informants said such things as "Our people don't do things like that." The individual was a spokesman for the entire group. This outspoken spirit of unity led, even in Kákosd [to which they moved in the latter nineteenth century] to a reserved attitude toward the other inhabitants, and contributed to the conscious preservation of folk traditions and historic memories...⁴

Few Americans would care to make such statements about themselves or any group they belong to. Those who could, like Brooklyn's Hasidim or Pennsylvania's Dutchmen, are bound together by an old-country language, a common religion, or a joblessness fixed by racism. They are American minorities. The abstract conception of the primitive band or tribe (as Redfield observed at the same time Dégh was conducting her Székler fieldwork), when used by investigators as the matrix for their reports, defined such single cultural units as "folk."⁵ While Linda Dégh began to analyze the folklore of the industrial working class, Redfield came to see the interdependence of parts of civilization: "Great and little traditions are dimensions of one another. ..."⁶ But there was nothing little about the storytelling tradition Dégh found among Hungarian immigrants in Gary, Indiana. Aunt Marge's and Aunt Katie's instant adoption of the telephone and Steve Boda's accommodation to majority American taste in narrative genres both manifested the interconnectedness of parts in American civilization.⁷ American folklorists, like their informants, often lack affiliation except with one another. For many of us, Dégh's inspiring contribution has
been the loving ethnography of our fragmented culture's patterned responses to anxiety.

We Americans value highly a freedom, perhaps illusory, from the bonds holding immigrant and minority groups together. Most of us try to speak "standard American," effacing traces of regional speech or dialect. We are secular or freethinking in belief, especially when springing from immigrant parents who were not. We interpret our failure to vote for congressman or President as choice, not as class-determined political irrelevance. We revel in our freedom to change our town, our job, our wife or husband, or our bowling league without consulting elders or authorities. Especially in cities, where we go to seek the freedom still eluding us, we become--willingly or unwillingly--members of many groups and must show mastery of traditions in the food co-op, the faculty cafeteria, or the church vestibule. The multi-conduit hypothesis is the best explanation to date of how we manage these diverse traditions.8

From the colonial era on, urban journeymen and laborers were selfconscious and distinct as working groups; women constituted another such group. Rather than the moral obligation binding penurious European workers, or the spirit of unity Linda Dégh still found among the Széklers, it was wages and wage-earning that American workers depended upon; without these, unemployed journeymen would have to look out for themselves. This enforced self-reliance expressed itself in the folk idea that Americans are a footloose people, mobile, ready to "pull up stakes," always perceiving their mobility as upward.

Yet if folklore had a similar mobility it would be degraded. "If folklore is encountered in the cities it is never in a robust condition, but always diminishing, always a vestige," Redfield wrote earlier.9 Modernization would bring more people like us, who had no folklore. Redfield's first view (which, we saw, he later modified) became our conventional wisdom. Popular thought has not yet caught up with the flourishing forms of folklore in the modern American city. If meaning is a function of context, then understanding—even the initial discovery that there is something to understand—depends upon the specific perception of what is urban. Folklore in cities may arise from the shared anxiety of a group under stress, as a symbolic and compensatory fulfilling of their needs and interests; such compensation need not blind us to the health and vitality of the expressive culture—this I take to be the argument of Roger Abrahams).10 Hence the upsurge of the ethnic slur, reaching new audiences in the form of numskull stories about members of almost fictitious groups. Polish-Americans are real enough, but "Polacks" exist only in the jokes.11 Both setting and content for urban folklore are the conditions affecting people's emotional wellbeing. To know what these are one does not have to be an expert on urban history or sociology, only a citizen.

For one thing, there is the strangeness of the environment. Ellen Stekert's study of southern mountain women in Detroit points out that despite the easy availability of municipal medical services, few of the women seek them out or use them, preferring to rely instead upon their own traditional roles as family healers and their own resources of folk medicine.12 Underlying these women's stereotyped views of doctors and clinics are the anxieties about illness itself, intensified by the hostile environment. Their story is enduringly captured in Harriette Simpson Arnow's novel The Dollmaker: the plight of her heroine typifies the dilemma of
the city migrant who hopes to find advantages in city life but is baffled to find them out of reach. Most often, the supposed advantages of city life actually turn out to be disadvantages, especially in the largest cities like New York, because the mechanism to make them work is too unwieldy. Yet no alternatives are available. It would seem obvious at this point in our history that face-to-face communities, especially in those same cities, must become viable political and administrative units, but so far this idea is accepted only by the folklorist.

Another condition affecting emotional welfare is density, the fundamental physical fact of the concentration of people in a small area. Densities and movement patterns are the subject matter of urban demography as they are of Linda Dég's attentive reports of her informants' recoiling from congestion and pollution. Their roomy houses, with their heavily decorated kitchens, their living rooms crammed with pictures and keepsakes, their colorful flower gardens not only recall the old country but reject the crowding of the city. Adam Smith's old argument for urban concentration was economic: the city was the most efficient locus for producing and consuming. A newer argument is psychological: people find cities places of excitement where they can satisfy wants they did not even know they had. But the price for such crowding is too high—we must desensitize ourselves. The favorite city saying is, "Don't take it personal." The contacts of city-dwellers are "impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental. The reserve, the indifference, and the blase outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may thus be regarded as devices for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others."13 Exposure to these crowded conditions piles soot on existing forms of folklore: outdoor games become constricted in play area; the number of formal games (games with rules) diminishes under the increase in informal contact among children. This tendency appears irreversible.14

Emotional estrangement of this sort is most pronounced in oral or journalistic stories about people in trouble who are ignored by their neighbors. Now classic in the memory of guilty liberals in the murder of Kitty Genovese in Queens, New York, in 1964, which received enormous press coverage—not because someone was killed but because, allegedly, thirty-eight people heard her cries for help and failed to telephone the police or take any action at all. According to newspaper reports, one person called to the killer, "Let that girl alone!" Witnesses were likened to "watchers of a [television] Late Show who looked on until the play had passed beyond their view." The one telephone call finally made to the police was placed after the murderer had driven away in his car. That caller first telephoned a friend in neighboring Nassau County for advice before crossing the roof of her building to a third person's apartment to get her to make the call. "I didn't want to get involved," was the explanation offered by witnesses. One newspaperman labeled their apathy a "big-city variety"; it was a matter of "psychological survival, if one is surrounded and pressed by millions of people, to prevent them from constantly impinging on you, and the only way to do this is to ignore them as often as possible."15

Folklorists have, of course, studied new genres of folklore that speak from and of the concentration of persons, such as the signals between persons about to collide on a sidewalk, the "Turtles" club which facilitates contact between strangers, and the messages left on bathroom walls.16 As their collective assertion,
city-dwellers have devised folk codes for telling themselves and
one another that they will not submit to the impersonality of city
life. "These many years now since 1945, the citizens of New York
City have refused to say 'Avenue of the Americas' when they
plainly mean Sixth Avenue." 17 And it is Linda Dégh who has led
in bringing attention to the belief tales which are the most vital
and serious of the new genres.

Another urban curse is the dehumanization of people through
specialization and excessive division of labor, a consequence of
industrialism. Folklore points to the incomprehensible activities of
specialists in the "Kush-Maker" story, Davy Crockett's "Skow-
Maker" story of 1821 which stayed in oral tradition long enough
to take on new meaning in the highly technological atmosphere of
World War II. 18 If the Kush-maker is funny, he also symbolizes
the discomfort city-dwellers feel with the meaningless machinery
cherished and protected by official culture. We gave up, with the
marches of the sixties, any attempt to protest directly against the
depersonalization of city living. We cannot create neighborliness;
we would rather mourn it. We cannot restore the extended family
relationships that characterized rural life (if they did); we do not
have time. Into our powerlessness folklore introduces a symbolic
control which may be illusory, but which poignantly manifests our
desire for an organic, life-centered economy in the face of our
experience of a mechanistic, power-centered one. 19 The polar con-
trast to the Kush-maker is the telephone which Aunt Katie and
Aunt Marge converted into "almost the exclusive communication
link between members of the immigrant generation." They preserved
their inherited tales and reinforced their sense of connection to
the old country by their lengthy conversations. 20 Also famous for
their telephoning are American adolescents, who are thought by
their parents to monopolize the line with their in-group communica-
tion, and who perform telephone pranks enhancing their status
within the group, using the anonymous person at the other end
merely as a means to the performance. 21

Then there is transport. Although quick, easy, and conveni-
ent movement around the city is supposed to be assured by the
systems of public transport that cities bankrupt themselves to
maintain, city-dwellers—especially poorer ones—cannot or will not
use the system. Detroit's hospitals were too far away for Steket's
southern mountain women to tackle the complex and costly public
transportation system. 22 Personal experience stories of violent
crimes against defenseless victims, disseminated by newspapers and
television, foster and enhance a fear of physical assault, injury,
or death. Because of deteriorating equipment and overcrowding, a
ride on the New York subways has received an award for "one of
civilization's most degrading experiences." Subway horror stories
became a distinct subgenre of urban legend in the 1970s, transmit-
ted orally and in print. Confirming these, newspapers retailed
stories of victimization of the elderly who live alone in large
apartment buildings, and of muggings "in broad daylight." From
these sources, we learn that we are surrounded by inhumans or
subhumans. When we try to leave town, since few cities provide
public transport to beaches or recreational areas, only the car
owner has the physical means to travel.

Communication, it used to be said, would be better in the
city: we would make contact with more persons and groups than
in the country. Our experience seldom bears out this expectation.
Though we do not necessarily number fewer people among our ac-
quaintance, we know a smaller fraction of the total population and
know them less intensively than does a rural person. In many cities, visiting even a close friend unannounced is a violation of etiquette; proper behavior dictates scheduling a meeting days or weeks hence. High in concrete and glass boxes, the most tightly organized structure of our life, the office bureaucracy, lays increasing stress upon something its vice-presidents call "communication," which must be carried on by memoranda, conferences, and the appointment of "liaison personnel." While persons in the organized system rarely protest directly the illogicality or absurdity of this method of solving the company's problems, their written folklore conveys the message.

The members of the folk group make friends where they can, creating community where there is no solidarity. So tenement families often get the advantages of living in community; soldiers, summer campers, and dormitory students develop an intimacy all the more precious for its newness. Embodying their fears in their folklore, they must find it difficult to write this music. But if under Dégh's inspiration folklorists continue to listen to it, we too will live, and build, and sing our songs.

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Notes

2 Happy Traum, notes to Happy and Artie Traum (Capitol ST-586).
20 Dégh, "Two Old World Narrators," p. 76.
23 Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," pp. 11-12.
24 Paul Goodman's definitive statement on the organized system is People or Personnel (New York: Random House, 1967).
HISTORICAL LEGENDS EXPRESSING NATIONALISM
IN A MINORITY CULTURE

Gun Herranen

In 1909, the Swedish Literature Society of Finland decided to publish the materials of its folklore archives in the series Finlands svenska folkdiktning. The publication of the prose narratives was divided into two volumes of Märchen and three volumes of legends—historical, local, and mythical. Those who took responsibility for this venture were aware that the material in the archives was geographically as well as quantitatively insufficient and that more material had to be collected from the field. The historical legends were published in 1924 in a volume edited by V.E.V. Wessman, who had himself collected more than half of the historical legends included in the years 1902-1919. The oldest material stems from the 1880s. The historical legends included in the volume in question describe "historical events, wars, the Black Death, famine and 'historical persons,'" to use Wessman's expression.¹

Closer study, however, reveals that the majority of these historical legends deal with the Russians, with Russian cruelties and raids, plundering, burning, and killing. Out of the 1,317 printed historical legends dealing with warfare, only 27 are not connected with Russians.

Can this predominance be historically and ideologically explained? And why do these historical legends belong to the oral narrative tradition of the Swedish-speaking population (which was largely monolingual at the time), living as it did far from the Russian border in the south and west of the country?

The Traditional Foe in Propaganda

In 1918 the Swedish-speaking population in the south-west of Finland was often addressed with such quotes as the following: "as long as there was a traditional foe, our arch-enemy the Russian, hated by Finn and Swede alike, there was no enmity in Finland between the two, but now the Swedish-speaking Finns have to fight for their right to the soil of their fatherland."² The concept of the Russian (ryssen, ryssä, a collective concept) as the old arch-enemy of the Finns has been used as an axiom, most flagrantly in later, wartime propaganda,³ and also in fairly recent histories.⁴

No such outright hatred is expressed in the historical legends in the volume of Finlands svenska folkdiktning. "Fear" would be a more accurate word if one wanted to generalize. But the picture one gets from the material is far more differentiated than that. I shall disregard the legends which deal with war incidents and military actions, and concentrate on the legends about Russians and their confrontations with the civilian population. The bulk of these legends, almost nine hundred (#419-#1300), have been dated back to the war of 1808-1809 by the informants; less than four hundred (#28-#419) are said to describe the Great Northern War and earlier times.

The Russians kill, steal, murder, and torture. They bring with them half-human, half-canine creatures (Kalmuks, Houndturks)
with frightening characteristics, such as the ability to sniff out human tracks and suck blood from their victims (#28, 29). The Russians stick children on fence poles and hack off their mothers' breasts.

Variants of these motifs have been recorded by different collectors in different parts of the Swedish-speaking area. These and others have also been recorded in Sweden 5 and in Finnish in Finland. 6 What is striking is that the Finnish variants ascribe these cruelties not only to Russians, but also to Karelians and others; parallel migratory motifs and parallel enemy-stereotypes can also be found about invaders elsewhere. Among the Sámis such stories are told of Tsudes. 7 Similar tales are known in Finland's neighboring countries—for instance, in Northern Norway. 8 And the Pany and Finns are identified as enemies by the Russian population on the other side of the border. 9 In Finland, the closer the eastern border, the more differentiated is the concept of who the enemy was and where he came from; whereas in the Swedish parts of the country the term "Russians" is used for them all.

The historical legends naturally tell not only of the enemy's acts of violence and cruelty but also of brave and heroic villagers who, though outnumbered, defied the Russians and thereby showed their patriotism. The functional aspect of the latter group of legends has been touched upon by Svale Solheim in an article (Solheim 1973) where he points out the positive functions of these legends in building morale and affirming group identity in the actual historical situation. 10 My material shows numerous parallel functions. The question of the function(s) of individual legend types, however, falls outside the scope of this paper, but remains an important aspect which I hope to treat in later studies.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the inhabitants of Finland were brought into contact with Russians on the local, individual level, a fact which blurred—but did not erase—the enemy-stereotype of the Russian. As the material was collected from people whose date of birth lay somewhere about 1830–1840 (635 informants are listed in the volume), closer contact with the Russians is bound to be reflected to some extent in the historical legends.

The stereotypes are not entirely negative, and what I would like to call "stereotype clashes" or ambiguous stereotypes are not unusual: a Russian enters a small hut. The housewife flees to the attic and leaves her baby in the cradle. The Russian intends to kill the baby with his sword, but the baby smiles at him and he turns the cradle upside down and thrusts his sword through the bottom of the cradle (#31 A–D). The clash here is between the enemy-stereotype and the ethnic stereotype, which describes the Russians as kind to children, warm-hearted, and sympathetic in their treatment of old people. A second example illustrates the stereotypic trait of Russians' compassion for the elderly: An old woman was left behind when the others fled, and when the Russians arrived at her cottage she was shivering with fear and clasped her hands. But the intruders only searched her bed for food, and when they found that there was no food they carefully lifted her back into bed, gave her meat and bread to eat and fetched her water from the well for her to drink (#1031).

Yet the positive stereotypes of the Russians—for instance, their love of children and their attractiveness to women—might also take on a negative or ambiguous interpretation: children ran the risk of being kidnapped and taken to Russia or, even worse, Siberia (#368, 505); and the fate of women "who were crazy about
the Russians"—as a result of which "many became pregnant"—was not to be envied (#1317).

A Bit of Factual History

Finland's union with Sweden was the result of a slow and gradual process. In the fourteenth century the bond between Sweden and its "eastern province" acquired juridical status. About the turn of the eighteenth century, Sweden had reached the peak of its power, encompassing an area which extended as far east as today's Leningrad, and which included Estonia, Livonia, and Ingria. However, the Great Northern War, which ended with the peace treaty of Nystad in 1721, brought an end to Sweden's status as a great power. Its eastern province, Finland, was ravaged by frequent Russian occupations.

In his *Boken om vårt land*, used for decades as a school reader, Zacharias Topelius, poet laureate at the time, describes the sufferings, war, famine, epidemics, flights, and despair that struck the country: "...this time of the Great Northern War left us with memories of terror; it was so dark that the sun was not seen even at midday, and it was so cold that the fire froze in the stove." A rather large number of the historical legends are dated back to this period by the informants.

As a result of the conflict between Napoleon's France and Tsar Alexander's Russia, Finland was annexed by Russia and received a new status as a Russian Grand Duchy in 1809. The preceding war forms the background of the bulk of the historical legends collected and subsequently published in the volume studied here.

National Consciousness

The Tsar promised to respect the laws of Finland and treated the Grand Duchy not as a conquered province but as a nation under his protection. Lutheranism continued to be the religion of the country and Swedish the official language, and the old constitution was preserved.  

Then nationalistic ideas began to gain ground in intellectual—mostly Swedish-speaking—circles, which showed a rising interest in the Finnish language, the language of the common man. In 1863 Finnish was accepted as Finland's second official language. The so-called fennocization movement was soon to become a social force. The political climate of the day favored this change in focus of interest and also served to lessen Swedish cultural dominance; it was for this reason that Helsinki had been made the capital of the Grand Duchy in 1812 and the university moved from Turku to Helsinki in 1828.

However, the fennocization movement and its slogan "one language, one people" gave rise to a backlash among a group of Swedish-speaking liberal intellectuals, who championed the rights of the Swedish-speaking population with the counter-slogan "two languages, one people." In 1848 J.O.I. Rancken had been the first to urge the Swedish-speaking population to collect their traditions, customs, and folklore. Somewhat later a group of students in Helsinki with A.O. Freudenthal as their leader started a project to study the customs of the Swedish-speaking Finns, with the implicit ideological aim of proving that Swedish-speaking Finns had as much right to the Finnish soil as did those whose mother tongue was Finnish. Unification of the geographically dispersed and culturally heterogenous Swedish-speaking population was considered a necessity as this group experienced a growing national consciousness. The Swedish Literature Society was founded in 1885 with the explicit purpose, among others, of collecting and making
The Turn of the Russian Screw

The liberal era of the relations between Russia and the Grand Duchy of Finland ended with the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. In the last decades of the century Pan-Slavism led to numerous actions aimed at destroying Finland's autonomy and absorbing it into the Russian empire. Bobrikoff, the hated Russian Governor-General, held Finland in his iron grip. A wave of russification and severe censorship caused indignation and passive resistance among the Finnish people. Concern for the Constitution affected Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns alike. The period of 1899 to 1917 was called "the years of oppression."

Double Pressure

The double pressure, fennocization on the one hand and russification on the other, resulted in an even stronger need for the Swedish-speaking Finns to create an identity of their own, an identity which could be accepted by the intellectuals in the capital and by ordinary men and women in the rural districts. The decision to start publishing the series Finlands svenska folkdiktning was most certainly intended as a step in this direction. Was not the Kalevala the pride of the Finnish-speaking population? Swedish-speaking patriots recognized first of all the necessity for the awareness of belonging to an ethnic group. The publishing venture had thus been initiated by men interested in a separatist minority strategy, stressing autonomous institutions and "two languages, one people." This strategy had its roots in nationalistic ideas which in their most radical form had regarded the Swedish areas in Finland as Sweden's irredenta.

The historical legends, however, bear witness to integrative tendencies and patriotic ardor; this was due not to the existence of a common arch-enemy, but to the general Finnish fear of acts of Pan-Slavistic russification which were felt to be a dire threat at the very period when these historical legends were collected, and even explicitly so when the complementary collecting work was done for the volume 1912-1919. This, in my opinion, explains the predominance of the historical legends dealing with the Russians in the printed source. Historical legends—and history—always constitute an expression of the relation between a present and its past.

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Notes

1 Finlands svenska folkdiktning II, 2: Historiska sägner, ed. V.E.V. Wessman (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällkapet i Finland #174, 1924), p. viii.
2 Axel Grönvik, in Hälssning till sydvästra Finlands svenska allmoge 1918 (Åbo, 1918), pp. 3f.
5 Bengt af Klintberg has compiled an unpublished catalogue of such texts.
10 See note 8 above.
11 Klinge, p. 39.
12 Lauri Honko, "The Discovery of Folk Poetry and a National Identity in Finland," NIF Newsletter 1979, #2.
14 Axel Lille, Den svenska nationalitetens i Finland samlingsrörelse (Helsinki, 1921), pp. 360ff.
17 Klinge, pp. 45ff.; Lille, passim.
SWEDISH-AMERICAN MOTHERS: CONSERVATORS OF THE TRADITION

Larry Danielson

The immigrant woman's difficulty in cultural adjustment is a common theme in the folk history of the Swedish-American prairie settlements.¹ Reminisced one of my elderly informants:

When I saw Grandmother's home [in Sweden], I can understand why she cried all the time. When she came to that barren, god-forsaken Nebraska and had to sit there on that—well, it was just wasteland. And then think about this home that she had over there. She cried all the time, mother said. You know that happened to many, many of them. And Mrs. ----, she became bitter. . . . She hated to come here. And she went back, you know, and she wasn't coming back again, but [her husband] went over and got her . . .

"What about the men?" I asked. "Well they had to . . . get a living out of the place. And they were so busy that they had to live you know. And they didn't have time to think about anything but survival, while the women sat and moped."²

This version of the Swedish-American immigrant woman's despair on the plains is a dramatic one, and fails to recognize that her days, just as those of her husband, were filled with survival activities. Nevertheless, it does contain a central observation about first-generation immigrant culture that is documented in many kinds of primary sources: the adult immigrant female in rural Swedish-American settlements was more intensely afflicted with homesickness for the old country than her male counterpart, and the consequent sense of loss affected her behavior. A thorough examination of Swedish-American folk traditions and their maintenance must consider this strained adjustment process, the family structure and larger immigrant culture contexts to which it relates, and the crucial role of the female in the socialization and enculturation of second-generation children. The sources suggest that the mother functioned more significantly than the father in the encouragement of tradition continuity, and that, in fact, much of the folkloric behavior observed in present-day Swedish-American communities is a consequence of first-generation maternal influences. These suggestions, however, are relevant to Swedish-American life on the western prairies and their general application to all types of Swedish-American settlements would be incautious.

Most Midwestern Swedish-American communities were settled by family units rather than by single males, who tended to arrive in the later stages of Swedish immigration and to settle in areas where forestry and mining provided employment.³ Over seventy percent of the nuclear settlement population in Lindsborg, Kansas (my primary field research community), was made up of married couples.⁴ In mid-nineteenth-century Sweden large families were the rule and they were patriarchal in structure, the husband and father empowered with an absolute authority over wife and children. Although a single woman "came of age" at twenty-one (that is, she was allowed to hold property as an individual), a married woman could not enjoy such rights until the death of her husband. Divorce was rare.⁵ The typical Swedish-American immigrant family of the 1860s and 1870s, then, was characterized by male authoritarianism and a rigid distinction between male and female
behavior, even though rural labor in both old country and new required the cooperation of husband, wife, and children. Farmyard and field chores could be undertaken by both male and female, but the domestic homemaking activities were carried out only by the latter.

These female and male roles were maintained in Lindsborg and in similar rural settlements, although the pioneering process necessitated more involvement by women in agricultural labors. Individual farms clustered into communities and neighborly cooperation was important in the pioneer years, but survival efforts and the distances between homes discouraged a vigorous social interaction between women. In these colonies occasional social deviants appeared, for example, women who refused to accept their traditional roles as compliant wives and respectable mothers. For the most part, however, the roles persisted in the new environment and male and female behavior followed traditional prescriptions and proscriptions.

Anna Olsson, a second-generation Swedish-American, has recalled her childhood on the Kansas plains in a realistic reminiscence written from a child's point of view. She frequently describes the sharp distinctions in emotional expressiveness valued by the adults around her: "Sometimes when Jan Per's mama comes over, she cries and says that God is mad at her. Then all the old ladies cry and say that God must be good to them. The old men don't cry. They only smoke. Old men are so strict. They get mad when we laugh." These resolute husbands cared for their wives, valued their hard work and companionship, and in quiet ways acknowledged the importance of the woman in their rural society. But, as in most other immigrant families, the husband was in "executive command" and his wife was the secondary adult member of the family circle, even though her direction of and involvement in domestic activities were indispensable. Mindel and Habenstein have noted that "the initial ethnic family in American [was] 'father headed and mother centered'," and the Swedish-American pioneer family was no exception.

Because these early settlements were often homogeneous, isolated from indigenous American culture and its regional variations, and organized around the family farm, alternative roles to those learned in the old country were rarely available to women. In other immigrant communities, for example in urban Polonia, women came to dominate the household and to increase both their status and power within the family unit for several reasons. The Polish wife assumed family headship when the husband emigrated or moved on to a job in another city ahead of the wife; once the family was reunited, the man's job allowed him little time at home with his family; and in the urban society other social patterns provided alternative models for the new American. In the homogeneous communities of the rural Midwest, however, ethnic family structure continued in its traditional mold well into this century.

The association of female activities with private and domestic settings and male activities with public and social arenas has characterized American society and traditional Western society at large. These distinctions clearly separated first-generation female and male behavior, including female and male folkloric activities. In settlements that permitted secular music-making, male performers were the rule. Similarly, male narrators of traditional tale and legend predominated in mixed-sex social gatherings. The female entertained her children with songs and stories and shared legends with other women, but she rarely, if ever, assumed im-
portance in the performance of verbal arts in public. Within the family, however, she followed traditional foodways, implemented the observance of calendric customs when possible, carried out essential tasks in life-crisis rituals, put to use folk remedies when a doctor was unavailable, and, when she could sit for a while with her hands free, practiced the domestic arts of spinning, weaving, knitting, and needlework. The male, too, found his folkloric behavior circumscribed by his sexual role. Agricultural and weather lore, when unchallenged by the new environment, fell within the masculine sphere, as did large-scale material culture traditions, for example, house and outbuilding construction, fencing, and toolmaking. He might encourage his wife to cook blood-pudding after the winter butchering, or to invite the neighbors over for twentieth-day Knut to end the Christmas season, but he would not actively involve himself in the preparations for such traditional activities. Some kinds of lore both sexes shared either in explicit conversation (for instance, proverbs and proverbial expressions) or in silent observations of signs and omens. Traditional specialists, both male and female, were to be found in the immigrant communities, but these folk healers and diviners, though respected, were often regarded as social deviants, outside the established social structure and its normative sexual roles.

As in some other ethnic settlements in similar contexts, the adult female, usually a wife and mother, encountered greater difficulties in adjustment than the adult male. In many cases she had not chosen to emigrate, but had followed her husband's decision in the matter. The prairie environment was harsh, in contrast to the fondly remembered Swedish landscape and climate. And in the early years the establishment of a new community that would in some way come close to the farm neighborhood back home seemed hopeless. Men probably experienced similar culture change anxieties, but did not, indeed, could not express them. The male, however, had acted as the agent of emigration and was directly involved with agricultural labors that bore promise more apparent to the farmer than to the farmer's wife. His contacts with the outside world, whether Swedish-American or Yankee, in necessary commercial transactions and in public forums of authority, as in the newly organized church, provided him with a sense of emergent community and the hope of immigrant success. His social circle became considerably wider than that of his wife, and his own sense of isolation thereby diminished.11

A variety of sources suggest that many women in such communities who were denied these integrating experiences continued to despair. Oral tradition in Lindsborg, Kansas, for example, describes the anxieties of an early pastor's wife: "... she felt like she was deranged. ... She was just overcome with longing for ... that beautiful Värmland that she made her children promise never to marry because she thought that she had a mental weakness."12 Anna Olsson, the woman's daughter, in her reminiscences often refers to her mother's homesickness and its expression: "Mama longs so much for Sweden. Sometimes she cries and wants to go back there. ... Papa doesn't cry about Sweden. He doesn't have time because he must stay here and preach."13 Local histories also report the psychological dislocation common-place among immigrant women in rural areas.14 The fiction of the period describes similar situations, and Vilhelm Moberg's twentieth-century novels, carefully researched, probe Kristina Nilsson's distress at culture change and consequent guilt about her dissatisfaction.15 In Røyvaag's trilogy about a related ethnic group,
Beret Holm emerges as a Norwegian immigrant disabled for life by the culture change forced upon her. Analyzes of psychoses in immigrant groups have indicated that women have constituted a higher percentage of mental institution admissions than men, and one study discusses at some length the unusually high admission rates among Minnesota Norwegian immigrant women. The definition of neuroses and psychoses in women, of course, is now a controversial matter, and male-oriented perceptions of what characterizes psychological deviancy in the female have been appropriately reconsidered. Yet, both men and women have described the psychological anxieties of the Swedish-American immigrant woman and their behavioral expression. Her rigidly prescribed role both exacerbated the dysphoria as well as shaped its articulation in "a womanly manner." She was allowed to weep and to despair at her transplantation as long as such behavior did not become so obtrusive that it interrupted the survival efforts of family and community.

Certain means of dealing with culture change anxieties were available to the Swedish-American wife and mother. Not only did she retain a few symbolic objects as old-country treasures on the Midwestern prairie—a Bible, a childhood scarf, a piece of traditional jewelry—in order to provide herself a material link with a past recalled more and more positively. Folk traditions, both expressive and instrumental, also helped maintain a sense of cultural continuity. Because of the restricted domestic arena in which she exercised authority, the familiar ways of daily life could be followed with few changes. Traditional foods, usually based on farm products produced as easily in prairie settlements as in Sweden, could be prepared, lullabies and dandling rhymes perpetuated, name days observed, the Christmas complex re-created with as many traditional elements as the new environment allowed, the childbed porridge presented to the new mother on the neighboring farm, and the funeral meal shared among the mourners.

The husband, on the other hand, at work outside the home, encountered more difficulty in the maintenance of Swedish folklife patterns. New crops were necessitated, alternative modes of building construction and agricultural production became more and more attractive in the prairie ecology that contrasted so dramatically with the homeland, and survival in the outside world required that certain traditions be re-evaluated and discarded. Communication with merchants often required a shift from Swedish to English, and interpersonal communication with acculturated Swedish-Americans and the small clusters of Yankees settled in the area further exposed immigrant men to tradition alternatives. Women, encapsulated at home and within tradition-oriented female groups, tended to observe old-country traditions more consistently than their husbands. Cultural alternatives were not readily available to them, and, as importantly, such traditions, implemented with comparative ease within the family circle, provided a sense of cultural continuity that assuaged their immigrant anxieties. Husbands could benefit from such a tradition-orientation. They, too, in spite of their more active involvements with New World institutions and greater sense of social integration, were not immune to sentiments of culture loss. They could both appreciate and encourage domestic traditions shared by the whole family, although implemented primarily by the adult woman in the house.

The suggestion that culture change tensions relate positively to immigrant female tradition orientation should not be pushed beyond its limits. Because historical sources rather than observed
behavior provide much of the information for these generalizations, caution is necessary. Though the two phenomena may be related to one another, it is difficult to prove that a sense of cultural dislocation determined cultural conservatism in first-generation female activities rather than vice versa. It is probable, for example, that immigrant women characterized by a rigid tradition-orientation were more likely to experience culture shock in the New World than their more adaptable peers. The factors do seem to correlate, however, and bear further study in contemporary immigrant contexts.

It is less controversial to suggest that women in many traditional societies play crucial roles in the socialization and enculturation of their children. In the immigrant family the mother was far more important than the father as an educator of small children. "The ability of the family to socialize its members into the ethnic culture and thus to channel and control, perhaps program, future behavior" varies from group to group and community to community, depending on the contexts and social processes involved.\(^{20}\) Nevertheless, suggests David Schneider, "whatever the situation with respect to cultural relativity . . . and differences in definition of mother roles in various ethnic groups, there seems to be a striking uniformity with respect to focusing on the mother as the symbolic guardian of the ethnic identity."\(^{21}\) In many ethnic cultures, including the Swedish-American, the mother was a cultural conservator.

Early childhood experiences shape later behavior that seems to be most resistant to change, what Melford Spiro terms the "onion-peel" nature of acculturation in which "the layers . . . formed first are the ones to be peeled last."\(^{22}\) Because in traditional family life of the past the mother was the primary agent in socialization and enculturation, she both provided her children with behavioral models and affected positive attitudes toward these models. Although the community sanctioned these prescribed patterns and both male and female valued them, the woman significantly directed their expression in traditional forms. She planned and prepared the family meals,\(^{23}\) spoke more often to her offspring in Swedish than did their father, arranged the celebration of holidays, and involved herself in life-crisis rituals that took place in the home—prebaptism precautions, wedding feasts, and funeral meals. Infants and young children, exposed to such traditions in positive, emotionally colored face-to-face experiences, accepted these ethnic folkways as normative, and, grown to second-generation adulthood, often continued to value them. Males persisted in the passive appreciation of the family ethnic tradition, and females came to undertake the active participation in it which they had earlier witnessed in their mother's behavior. Some traditions waned in the next generation, affected by larger currents of culture change; some disappeared; others persisted. But the transmission chain was not destroyed. The first-generation mother's attention to tradition initiated the concatenation. What remains in present day Swedish-American folkloric behavior is largely the consequence of this process of maternal enculturation. Fathers played important roles in the transmission of public traditions, for example, traditional musicmaking, but in the private arena they chiefly encouraged, approved, and sanctioned. In family folkways the mother activated; these folk traditions are among the most recurrent in ethnic American society today.

In many societies, including our own, there are marked differences between the socialization of boys and that of girls as
practiced by both mothers and fathers. These differences involve more than the encouragement of preferred patterns of behavior for males and females. Male children are often treated with more emotional warmth by their mothers, their punishments for rule breaking are less severe, and their demands are responded to more flexibly than those made by female children. 24 In immigrant families, it appears that these differences in socialization were further dramatized. The New World contexts often released sons from the restrictive family associations common in Old World peasant life, but daughters continued to be restrained by the parental claims made upon them. 25 Herbert Gans' study of Italian-Americans in Boston notes that at the age of seven, "girls were expected to assist their mothers, while boys were given more freedom to roam." 26 Although the rural contexts of Midwestern Swedish-American family life discouraged the development of strong peer pressures found in childhood street culture, similar patterns of socialization emerged. Sons were allowed greater latitude of behavior, as long as it fell within the generally accepted circumscriptions of what constituted "maleness." In contrast, daughters tended to be homebound, restrained in their activities, and expected to master the requirements of feminine domesticity at an early age. This dichotomy in socialization affected the life of folk tradition within the immigrant family and its subsequent generations. The transmission of folkways from parents to son was not so strictly observed as the same process involving parents (particularly the mother) to daughter. The mother-daughter link in the transmission chain was therefore especially strong; domestic folk traditions--foodways, calendric celebrations, and life-crisis rituals associated with the home--were ensured a longer life in the New World than other kinds of ethnic folkways. My fieldwork in several rural Midwestern communities consistently reveals this domestic complex; it is found much more often than other kinds of Swedish-American tradition, for example secular musicmaking and male-oriented physical recreations.

Contemporary public ethnic performances such as community ethnic festivals also rely on this sex-linked transmission process. Foodways, dramatizations of calendric ritual, costume, and dance are major elements in Swedish-American ethnic display events. Participants and native observers often recognize the necessary roles women play in these activities. 27 Women sew costumes based on old-country models, create handcraft items for souvenir sales, plan and prepare elaborate public smörbs稳定性, and teach Swedish dances to school children for public re-creations of old-country folk traditions. In these instances, of course, female involvement in the self-conscious maintenance of ethnic tradition is not related to cultural maladjustment problems. Many of the women active in such festival preparations are second- or third-generation. However, these ethnic display activities often rely on female-directed family traditions of the past, certain kinds of folkloric behavior that appear to have once provided a comforting link between Old World and New for the immigrant wife and mother. The preparation of certain foods and the observance of important calendric rituals were passed on from mother to children, daughter to grandchildren, granddaughter to great-grandchildren. If these traditions had been rejected in the first generation, their performance in contemporary public contexts would be more strained and less reliant on behavioral example and ethnic memory culture than it is today.

In summary, I suggest that two major factors--the mother's crucial importance in the socialization and enculturation of the second generation together with an intensified sensitivity to the value of cultural continuity--initiated a sex-linked transmission
process through later generations. In turn, this process supported the maintenance of certain domestic folkways, traditional ethnic behavior patterns that continue to be observed in contemporary Swedish-American life. Other factors are also important. For example, the oral zone is the first to be socialized, which is significant in understanding the tenacity of traditional foods. Some institutions, like the immigrant church, officially encouraged traditional celebrations. The periodicity of many domestic traditions is also important. Foodways were practiced daily, and Christmas was celebrated several weeks each year. It was an annual event, observed regularly. Many folk traditions were practiced less frequently because the calendar or daily routine did not require their observance. Some genres—like social musicmaking, which is still found in some Swedish-American communities—appear to follow a transmission chain comprised of male specialists. Nevertheless, the maternal role in tradition transmission is an important one, though seldom discussed.

Sex-linked folk tradition deserved further investigation, in particular by students of change and continuity in ethnic folklore. Robert Klymasz has noted that divination and belief in the evil eye are "almost exclusively the preoccupation of the female segment of the Ukrainian-Canadian folk community." In discussing the division of labor in the Ukrainian family, he describes "the husband's potential as a threat to the 'little tradition' represented by his wife and her strivings for stability and uninterrupted continuity." William Hoy has stressed that "the presence of women among California Chinese in the early days [has done] more to preserve traditional customs and festivals... than any other one factor." And Barbro Klein, in her study of Swedish-American legend in a Maine community, considers possible explanations for her male informants' persistent citation of women as their repertoire sources. These scattered references, together with my own appraisal of folkways transmission in rural Swedish-American culture, indicate that the role of mother as cultural conservator should be fully explored in comparative ethnic folklore studies. Though it is one of several transmission links in the maintenance of ethnic folkways, it may be stronger and more resistant to culture change than we have heretofore realized.

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Notes

1 This paper was presented in a panel, "The Role of Women in Different Ethnic Groups in the Southern and Middle States," at the 1977 American Folklore Society meetings, Detroit, Michigan. It has since been modestly revised.
2 Interview with elderly female informant, third-generation Swedish-American, Lindsborg, Kansas, 24 August 1966. The interview and observation data used in this paper were gathered in Lindsborg, Kansas (1966–1977, during three- to four-week periods), Scandia, Kansas (1975, in a short-term survey for the Smithsonian Institution), in fieldwork with Swedish-Americans on the Minnesota Iron Range (1978, in a two-week investigation funded by the Iron Range Historical Society, the Minnesota Folklife Center, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Iron Range Resources and Rehabilitation Board), and during brief visits to Bishop Hill and Paxton, Illinois (1977–1978).
3 Two useful studies of the Swedish immigration are Florence Edith Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840–1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); and Dorothy Swain Thomas, Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population


9 Habenstein and Mindel write, "the truly 'equalitarian,' 'companionship,' 'democratic,' or 'open' family is at least one full step beyond the ethnic family as we discern it . . . ." p. 423.


11 These generalizations cannot be applied to all Swedish-American settlements. Barbro Klein reports that males from New Sweden, Maine, appear to have experienced more adjustment difficulties than females. She finds the female/male ratio of psychological disorientation reversed, but notes particular historical factors that may account for this reversal. In contrast to many Midwestern settlements, New Sweden received a number of unmarried male immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s. They arrived as industrial laborers and gradually were forced to change occupations because of local economic problems. As they were late arrivals, they could not take personal pride in the community's pioneer past, nor find arenas in New Sweden social life in which "to assert themselves and to express their talents." See Barbro Skulte, "Legends and Folk Beliefs in a Swedish American Community: A Study in Folklore and Acculturation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1970), pp. 94-96.

12 See note 1.

13 En Prärieunges Funderingar, p. 23.


16 Ole Edward Rålvaag, Giants in the Earth (New York, 1929), Peder Victorious (New York, 1929), and Their Father's God (New York, 1931).

17 Benjamin Malzberg and Everett S. Lee, Migration and Mental Disease: A Study of First Admissions to Hospitals for Mental Disease, New York, 1939-1941 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1956); Benjamin Malzberg, Social and Biological Aspects of Mental Disease (Utica, New York: State Hospitals Press, 1940); and Ornulf Odegard, Emigration and Insanity: A Study of Mental Disease among the Norwegian-born Population of Minnesota, Acta Psychiatrica et Neurologica, Supplement 4 (Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaards, 1932).


19 See, for example, En Prärieunges Funderingar, pp. 18-19, and Hildur Ek, Hildur's Swedish Sketchbook (Lindsborg, Kansas: Lindsborg News-Record, 1973), pp. 26-27.


23 Margaret Cussler and Mary L. De Gue discuss the role of the mother in foodways enculturation in 'Twixt the Cup and the Lip: Psychological and Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting Food Habits (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1952), pp. 62-77.
27 See Larry William Danielson, "The Ethnic Festival and Cultural Revivalism in a Small Midwestern Town" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1972) for a detailed ethnography and interpretation of specific Swedish-American ethnic display events.
28 Spiro, p. 1249.
32 Sklute, pp. 186-89.
PORTRAIT OF A TRADITIONAL HERB-DOCTOR

Tekla Dömötör

I made the acquaintance of Ferenc Dallos about twenty years ago. He lived in Baranya county in southwest Hungary, in a small village near the city of Pécs. Twenty years ago, he was already an elderly man, tall, good looking, and of a proud carriage. He lived in modest circumstances, in a small house on the main road at the end of the village, next to the living quarters of the local gypsies. His house was in bad shape, the courtyard rather neglected; the garden consisted of apple and plum trees, and a few chickens were running around in the uncut grass. The house was poorly furnished, I did not even see a radio, or a photograph in the home. Yet this humble existence did not quite correspond to the financial situation of Mr. Dallos and his wife, because they were quite well off. In fact, they earned well as herb-doctors. It seems that Mr. Dallos and his wife simply had no interest in keeping their home in better repair. Ferenc Dallos did not care about his clothing either, and in summer he preferred to be barefoot. But the rooms were always clean and respectable, even if the furniture was old and shabby. In no case, however, did anything seem to indicate that we were in the home of a famous person.

The first time when my colleague and I visited him, we pretended to be in need of his help and claimed to have some ailment we knew he was prepared to cure with his herbs. Visiting anybody under false pretenses does not sound like a fair approach, but the Dallos family had been at that moment rather suspicious about visitors coming from the city. They were continually harassed by local authorities, and even the police from Pécs appeared at unexpected moments in their home. But when we visited him for the second time, we told him that we were university lecturers and wanted to record his activity on tape.

From this time on, we were friends with the Dallos family, visiting them whenever we were in the neighborhood, and Mr. Dallos considered us his colleagues, and later even revealed to me some of the secrets of his profession. He often asked us whether we would be willing to take over the art of healing from him, or to find a student to whom he could pass on his secret knowledge, because he considered us to be a bit old for being disciples.

Mr. Dallos inherited the skill of healing with herbs from his uncle, Laci Ferdinánd Dallos, who had died in 1933. Both his father and his uncle had been shepherds. As his uncle remained a bachelor and had no children of his own, he passed on the secret knowledge and power to his nephew. (According to Hungarian folk belief, people endowed with some supernatural power or knowledge cannot die as long as they do not pass on their knowledge to another person.)

At this point I must stress that the Dallos family really believed in their ability to heal certain sicknesses with herbs. They behaved very reservedly during the treatment, although Mrs. Dallos added some superstitious traits to the séance: she used a
pack of gypsy-cards, for example, to foretell whether the treatment would be successful or not. But all in all, their behavior was not much different from that of an apothecary making our prescription—with the exception of the cards, which Mr. Dallos himself never touched.

Obviously, we must separate the behavior of Mr. Dallos from that of Mrs. Dallos. Although it was Mr. Dallos who had inherited the knowledge of herbs, his wife was very quick to learn it from him. She too came from a family in which curing with herbs was quite common; she even used herbs for veterinary medicine. She had a great interest in the spiritual side of existence, believed that the future is sometimes revealed in dreams, and I have a tape recording where she told me about her visit to the other world. She had come from a Croatian family, although she only spoke Hungarian with her husband, who never bothered to learn other languages.

About 1970 the first Mrs. Dallos died. As their grown-up children were living in other parts of the country, Mr. Dallos could not very well carry on without a wife. He remembered a young girl, living quite a distance from his present habitat, whom he had liked very much some forty years earlier. (Of course he never wrote to her in all those years, in fact, I doubt whether writing letters ever occurred to him at all, although he was to some extent literate.) He hired a cart and went to the village where his old sweetheart lived. Arriving there, he found that in the meantime she had also been widowed, her children had grown up and left the house, and she lived by herself. They soon came to an understanding and married in a very short time.

This change had several consequences for Mr. Dallos. His first wife had been a Catholic, and had herself had talent and interest in curing, although she kept in the background to the very last. But the second Mrs. Dallos was Protestant and Hungarian, and healing with herbs did not seem quite proper to her. So Mr. Dallos had no help in healing now, as his second wife retired to the kitchen; when patients arrived, she was not willing to be present at the healing séances. Nevertheless, they were truly happy together, and behaved like a young married couple, talking very tenderly to each other. She was a fine-looking old woman, with nice manners. But the change meant more work for Mr. Dallos, because, as he confided to me, as long as his first wife was alive, she could take care of the selling of herbs, and Mr. Dallos was not only an herb-doctor but also a kind of horse dealer, an occupation he seemed to prefer to selling herbs.

Now you might ask why Mr. Dallos became an herb-doctor, if he preferred being a horse-dealer? The answer is that he was obliged by folk custom to take over the skill of healing, there being no other member of the family to take over the "knowledge" his uncle had acquired during a dream. But he told me frankly about his liking for horses, and the tricks he used when he acted as a horse dealer.

But let us return now to the beginning of the story, and relate how his uncle, Laci Ferdinánd Dallos, became a healer. According to the family narrative, his uncle had been a shepherd, a rather silent and shy man. (An old snapshot Ferenc Dallos gave me represents him as a fair-faced old man with a long beard, dressed in the costume characteristic of shepherds.)

One morning, he fell asleep in the grass while the sheep were grazing. While he slept, he received a dream "message" that henceforth he would be able to heal sick people with herbs. When
he awoke, he was rather uncertain about the dream. But the next
day, on the very spot where he had fallen asleep, a sick person
went by and complained to him bitterly. Without much hesitation
Laci Ferdinánd chose one herb, and gave it to the sick man with
the proper instructions on how to use it. The sick man was well
again in a very short time. From that day on, though he had an
unerring knowledge about herbs and became an herb-doctor, he
remained a poor and lonely shepherd till his death.

Ferenc Dallos, of course, never got any "message." (He was
not at all susceptible to mystic experiences, but had to learn from
his uncle, as a sort of family inheritance, the use of herbs in
curing sick people and animals.)

I know very little about his activities before World War II.
But from the moment I met him, the authorities were rather worried
about having such a famous quack in the village. In fact their
chief goal was to find out whether these healers were abortionists
(which of course they were not). They were also afraid that Dallos
might harm sick people, out of ignorance. But Dallos and his wife
did nothing illegal, so their activity could not be prohibited;
still, they did have to pay heavy fines. The authorities tried to
persuade them in this way to give up healing with herbs. (Of
course, their herbs were sent to the clinic in Pécs for analysis
and found to be quite harmless.) In fact, it seems that from time
to time they nursed in their home some harmless idiots, who were
not quite fit for a lunatic asylum, but who were rather a heavy
burden for their own families to live with. These patients came
from well-to-do families, and spent some time with the Dallos
family under medical supervision. It appears, then, that the
battle was not so much against herbs, as against superstition.

But Mr. Dallos did not give up. He just went to the village
authorities at the beginning of every month and paid his fines
in advance (we might call them "income taxes").

Mrs. Dallos related to me that a policewoman once tried to
persuade her to make a skin lotion against freckles. But she had
absolutely refused this request, because she had no idea how to
make such a lotion. She also had a feeling that the policewoman
tried to entrap her—although, as she told me, the poor policewoman
had a rather bad complexion, and maybe she really hoped
for some old house remedy.

How does a herb-doctor heal?

The first time I visited Mr. Dallos, I was treated as a
"patient" and not as a folklorist, so I must describe the first
visit in order to give a true picture of what was happening
during the treatment.

When I arrived at the house with a colleague of mine, we
were first asked who sent us. (This was the time when he was
really suspicious about strangers thinking they might have been
sent by the police.) After supplying him with this information, we
were asked to sit down and speak about our ailments. Mrs. Dallos
did most of the talking; Mr. Dallos just sat around smoking and
uttered a few words from time to time.

I complained of having bad headaches, and my colleague
told them that he was love-sick.

After this conversation, Mrs. Dallos went to the next room
where a glass of water stood on the table. She asked us to pull
out a single hair from our heads. She put the hair in the water
and looked at it very hard, to see whether the hair kept floating
or sank to the bottom of the glass. In the meantime, she did a
bit of fortune-telling with the gypsy cards. Mr. Dallos did not even enter this smaller room.

This part of the séance being over, Mr. Dallos gave us two different packs of herbs, wrapped in brown paper. Both were a mixture of several different chopped plants. I was advised to brew the plants, inhale the fumes of the boiling beverage, to make a hip-bath from the rest, and sit in it for a while. Mrs. Dallos added that the herbs should not be used on Tuesdays.

My colleague was told to put some of the mixture into his pockets and his socks, and to try to smuggle some of the herbs into the clothing of the person who did not return his love. As we did not dare to use a tape recorder yet, I am sorry to say that I do not remember all the details of the prescriptions. But later we tried to exchange information with other "patients." The herbs Mr. Dallos sold were used for fumigating people, for making hip-baths, and a few of them were indicated to be used as potions. Some ingredients were easy to recognize, others were rarer plants growing on the slopes of the Tenkes hills. They seemed to be harmless enough, some of them well-known herbs easy to recognize (camomile, wild thyme).

Later, when we were good friends with Dallos, I found out that he had occasional doubts about the overall curing qualities of his herbs. A man we knew asked him for herbs against hemorrhoids. Mr. Dallos gave him some herbs for hip-baths, but he was very curious whether his herbs were really of any use to this man, and inquired after him whenever we met. Maybe he wanted to experiment with a new mixture in this case. This was, at any rate, the only case in which he seemed to be a bit uncertain about his own skill.

Some years later, when he was already married to his second wife, I had the opportunity to have a long talk with him. This time, a tape recorder was used, so that our conversation could be checked later.

We sat in the garden on a lovely summer morning in the shade of the trees, and Dallos was very relaxed. He told me if he thought that the person who visited him was really sick, he immediately ordered him to go to a physician, "I can only cure those people who were bewitched," he told me.

I asked him directly, what he meant by bewitching. He mentioned what I can describe as nervous symptoms: insomnia, hallucinations, headaches, temporary impotence. (Of course, hemorrhoids do not fit into this category, neither do animal diseases.) In short, besides knowing the curative categories of the herbs which are also used by pharmacology (such as generally-used natural laxatives and fever reducers), he also considered himself a rural neurologist, although he called himself an herb-doctor. But he was quite certain that he could cure most cases of "bewitching." His wife also like to tell about her success when dealing with people who had had nervous breakdowns, insomnia, and the like.

Now we arrive at the ticklish question of fees. Generally, traditional Hungarian folk healers never name the sum they expect from you. The proper thing for a healer is to say: Give me as much as you intended to give.

They know very well that the patients know how much they should give to a folk healer, just as doctors' fees are found out in advance of the patient's visit.

Now Mr. Dallos always declared that although he did not accept fees, people should pay for the herbs, and he named quite
a tidy sum. Later he explained to me that he and his wife were
too old to go to the Tenkes hills to gather the proper herbs, but
had to engage some youngsters from the village to collect the
plants at the proper time, and pay them day wages.

There was also the matter of the fines they had to pay every
month. Besides, people had a choice: they could buy the herbs,
or go away without having bought them. He certainly never tried
to persuade anybody to buy his herbs. But very few visitors left
without herbs, and many returned later for more herbs.

Mr. Dallos knew that his herbs were rather expensive, but
he never forced them on anybody. Quite the contrary. He only
spoke to patients when he was in the proper mood. Once I spent
quite a long time with him and at lunchtime, he ate the
vegetables his wife prepared for him. After his lunch break, a
car from Yugoslavia arrived at his house. It seemed that the
people in the car had come to Hungary just for the purpose of
visiting the famous herb--doctor. But Dallos liked a little nap after
lunch, and when the people asked him to let them in, he absolute-
ly denied being an herb--doctor, shut the gate, and had his nap
on the dilapidated sofa in the cool room.

At the time I got to know him, selling herbs was their only
source of income. Horse-dealing was already out for Dallos, and
the only skills he had were horse-dealing and curing with herbs.
Dallos and his wife lived a very simple life, spent little, and I
am sure they had already saved for their retirement a nice sum
in a stocking (or rather in the savings bank at Pécs).

It is characteristic of their thrift that even in later years,
when they treated me as a friend, they never offered me anything
to eat or drink--an unheard-of thing in Hungary, where it is con-
sidered a breach of decorum not to offer the visitor something,
as a sign of goodwill, even if it is just a glass of water
or a piece of bread. (Once an old peasant woman, living by herself
did not happen to have anything in her pantry to offer us. So
she ran to the courtyard and returned triumphantly with a raw
egg, which we could not refuse.) The Dallos family was ready to
tell me their medical secrets--but they never asked me whether
I wanted a glass of water, although they were happy to see me
and gave me a warm welcome whenever I visited them.

As I have already mentioned, Dallos learned about herbs
through family tradition, and used herbs which had been used by
many generations before him.

But he was also--as we later found out--a good storyteller.
He knew an amazing number of local legends, anecdotes, and also
a few Märchen. But he was not interested in storytelling. Selling
herbs he considered a job that pays well, whereas he thought
telling stories to be a waste of time.

But when he was willing to tell us tales, his style was
perfect; I suspect that he must have been an active storyteller
earlier. I published one of his narratives in my book entitled A
népszokások költészeté [The Poetry of Folk Customs] (Budapest,
1974). Unfortunately, his repertoire diminished as he got older,
and he could no longer remember stories we heard from him earli-
er, so that very little is recorded on tape.

As for his personal taste, he liked best the narratives about
highwaymen and robbers, the "betyárs." Having a Croatian wife,
he knew some bits of Croatian tradition in addition to his own
Hungarian background. But he never told a story of his own
accord, and did not even want to tell about his own life, except
for the horse-dealing period, which he remembered with some nostalgia.

It is probably evident from this short description that Dallos was quite a character, full of apparent contradictions. He lived from selling herbs, or horses, but never tried to persuade any customer. He was a good storyteller who disliked telling stories. He knew that his wife's card tricks were just nonsense, but himself believed in bewitchment. He had little in common with most marketing men, being very taciturn and aloof. I never saw him smiling or angry. He was a reserved and proud old man.

Fortunately, a young folklorist wrote her dissertation about legends in the Baranya county, and because of this we came to know Mr. Dallos, his real skills, and the figure of Mr. Dallos as depicted in folk narratives.

It is quite astonishing that none of these stories reflect his real activity or personality. All legends dealing with Dallos repeat the stereotypes told about other Hungarian folk healers. It seems that his name is just an opportunity to repeat old stories well known all over Hungary, but they contain no personal traits at all.

Even so, he was certainly not just "one of the traditional herb-docctors" described in the narratives. He was a man of strong character who, under different circumstances, would have become an important person too: I can well imagine him as a leader of a factory, or a really famous physician. He was just born at the wrong historical moment to have the opportunity to study (I doubt that he had the opportunity to finish more than the two lowest classes in elementary school). Being a shepherd's son around the time of the First World War, in a forsaken village of Baranya county, was not exactly the ideal situation for a young man to begin a successful life. So he became a rural herb-doctor, famous among peasants as a hero, and notorious among the authorities as a quack; both groups were right, from their own point of view.

But he was never just one person in the mass. I could imagine him both as a positive or a negative folk hero—a highwayman, or a leader of a peasant revolt.

But in a very traditional and small community, the only opportunity for him was to be the heir of the family tradition. He was probably the last traditional herb-doctor in the county. He did not become a healer out of conviction, or for the love of fame or money. It was a trade he learned at home, and he really tried to improve it.

But I think it was really his own silent and strong personality which had a good effect on people; they found in him a good listener, to whom they could relate their troubles. He was neither superstitious nor an impostor. I think that he became famous because he was a strong man, and people who felt insecure turned to him in difficult situations, because they saw in his intran- sigence and imperturbability a model they could imitate.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem
Hungary
GEORGE RUSSELL:
THE REPERTOIRE AND PERSONALITY
OF A NORTH COUNTRY STORYTELLER

James P. Leary

George Russell entered the world on 10 October 1886 in Dobsie, Wisconsin, a pioneer farming community in Barron County's Oak Grove township. His father had come there in 1868, paddling up the Red Cedar River from Menominee to stake a claim, clear the wilderness, and build a hewn log house. Born in Ireland amidst famine, Patrick Russell had traveled with his parents from the old country to Perth, Ontario, at the age of two. Wisconsin's burgeoning post-Civil War timber industry drew the young Irish-Canadian southeast, and a fiancée left behind inspired him to invest his wages in property. Catherine Russell bore eleven children, the family prospered, and the "Russell Place" became a well-established farm.

George grew up helping his mother with household tasks, then moving outdoors to tend crops and livestock with his father and brothers. He attended a one-room school with French-Canadian neighbors, and later continued his education at a Minneapolis agricultural college. After a stint in the Army during World War I (he saw no overseas action), George found work with the Canadian-Northwestern Railroad. The company owned great expanses of virgin woodland and George scaled timber cut by loggers around Rainy Lake, near the Ontario-Minnesota border. Footloose, young, with money in his pocket, George wore smart clothes, sprouted a moustache, picnicked with "nice girls," and visited others in "sportin' houses." But in the early 1920s, as logging played out, he ceased his wanderings and returned to Dobsie.

Patrick Russell had died, so George commenced farming with his brother Charlie. The Russells raised--"for show, wool, stock, or mutton"--some of the finest sheep in the upper Midwest. The care of livestock and cropland occupied the remainder of George's working life. In the early 1950s, even after retiring to a small farm east of Rice Lake, he kept sheep, cattle, and chickens, and leased acreage for hay, corn, and oats. In his last years, George still spent considerable hours touring the rural countryside and conversing with area farmers: Jerry Booth, his one-time hired man; Tony Tomesh, who had purchased the original Russell place; men at feed mills and sales. In the fall of 1976 he died.

Curiously, for a man with ten siblings, George had no surviving kin to mourn him. Some of Patrick and Catherine Russell's children died young or saw their offspring perish; the rest were spinsters, nuns, widowers, or bachelors. For several reasons--a sweetheart's untimely death, an independent streak, the longevity of his mother, and the presence of housekeeping sisters--George never married. George realized that he was the end of a line, and thus made it his final living accomplishment to see that he would be buried along with all the other Russells, beneath handsome granite headstones in the family plot at Our Lady of Lourdes, Dobsie. A less tangible, but nonetheless real, memorial to the man
lies in the legacy of stories he left behind for old friends to recall, even retell.

As a child in the mid-fifties and early sixties, I lived an easy walk through the woods from the farmhouse shared by George, Charlie, and their sisters, Ann and Sadie. I would often go there after school for cookies and cool water, but sometimes I would encounter George, his round face aglow, coming out of Rice Lake’s American Legion Club or Wolf’s Bar. He would always give me some pocket change for "a little treat." In collegiate years, during occasional vacation afternoons with the old man, I learned why my Dad affectionately termed George "an old raconteur" who “likes to paint his nose." Aided by his favorite drink, brandy and Seven-up, we would scan family photographs, drive through familiar territory, visit his friends, or haunt taverns. All the while I would ask questions and George would answer with a constant stream of anecdotes, jokes, and witty observations.

During a pair of too brief visits (24 June and 8 July 1975), I managed to tape thirty-six "items" of verbal art, together with reminiscences on pioneer crafts, customs, and the community of Dobie. Despite my failure to document much of George’s repertoire, what I did record is valuable for several important reasons. The texts he performed for me had been stable items in his repertoire for more than fifty years; that is, each was acquired prior to 1925, in Russell’s youth and, especially, during that period of his life when he was a young farmer, a student, a soldier, and a lumberjack—a roving "man of the world" whose occupational endeavors spanned the range of his generation.

Fifty years ago I could tell ya a lot more stories. I’ve heard stories traveling on trains. And I heard lumberjack stories, and all sorts of 'em.

This period also marks the final phase of immigration, pioneer homesteading, lumbering, and rude frontier existence in northern Wisconsin.

Not surprisingly, the texts mirror their historical span. George’s thirty-six recorded items divide into five distinct categories: there are seven toasts and routines appropriate to male-dominated taverns, six "Irishman" jokes (mostly concerning "Pat and Mike"), eight Scandinavian "dialect stories," five humorous tales about farmers and lumberjacks, and ten "true" anecdotes of local characters (which, like their fictional counterparts, concern farmers, ethnics, and loggers). Russell’s preferences correlate well with those of other regional raconteurs in northern Wisconsin, the forests of Minnesota, and Michigan’s Upper Peninsula; they too spun yarns of pioneer struggles, farmers, woodsmen, and ethnics.

Finally, and most crucially, I had heard most of George’s texts several times, unsolicited, and in a variety of contexts. The man had apparently honed his stock of stories and quips into a manageable number to be performed again and again. But George’s repetition was not random; each item skillfully illustrated points, augmented conversations, or dramatized his life. Russell’s calculated use of a self-selected repertoire argues that, beyond their obvious historical and cultural significance, his sayings and narratives carry personal meanings which demand further explanation.

Given his bachelor status and seasonal occupation, George spent considerable idle time in the company of other males, conversing and sharing a drop. Whether in a tavern or at home, he was a thoroughly sociable man. And whenever I visited him, he
always offered me a drink, often coupled with a "short little toast."

Gesundheit! Eat cheese and make your ass tight.

Here's to the English that drinks his drink.
And here's to the German that drinks his drink.
And here's to the American that drinks up the whole damn business.

To the girl that I love, true and mighty.
And I long for that night to come,
With my pajamas next to her mighty.

Here's to Tell that sits in the cell,
Thinking of the girl he loved so well.
And he often wonders if they'll take his life,
For killing the man who pounced his wife.
But still old Tell gets free at last,
And the first thing he does is look for more ass.2

Mastered to be "pulled" amidst a "party of boys," these brief forms not only entertain, but also invite like responses and drinks; they are verbal devices for generating a kind of fellow-
ship and camaraderie George valued. Moreover, these toasts, with
their euphonious lilt and occasional philosophizing, touch upon
themes—various nationalities, the rural scene, and sex—which
dominate Russell's entire repertoire.

George was highly conscious of ethnicity, both his own and
that of his neighbors. Brought up by Irish parents in a partially
Irish community, George always considered himself a son of the old
sod. He would read about the old country and often talked about
Ireland's many "saints and scholars." He also cursed the English
who "treated Ireland cruelly." Witness this tale:

There was an Irishman got on a train. And there happened to be an English Lord sit-
ing across from him. The Lord was kinda snobby. And he looked out the window and
there was an Irish setter goin' by. So, he said to the Irishman, "There goes one of
your relatives." The Irishman looked out and he told the Lord, "Bejazus, if he isn't
related to both of us."

Beyond evident national pride and scorn for the British, Russell's
story reveals the Irish as a disenfranchised people who must
live by their wits. These sentiments come out more strongly in the
following example.

There was an Irishman, a Frenchman, and a German. And they wanted to see who had the
biggest prick. Frenchman, he had a pretty fair sized one. But the German, he had a
great, big one. The Irishman had only a little thing, but he said: "Made in Ireland,
where there are men, not pricks." 3

While championing his parentage, George was no raving chauvinist.
He loved telling about the foolish adventures of his fictitious
countrymen, "Pat and Mike," in the New World.

Mike and Pat come over to this country. And Mike got ruttin' around. And Pat got a
pretty good job where he learned quite a lot about America. And, by God, whatever
kind of deed Mike pulled, they were gonna hang him. And, uh, they had their trapeze
all ready to hang Mike when Pat come along to visit him. And, he inquired where Mike
was, and they told him: "He's up there on the scaffold." And Pat come along, and he
says, "Well, Mike, what're you doin' up there?" "Oh," he says, "I make a lotta money
doin' this. And if you wanna make it, I'll exchange places with you." So Pat thought
that was alright. So, when they tripped the rope, something didn't work right. So, Pat
fell off the scaffold. And he says, "Some damn fool could get his neck broke
doin' this stunt."4
Pat and Mike came over to this country, and they were very green. There was a lot of tools they used in the United States they didn't know what they were for. So, they were walkin' out through the country and there was a father and a son sawing wood, with a crosscut saw. And, uh, one'd pull it, the other'd pull it. And Mike thought the old man was trying to take it away from the kid. So, he went over and took it away from the old man and handed it to the boy.

George's tendency to respect and simultaneously poke fun at his own ancestry corresponded with his attitudes toward other ethnicities. His neighbors were "good, they were fine, and we tried to be just the same way." As a young man, George often went to house parties amongst French families: the Roux, Derousseaux, and Crotteaus. Local Bohemians picked mushrooms on the Russells' land, and there were Germans just down the road. George went to school, shared work at threshing time, and picked blueberries with all these groups. He told an occasional funny story about them too. One concerned a "Dutchman" named Ritz:

Now this farmer Ritz, he had a place near the Mitchell school where V and W meet, and he used to come into town for supplies. And he'd always take a drink, sometimes too many. Next day, he'd be hung over and he wouldn't want to work. And his excuse would be [adopting a German accent], "The doctor told me to eat well, sleep well, do nothing."

Beyond Dobie neighbors, George was familiar with Scandinavians scattered throughout Barron County; he also worked in the woods with Swedes and Norwegians where he learned to mimic "their lingo."

When the lumberjacks come to town in the spring, some of the local girls would have a little party for them. And this one lumberjack went up to a Swedish girl. She wasn't bad looking, but she was big. And shy too. So, he asked her, "Would you like to dance?" She told him, "When aye dance so, aye sweat so. When aye sweat so, aye stink so. So, aye don't t'ink so." Like the stories of "Pat and Mike," this tale is more playful than deprecating. George simply enjoyed living amidst the north country's diverse cultures; he worked, socialized, and joked with them all.

Many of George's tales reveal strong feelings concerning other aspects of his rural environment. Continuing his father's occupations of lumberjack and farmer, George loved the land and the work that went with it. He fondly remembered helping his mother make soap, stacking shocked oats, caring for animals; and he treasured pictures and ledger books from his days as a timber scaler. But his vision was realistic, not romantic. He also recalled lean times when fire destroyed timber the family had invested in, the early death of friends, the drunkenness and despondency of a "smart, educated" Irish neighbor and others who "drank up everything they had." Through jokes and anecdotes, George leavened with humor the hardships he and his fellows endured. One story concerned filthy conditions in the lumber camps:

One evening in the camps this jack lay down after dinner. And he dozed off. But we heard him talking like he was in the woods deer hunting. He was saying, "Where's my gun? There goes one deer, and there's another." And we looked at him. And there were lice running across his eyelids. He thought they were deer.

A pair—one fictitious, one true—dealt with the inescapable and prolonged drudgery of dairy farming. Like it or not, there were no total holidays on the farm; animals demanded year-round care.
There was a Norwegian couple that was always writing on those contests. But they never won anything. So he quit writing but she kept on. And she won. She met her boy- 
friend and said, "You know, Ole, I've won!" He said, "What did you write on?" "I 
wrote on Carnation Milk." "Well, what did you write, Lena?" "I wrote:
'Carnation Milk is the best of all, 
No tits to pull, no shit to haul."8 

Elmer G. that sold out over at Rice Lake. And Anderson, that lived right along side 
me, he knew Elmer. He said, "You sold out, Elmer." "Oh, I got tired smellin' 
cowshit."

But, unlike Elmer, George never got tired enough of the farm to 
leave it.

Several of his jokes mildly lampoon those upwardly mobile 
souls who, especially in the early twentieth century, left the farm 
seeking urban, professional lives. In this one, a lumberjack in-
tentionally mistakes the significance of powder on a school-
girl's face.

Well, uh, a homesteader up in northern Minnesota had a pretty good lookin' daughter. 
And he was talkin' to a lumberjack one day, talkin' about how fast his daughter was 
advancing in school. And she'd graduated and finished. And the lumberjack said, 
"Well, I thought she was the cook with all that flour on her face."

The reference to homesteaders in this and the following tale meant 
much to George, a homesteader's son who followed in his father's 
path.

The settlers built a school house. And the first teacher that they hired that year, 
there was one homesteader that just didn't think he was good enough teacher. And the 
other members of the board thought he was alright. And they argued with the fella 
that was dissatisfied that he was alright, that it wasn't necessary to look for a 
new teacher. And the one that was dissatisfied said, "Well, y'know, I want my boy 
to be lawyer." And the other one spoke up and said, "Well, when your boy be lawyer, 
my bull'll be givin' milk."

There may be a trace of envy in these tales, but I doubt it. 
George had been to school in the big city, he had traveled in the 
Army, but his heart stayed with the land. There was nothing he 
liked better than exchanging rural lore with neighbors, or 
patiently enlightening eager but ignorant listeners like myself.

Not surprisingly, George delighted in narratives which dis-
play the countryman's cleverness at the expense of city folk. As 
a rural, forested area, Barron County has long been invaded 
seasonally by tourists, fishermen, hunters. While locals may wel-
come their business, many also resent these intruders who have 
been known to knock down fences and shoot cows. Visitors con-
sequently are fair game for pranks and tall tales, like this one 
involving retired lumberjack Paul Fournier.

One time a fella from Illiniose come up and Paul was his hunting guide. So in the 
morning Paul got out of the cabin and decided he'd go out and look over the land. 
He told the man to pay attention and he'd try to drive some bears back. So, Paul 
found a bear out in the woods and he got in its way and made it mad. It got to chasin' 
him and he was runnin' toward the cabin. But he fell down and the bear ran right past 
him and through the cabin door. Paul jumped up, slammed the door, and hollered in-
side: "Skin that one and I'll be back with another."9

As successful farmers who marketed sheep throughout the upper Mid-
west, the Russells had considerable dealings with well-to-do 
urbanites. Invariably, they held themselves equal to and sometimes 
better than those they met. George relished the memory of
a city girl named Foy. She was a lawyer's daughter and Ann [George's sister] worked for them. Ann took the girl home to the farm country one time, and we were out riding in the buggy. It was the late summertime and we were going through the fields. And Ann said, "Nice country, isn't it?" She said, "Yes, but you can't see over the corn."

The "city girl," accustomed to flashy urban surroundings, was ignorant on two counts: she had little conception of what lay beyond the corn, and she did not realize how much of the country's beauty resided precisely in the cornfields surrounding her. The remark became proverbial for George.10 Whenever I displayed similar naïveté, he would slap me on the back and say, "Jim, you're alright, but you can't see over the corn."

As a "man of the world" and a breeder of animals, Russell conveyed in his lore not only his regional and occupational consciousness, but also a fascination with sex. He told me, in reference to his youth, "I paid my money in sportin' houses and went about my business." Once, while working as a timber scaler, he met "an educated half-breed girl" who was waiting for a train in a hotel at South Leech Lake, Minnesota. With unembarrassed fond exuberance, George related how they went upstairs for "a little party," and "when she said goodbye, she threw her legs around me and drew me to her." A favorite joke recalls that era:

A schoolteacher come to Rainy Lake. And he got to where he was friendly with a girl who worked at the hotel. So they decided to get married. But they couldn't go anywhere for the honeymoon because he had to teach school and she had to work in the hotel. So they were gonna sleep the night there. Now, what this school teacher didn't know was that she'd had relations with some of the men in the town. And that night they decided to take a ladder and lean it up against the window and listen. And the top one would whisper down what was happening. So, he's saying [whispers] "Now they're getting into bed." And she told her husband, "You're puttin' it where no man ever put it before." And the fella on top whispered, "He's puttin' it in her asshole." 11

Following his roving days, when George was a bachelor in a tight-knit rural community, his sexual encounters were limited to infrequent trips to "sportin' houses" and the occasional favors of hired girls or neighbor women. One joke chronicles an attempted seduction similar to one George confessed to making on a young lady in the barn.

There was a young farmer and he had a girlfriend. And he took her out to show her his farm. And as they walked down through the field there was a cow and her little calf. And they were smellin' noses. And, uh, he said, "I'd like to do that." She says, "Go ahead, it's your cow." 12

Beyond romantic forays of his own, George showed great interest in the exploits of his acquaintances. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s he employed young hired men, many of whom spent evening hours parking with girlfriends. Their accounts and George's speculations (he gauged whether or not his employees had been "fooling around" by the redness of their eyes) reminded him of wild oats sown in his own youth. No wonder he enjoyed telling jokes about a Norwegian girl's loose ways with her beau:

Well, Ole was goin' with Lena. And Lena got in trouble. She took Ole to court for rape. And when the judge asked Lena how the condition of things were, she said [in dialect], "Well, he took so long he could, and he put it up to me so far so he could." And the judge said, "Did you holler, Lena?" "No, Ole had his mouth open, I thought he was gonna holler." 13
Lars and Lena was havin’ a little party one night and Lars said, "Do I hurt ya, Lena?" "Oh yes, you hurt me gude." 14

There was a couple went to the judge to get a marriage license. And the judge asked 'em if they had any blood relationship. "Yes, vunce in St. Paul and vunce in Minneapoli. Ole couldn't wait." 15

Even in his last years George was wary of old widow women who wanted to come round and cook meals for him. He figured he might be tempted to "take a little piece" and then they would want to marry him for his money.

Although an occasional seducer, fantasizer, and teller of bawdy stories, George was definitely not an indiscriminate "dirty old man." His conceptions of women were formed by the notions of his generation and preserved through his bachelor status. Writing about north country lumberjacks, Richard M. Dorson notes that they followed a scrupulous "code" of behavior. Lusty amongst "fast women," their manners were exemplary in the company of those "outside the 'profession.'" They loved their mothers, defended their sisters, and were gallant and sentimental toward sweethearts. 16

So it was with George. He never made advances or indiscreet remarks in the presence of "nice girls" or married women; he managed the farm for his mother after Patrick Russell's death, supported several sisters, and kept treasured mementoes of his lost sweetheart. And when he died, the bulk of his estate went to the convent of his sibling, Sister Lothair. In the words of my parents, George was "an Irish gentleman."

Perhaps because of his Irishry, George enjoyed a humorous quip for its own sake, and many of his true stories are built around the witty or foolish repartee of acquaintances. Typically, they concern some local, often communal work situation.

There was one Fourth of July our neighbor, Mr. Hillary Karas, was raising a new barn. And he invited some of the neighbors around to help him that day. My brother Charlie went over. And, in the evening, Mr. Karas had a keg of beer for them. So, he had a young boy of about nine years old, called Raymond. And the boy was telling them after the bee and the beer they'd had: "We had beer on July." And he meant the Fourth, it was the Fourth of July we raised the barn. And he said, "We had beer on July." 17

George also drew upon such sayings as mnemonic devices to aid him in recalling everyday incidents from his past; more subtly, these narratives emphasized the importance Russell placed on sociable talk in all phases of life.

Well, up on the Russell farm we used to cut about fifty cords of wood. And there was a man by the name of John Droste that had the machine that done the cutting. And the discussion come up, when we were cutting, about planting potatoes. What time? With the moon, and everyone had their own idea about plantin' potatoes. And Mr. Droste, the sawyer said, "Well, I'd get up in the morning and plant them." 18

After performing such a story, George would often repeat the final line several times, savor it, and chuckle. This was especially true of poetical or euphonious comments.

When I was working up on Rainy Lake we stayed at a boarding house. And the food wasn't always so good. So one morning this Irishman put down his plate and spoke to the lady that kept the place. He asked her [George put on his best brogue], "Have you got any ham, ma'am?" ["Ham" and "ma'am" are pronounced to rhyme as "hom" and "mom." ] "Have you got any ham, ma'am?" 18

Another time the families belonging to Our Lady of Lourdes parish in Dobie were asked to quarry and haul a certain amount of stone
from the nearby Blue Hills for the new church. The work was not easy and was only done in the cold of winter when the heavy stone could be towed across the snow on sleds.

Tom Donnelly and my brother Charlie had quarried up—what they call "quarryin' it out and throwin' it down." They had more than they needed for their loads. So Pat Haughian come in and he went up and loaded that loose stone on that they had quarried out and pulled down. And Tom said to Pat, "It didn't take you long." "Oh," he said, "there's luck in leisure." This was all quarried out for him. "There's luck in leisure."

Haughian's quick thinking was also lucky. Through it, he turned potential anger into laughter. And, in his telling, George laughed along with Tom and Charlie.

The man's appreciation of wit and humor sustained him throughout a long and sometimes difficult life. While many of his contemporaries fell prey to self pity, loneliness, drink, physical troubles, financial woe, and fear of death, George remained his irrepressible self. Indeed, George Russell's repertoire reveals a personal philosophy. Forever sociable, delighting in ethnic diversity, a proud defender of rural life, with an eye for the ladies, and a glib phrase on his lips, George always strove to experience his small world fully and enjoy its every phase. Not long before he died, I spent a day with him, sharing drinks and stories, visiting his old friend Jerry Booth, roaming the countryside, and devouring what he called "a good steak feed." As we drove home through the darkness, I mentioned what a fine day it had been. Eyes twinkling, he agreed, and added, "It's a grand life if you don't weaken." He never did, and it was.

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Notes

1 See particularly Richard M. Dorson, Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952).
2 Apparently this toast concerned a Minneapolis man who murdered his wife's lover early in the twentieth century.
4 This is AT 1332, "Lazy Nunskull Takes Place of Man on Gallows." American parallels may be found in Leonard Roberts, South From Hell-Fer-Sartin' (Berea, Kentucky: Council of the Southern Mountains, 1964), #54; and Joel Chandler Harris, Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings (New York: Appleton & Co., 1881), #23.
5 Legman, Rationale, gives a rural American accented version collected in New York in 1938, p. 447; Charles Gaulke, an old lumberjack from Rice Lake, Wisconsin, told the same tale about a Scandinavian girl.
6 For one of George's tales, not given here, concerning the struggles of a hardscrabble farmer, see my "More Than Just a Story," Badger Folktale Society Newsletter 1:2 (1978): 4-5.
8 Legman, No Laughing Matter: Rationale of the Dirty Joke, 2nd Series (Mhattan, New Jersey: Breaking Point, 1975), p. 369. There are no ethnic references here:
   No tits to twitch,
   No shit to pitch,
Just punch a hole in the son-of-a-bitch!  
---Carnation!


Farnation Milk is best in the land.
I have a can right here at hand.
No tabs to pull to dung to pitch.

Just punch a hole in the son of a ____.  

9 Baughman, ibid., cites versions from New York, Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, Colorado, and Wisconsin. Motif X54.1 "Bear chases man back to camp: he explains to fellow hunters that he is bringing it into camp to kill it because he did not want to have to carry it," p. 403.


12 Powers Moulton gives this joke in 2500 Jokes for All Occasions (Philadelphia: Circle Books, 1942), p. 202; Legman's Rationale offers a unexpurgated version, p. 225, where the couple watches a bull mating with a cow. The punchline is the same.

13 An alternative version, heard from George's neighbor Irwin Schroeder, concluded with "I hollered and I hollered, but the only one that came was Ole."

14 A slightly different version is given by Legman, Rationale, p. 705. A Swedish maid is "yumped" by the man of the house. She later confesses to his wife that "he fooked me--good!"


16 Dorson, Bloodstoppers, pp. 186-96.

17 I have also heard this told in the same vicinity as "I'd plant them in the ground."

18 Rhyming complaints by lumberjacks about food, often in the form of "graces" before meals, are given by Edward D. Ives amidst a discussion of the cante-fable in Larry Gorman, The Man Who Made the Songs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), pp. 143-45.
SOME PROBLEMS OF FOLKTALE RESEARCH
FROM BURGENLAND, AUSTRIA

Károly Gaál

Burgenland is the easternmost state of the Republic of Austria. Several decades ago the inhabitants of this region were predominantly subsistence farmers, barely eking out their existence on their small holdings and living in a forced conservatism. On the estates of the great aristocratic landowners were the settlements of the farm laborers, who in time developed a culture of their own. The state of the economy at that time can perhaps be best characterized in reference to the fact that more than a third of the population emigrated to America. When I began my ethnographic investigations in this state in 1960, a great economic and social transition had begun to take place, accompanied by parallel changes in the earlier traditional culture. During this time, the narration of Märchen—previously a frequent and widespread phenomenon also ceased. It was still possible, nevertheless, for me to make a number of observations which may be of some significance. Given the presence of many Croatian- and Hungarian-speaking people living alongside the predominantly German-speaking population in this state, it was also possible for me to examine the relationships between native language and other language groups.

It was in the fall of 1962. Every afternoon throughout the week I sat in the home of Johann Ribarics in the Hungarian-speaking town of Mitterpullendorf and listened as he told his tales to his loyal audience. My microphone lay upon the table as unnoticed as a forgotten knife, as unnoticed as myself, sitting toward the rear of the group of listeners with my tape recorder beside me. In this way I was able to capture not only the narrator's every word and emotional expression, but every comment or interjection on the part of his audience as well.

The days passed, one after the other, and after three weeks I had recorded over one hundred folktales from one narrator alone. I was jubilant. Proudly, I wanted to report my success to the local magistrate who had shown so much understanding for my work. When I called on him, a meeting of the community council was in session. The council members present—farmers between the ages of forty and seventy—listened to my tape in silence. I thought they were pleased. Then, suddenly, one of them said, "Well, this is a fine shame you've brought upon us. Is this the sort of person you want to represent Mitterpullendorf? That nobody with all his lies? Why don't you write about the fact that we built a new school?" The magistrate just looked at me, and I too said nothing. But I had come to a new realization—that for these farmers the telling of Märchen is a sign of laziness and a source of shame.

Two years later, in 1964, I went to a German-speaking village. There, too, I was looking for Märchen tellers. But in this case I inquired simply about "storytellers"—for by then I had realized that the storyteller is a highly-esteemed, clever farmer, whereas the Märchen teller is merely a nobody. Thus I was sent
to see a number of different men, who were always described in
glowing terms: "He knows a lot of stories; he's a clever fellow,"
or "He was also in America, and has lots of stories," and "He
reads so much!"

One after the other, I sought out the recommended informants,
and it was true that they were good "storytellers." They told
stories about what they had read or what they had experienced.
But what I was looking for was not to be found. No jokes, no
humorous stories, just didactic ramblings concerning literature and
the tellers' former sojourns in America. Not one of them was a
Märchen teller.

Then, finally, one innkeeper perceptively remarked: "Now
I know what you're looking for. Go over and see the old Sepp-
Väder ("uncle"). He'll spin some lies for you. He's a cripple. Fell
off a haywagon, and hasn't been able to work ever since. He just
sits around and waits for someone to come along that he can tell
his lies to." And so I found Johann Biochof. To this day he has
remained my best German-speaking narrator from Burgenland.

Years later, around 1968, I found myself not far from the
Austrian border in Dubrovnik in north Slovenia, once again on the
trail of Märchen narrators. The parson sent me to see an elderly
farmer, who actually did know many stories. He told me stories
about the war, about the partisans, and about everything which
nowadays constitutes the usual storytelling fare—but not the Märchen.
(Yes, he was a farmer, and he owned his own farm.) When I
explained to him that I really wanted to hear something different,
he showed himself quite willing to help. "Yes, I know what you're
looking for. You're looking for a liar. Go see that fellow over
there. He's always telling lies."

Little did I suspect that he was sending me to see his enemy,
whom he wanted to humiliate. As soon as I walked in I had the
feeling that I had come to the wrong place. Everything was too
well-kept, and the furnishings were quite new. The family that
lived in this house was well-off. I introduced myself to the old
couple. Right away they began to tell me how they had spent a
long time in America. They told me about their return, and about
how they had come to settle down in the village once again. They
spent their twilight years reading books, and found it pleasant
and useful to elaborate on what they had read. My tape recorder
took down the old couple's "stories." But when I said that I was
looking for something that began with something like "Once upon
a time. . . .," the old farmer stood up. "My dear sir, you are in
the wrong place. We are somebody in this village. We have always
done honest work. We've never had time to snoop around or sit
around listening to a liar. What would people have said, if we
had! But I know what you are looking for. You want to visit those
nobodies who've never held a regular job, who have only been
day laborers, living from day to day." He went out in front of
his house and pointed across the stream to a small, run-down
house. "That's where you belong. Now, goodbye!" And so I was
thrown out for thinking that Märchen were so popular.

I went over to the house which had been pointed out to me.
There was an old woman there, close to death. A young girl,
stylishly dressed, inquired what I wanted. "Oh, you're looking
for Grandfather. He's at home." Thus I met Karol Karacz. Within
minutes he was telling Märchen. He became my best north Slovenian
Märchen narrator.

In the Croatian village of Stinatz in Burgenland I came
across another situation which shed light on the strongly marked
social distance between a village's inhabitants and their "liars."
Here there lived a large number of pensioners, one-time seasonal workers and shift-laborers. Here, remarkably, it is the old women who tell stories and not the men, who are recognized narrative specialists elsewhere in the region. The women tell Märchen, Legenden, and Sagen. In this village I collected over one hundred forty Märchen in the space of four weeks, without social conflicts. The most important personality among these narrators was named Maria Kirisits.  

My experiences have convinced me that not only the narrative materials, but also the social status of the folktales narrator and the social background of his public represent important research questions.

My research raised two other very important questions: is it possible to perceive differences in the narrative materials within this essentially trilingual area, and, if so, does one's native language play the segregative role so often ascribed to it? In southwest Pannonia, German, Croatian, and Hungarian villages exist side-by-side within a narrow area. The inhabitants have lived for centuries according to the same unwritten social laws, and they share a communal destiny under nearly identical material circumstances. They have been uniformly affected by modern developments. Could the spiritual property of these people be separated by language? Can distinctly different German, Croatian, and Magyar Märchen worlds be found here? Before addressing these questions I will present brief biographies of the three most important Märchen narrators from Burgenland.

Johann Ribarics

Johann Ribarics was seventy-five years old when I met him. He lived as a pensioner in his hometown of Mitterpullendorf. He even owned his own house, which consisted of a kitchen, a sitting-room, and a bedroom. It stood next to the Slooerbach river and was badly damaged by high water at least every other year. The history of the house was, at least in part, the history of its owner. The house had at one time been the village poorhouse, where the old, destitute farmers and day laborers were thrown. Here lived those who had become useless members of society, and here they died. They received their food from the farm families, who took turns meeting this responsibility. With active but unsuccessful lives behind them, and paupers' graves before them, these old men were together throughout the day. They told each other the Märchen which they had heard and learned on their travels throughout the kingdom, and which they then reworked according to their own tastes.

Ever present at the storytelling sessions of these destitute men was a small guest, the child of a destitute and disrespected family—Johann Ribarics. He did not play with the other children, who did not want to play with the "beggarboy." So he sat among the old men and listened. When he grew to school-age the traditional culture of his social group was already breaking down, and the storytelling group became his "school of continuing education." In the winter he did go to school; but in the summer he stayed out. He had to work somewhere, as a gooseherd, paid or unpaid. The main thing was not to eat at home, where one would find many hungry mouths, but too little bread.

Already, at the age of fourteen, Johann Ribarics was a day laborer. Then he joined the military service and soon gained respect—not from his superiors, but from his barracks companions, whom he would entertain with his all-night storytelling sessions, which were customary in the military at that time. He would often
tell stories until three in the morning. After the war, Johann Ribarics became an itinerant worker, here today, there tomorrow. When he married, he could hardly earn a living in his home town, where too many were unemployed and there were too few opportunities for work. In the end he found work as a railroad tracklayer. Here, too, he soon became the center of attention among his fellow workers, who enjoyed listening to his Märchen. Johann Ribarics’ wife bore nine children, just as there had been nine children in his own childhood home. Thus he acquired his family nickname "Old Niner." Is it any wonder that Ribarics worked the number nine into his Märchen as often as he could?

When he reached the age of a pensioner with his children long out on their own and his wife already in the graveyard, Ribarics bought the former poorhouse. Here, for the first time in his life, he was able to spend his days without worry. Before long the other castaway old men would come to him, and after a bit of conversation would come the invitation: "Say, János, do you remember...?" János did remember, and would ask: "Well, should I tell something short or something long?" It was always the same reply: "Something short." "Well, all right, then I will tell you something long."

He told his Märchen one after the other, and soon neither he nor his listeners were living in this world, but rather in another, where the poor lad or outcast could become a hero and struggle freely to win his just reward. It would take too long to recount the stories which Johann Ribarics told. Rather, I wish to depict the way in which Johann Ribarics narrated.

He sat quietly. Slowly spoken, but beautifully crafted, were the words and sentences. And through the silences—in themselves most telling—through the pauses, with small, sparing hand movements, he could create excitement. It was an experience to watch him. His eyes came to life, suddenly revealing a different man from the tired old Johann Ribarics. I had, at the time, gone to him as an investigator, but I soon became one of his audience. Even his manner of delivery, which would strike the outsider as monotonous, captivated me, making me forget the cares of the city and its daily trials.

Johann Ribarics once told a Märchen in which a king’s son, far from home, learns that his mother is ill, incurably ill with longing for her son. No doctor could help the queen. The prince travelled to the capital of the kingdom and, dressed as a doctor, went to see his mother. He examined her, and just as everyone said that it was hopeless and there was no cure, he said: "I know what illness this is, and the prescription is love." Then to his mother he said: "My dear mother, I am here, your son. Arise! I have returned to you." And the queen, his mother, became well. As fascinated as all the other listeners, I watched Johann Ribarics. Suddenly he rose, straight as a rod, and like a young man "Old Niner" stood there before us. His eyes sparkled, and the old man seemed as if old wounds were sparking new sorrows within him. "Yes, I once wanted to marry a girl. Today she lives in Budapest. But my mother wouldn’t allow it. And just as the king’s son went to his mother, so I, now that I am grown old and am free once again, would like to go to that girl and say: ‘My beloved, I know what your illness is, and I bring you love.’ And I would carry this woman back here now in my own two arms, so my life would be happy at last."

I collected more than one hundred Märchen from Johann Ribarics, then analyzed them in terms of narrative style, social setting, and the attitude of the narrator. In all of them, a quiet
revolution of the socially disadvantaged was taking place. Each tale pointed to unfairness and social injustice, but not with bitterness or hate. Johann Ribarics could and did awaken love among his listeners. Thus his personality, his knowledge, and his art always achieved the same effect which, in keeping with traditional taste, was expected of him by his audience.

Maria Kirisits

Maria Kirisits and her husband made their home at the outskirts of the Croatian town of Stinatz. After decades of traveling and working they had both returned home to their native village. They had no children, and so they converted an old farmhouse to serve as their small home. It was not a farmer's home, but rather a typical worker's residence. The couple had not been able to create a country lifestyle for themselves. Maria Kirisits and her husband had always been workers, who nevertheless remained rooted in the culture of their village. They had not worked in the region where their forebears had been living since the sixteenth century. From the early days of their marriage up to the time of their retirement, they had worked at the edge of a large city, and had lived at the edge of life.

Maria Kirisits, who was just over eighty years of age, came from a family of small farmers. All the family members had to take on additional hire work, since their few poor fields barely provided even the most necessary items for their table. The father, mother, and five children stuck close together; the Jelisits parents were probably already valuable individual bearers of traditional village culture. (When will it finally be recognized that the personalities of traditional village culture are not indebted to the personalities of the high culture? In the final analysis, every culture has its own specific bearers who promote cultural creativity and transmission within the contexts of their own personal social groups.

The mother of Maria Kirisits was known throughout the village for the eggs which she painted and decorated. The father was esteemed for his ability to work—but also for the variety and quality of his stories. In the winter, when the fields hardly required the farmer's attention, father Jelisits would gather his family around him on the long evenings. Then he would tell his Märchen, which he had heard in the military service and on his summer travels to seek employment from Germans, Croats, Hungarians, and even from Czechs and Slovaks. Father Jelisits was himself trilingual—along with his native Croatian he also spoke both German and Hungarian. The children, too, grew up to be trilingual. Throughout the year the three girls and two boys heard their father tell Märchen, Sagen, and Legenden, which they themselves later told. (The history of the narrative materials within this family could itself constitute the subject of a study of tale migration in southwest Pannonia. Within this trilingual cultural area, these stories have wandered and continue to wander, independent of both political and linguistic boundaries. The old narrative stock, transmitted from generation to generation, continues to live on and mingle with the new, in such a way that there has been no petrifaction, but rather constant development. One of Maria Kirisits' brothers, Johann Jelisits, has become a well-known German-speaking narrator in a German-speaking village, with his treasury of tales learned from his parents.)

These evenings of Märchen-telling in the Jelisits' small farmhouse could never last too long, for the children had to awaken early. Maria had already gone into service at the age of twelve.
The family had to eat. The man whom Maria later married was also from the village. But, like his bride, the young Kirisits was without means. The couple had to find paid work; but in the village there lived only small farmers, who required no additional hired help and who could not afford it in any case. And so the Kirisits left the village.

They went to Vienna and found employment in the brickworks outside the city. There they worked for decades. In the mass housing, they lived together with Czechs, Hungarians, Slovenes, and German country people. Their work began in the gray of the early morning, and in the evening only a straw mattress awaited their tired bodies. As Maria Kirisits herself tells, there were times when they had to eat beans twenty-one times a week; morning, noon, and night, nothing but beans.

The capital saw the Kirisits only on Sundays, when they were onlookers, so to speak, of Vienna's cultural life. They could not take part actively. The Kirisits spoke a different language, and they wore no city clothes. They merely looked. Thus, the Kirisits lived in Vienna for decades, at home at the brickyards; but all the while, during those long years, their spiritual life remained fixed on their own native village of Stinatz.

The couple saved their money. They trembled at the prospect of unemployment, and they collected their pension receipts—for they wanted to enjoy their retirement in Stinatz. After a life which was childless and filled with work, the Kirisits wanted to return to Stinatz to spend their remaining years.

Even among the tileworkers, who came from all parts of the Empire, Maria Kirisits stood as the center of attention. She was always cheerful and willing to help whenever she could. And the old people and children were glad when Maria Kirisits told the Märchen, Legenden, and Sagen she had learned from her father. Her storytelling art let people forget that they were tired and hungry, and let them forget that here, in the brickworks, they were far from home.

When she told stories, Maria Kirisits was able to identify with every situation and character in her folktales. I myself have seen her face take on almost masculine features. She was the gallant, heroic young man, and she was the sacrificing, loving wife. I have never seen a narrator, man or woman, who shared the lives and sorrows of Märchen characters as fully and vividly as did Maria Kirisits. In her I discovered that dramatic ability for which every good Märchen teller must strive, but which must be measured by a different standard from that applied to the drama of the stage artist.

When the Kirisits reached their well-earned retirement, they returned home to Stinatz. But they could not return completely. Of course, they were originally from the village and had all their blood relations there. Nevertheless, they had become strangers of a sort. Their generational ties had been broken, and only those of the same age as themselves came to visit regularly.

Maria Kirisits achieved recognition as a good singer in the parish. The retired workers of the village valued her as a "colleague," And at Easter time she was asked to decorate Easter eggs for her village acquaintances. Often in the afternoons several women, and occasionally some men, would come to sit in her kitchen, where they would entertain themselves. They were retirees like herself, and they cursed their loneliness. This was not an audience like Ribarics, but rather a group in which the day-to-day events were discussed. Only after simple conversation had
been exhausted would Maria Kirisits be asked to tell stories. And then she could not freely pick and choose from among her treasury of tales, for she was always being asked to tell specific stories. The tastes—one could almost say the demands—of her listeners lay more in the direction of Legenden and Sagen. I heard only a few Märchen from Maria Kirisits.

Maria Kirisits used no opening and closing formulas. She always plunged right into the midst of her stories, so that one hardly noticed when she made the transition from the reality of everyday life to the world of the folktale. Her narrative style was lively, but at the same time quiet. She was a born actress, playing many roles upon a one-man stage. Maria Kirisits' own lifestyle was reflected in the dramatis personae of her tales. During general discussions she herself spoke seldom about her own life, her difficult work, her years of absence. Her Märchen characters said it all for her.

Thus, in southwest Pannonia I found further evidence that narrative content is not the only important consideration in narrative research. The personal history of the narrator is at least as important, just as his narrative style may hold more expressive power than the words of the narrative itself.

Johann Bischof

Johann Ribarics and Maria Kirisits belonged to that group of people in southwest Pannonia who were constantly in search of work, who were forced to spend many years away from the familiar surroundings of their village communities, and who grew up in multi-lingual environments. They told their stories in one language or the other, according to the native language of the majority of their listeners. Johann Bischof lived in the German-speaking village of Wolfau, and he told his tales only in German.

Johann Bischof spent the greater part of his life in his native village. He was the son of a small farmer, with no prospect of being able to remain on his parents' farm which—as was generally the case for this level of farming society—was barely able to provide a living. The entire family took on paid work in order to survive. Nevertheless the Bischofs were able to get work in the surrounding neighborhood, or sometimes even in the village itself. His family was known for its large number of children, and the children themselves were noted for their mischievousness.

Johann Bischof became an apprentice to a wagonmaker. While he was still a young man he married a farmer's daughter who was some ten years older than himself and went to live at her parents' farm. As was customary in farming society, Bischof, as a sort of stagehand, had to work on the farm as an unpaid hand and had no say in running the farm. For Johann Bischof, there had to be more to life than that. He tried to earn his living as an itinerant peddler. In Wolfau and the surrounding vicinity he bought up homemade baskets and went with them from house to house through-out Obersteiermark.

Johann Bischof plied his trade primarily during the winter. The farmers, above all those in the more remote and scattered locations, were happy to talk with this vendor from Burgenland. For the inhabitants of Steiermark it was certainly a welcome change, and perhaps even held something of the charm of the unknown, to have an opportunity to speak with a "Hungarian." (At that time, the inhabitants of what is now Burgenland were regarded as Hungarians, regardless of the fact the majority were speakers of other languages.)

Bischof fulfilled all of his customers' expectations. He told
them about actual events, but even more often he told them stories which he himself had made up. And when he grew tired of these invented tales he told Märchen he had learned in the military service. The fact that he cleaned them up a bit and tailored them to the tastes of his listeners was, for Johann Bischof, a minor detail. One could confidently say that Johann Bischof’s folktales served his commercial interests, as a means to an end.

When he was a peddler, Johann Bischof never told Märchen in his home town. His basket business flourished, and his Märchen often helped him come by his money more easily. Just as easily he also found drinking companions when it came time to settle the bill. Good natured farmers gathered around him, several deep, to hear his jokes and tall tales. He himself did not need to worry about ridicule, when he occasionally met with people of status. The story of Johann Bischof, the joker and liar, spread at last as far as his hometown of Wolfau. He was already a legendary figure in his own time. For the researcher it is also interesting to note the fact that in Wolfau and the vicinity there arose a new body of narrative materials—a homogenous body, consisting of both those stories which were told about Johann Bischof and those which were told by Bischof himself.

Characteristic of his narrative style was his degree of personal participation. He put himself into everything he told. Whether he was relating one of his own adventures or an actual folktale, he was always an active participant in the happenings he depicted. His tales were closely linked to his surroundings. His Märchen characters, even the heroes, all came from Wolfau, and even their names were those of the local Wolfau families.

Johann Bischof also plied his trade in what is today Hungary. Then he would trade produce for Plattensee wine. In Hungary, as elsewhere, the people gladly let themselves be insulted by this comical fellow, whether they actually understood his German or not. When he returned he always had a slew of stories to tell. He had experienced so much, and he reworked the tall tales which he had heard in Hungary, setting the distinctive Bischof seal upon them.

After a serious accident ended his traveling career, he had to live at home or, for an occasional change, at various sanitariums. But he did not give up; he acquired a new and different audience. All day long he would provide the finest entertainment for the patients, the staff, and the doctors when he was at the sanitarium.

As the husband of a farmer’s daughter, Johann Bischof had done well for himself. But his rise in social status was mitigated by the nonconformity of his career; an itinerant tradesman could not count on respect on the part of the village community. So he only came into contact with the village residents when he had to repair something for them. Still, if one happened to be around at the time, one could probably hear a tall tale or two. He used grand gestures when he narrated, and attempted to convince his audience that what he said was the truth and nothing but the truth. At the same time, he fully expected not to be believed.

Johann Bischof’s many-sided talent—and even more so his language, which was livelier and far richer than that of his fellow villagers—made him a true personality and set him apart from the village community. People said that he was not just a Märchen teller, but rather a "story-maker" (G’schichtenmacher). His stories became part of the narrative corpus of the multilingual southwest Pannonian region. The fact that he narrated only in German did not play the slightest part in the spread of his tales and of his reputation.
I have now presented three types of Märchen tellers characteristic of the southwest Pannonian area. Of course, I recorded the stories of Johann Ribarics, Marie Kirisits, and Johann Bischof on tape; but not one of these three told their stories only for the researcher. The recordings were made while the tellers were among their usual audience of listeners, and they narrated just as they always narrated: using traditional forms within the framework of their own life experiences. There are folktale tellers who perform for a researcher and his lifeless tape recorder in the absence of their accustomed public. This method certainly captures the "research results" in tangible form, but only as a static narrative divorced from its function. The role of the living Märchen in a community and its social function within this community can certainly never be discerned through this sort of collection technique. Not only does the narrator behave differently in a physical sense, but his voice also reflects the absence of the accustomed audience, adjusting as much as possible to the "unusual" circumstances. An experiment of this sort with the three folktale tellers presented here confirmed what I have just said. With only myself present, the three informants gave me only pretty versions of their tales. But with the accustomed audience present, the life behind the very same texts genuinely came through.

Without exception, all of my folktale tellers belonged to the lower levels of society. They commanded no respect in the eyes of the well-to-do farmers; they were "nobody's." None of them had spent his entire life in his native village. They all came into contact with members of different linguistic groups and, in doing so, exchanged narrative materials. Apart from the native language of each of the narrators, and in spite of the mosaic-like grouping of settlements of each separate language group, a comparison of the tales of these narrators—each of whom spoke a different language—shows that the motifs and elements are the same. Language-specific forms of expression can account for only the most insignificant differences in their repertoires. Rather, the dramatic-expressive talent of the Märchen narrator and his personality are the decisive factors which enable him to acquire a regular audience. Only those tellers whose Märchen characters take on form—a form shaped by the teller's art—are true Märchen narrators. These artists enjoy, at least among their regular audience, the highest recognition.

Within southwest Pannonia, the tale-telling personalities discussed here acquired and passed on their personal narrative materials in forms which transcended cultural distinctions. This observation makes no claims to general validity; nevertheless it will hold true wherever men of different language groups share the same social standing, where they constitute a "community of shared destiny," a common way of life which renders differences in language meaningless.

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Notes

1 The Croatian Märchen of Stinatz are scheduled for publication in 1980.
A BUCOVINA SZEKLER STORYTELLER TODAY

Agnes Kovács

Mrs. Agoston Fábián, Mária Györfi (nicknamed Mária Rudi), is a well-known storyteller. A Szekler woman from the Bucovina who now lives in the village of Kakasd, she has appeared several times on stage and on television, and in 1974 she was chosen "Outstanding Representative of Folk Art in Tolna County," a title established to honor people who are active in preserving the vitality of folk tradition. Her activity includes storytelling performances at country schools, libraries, and cultural centers. She is the storyteller of the Szekler Folk Art Ensemble of Kakasd, and as a nurse she regularly tells tales to nursery school children in Kakasd. For several years a Tolna county newspaper regularly published her tales for an audience of children. During this period (1970-1978) Ádám Sebestyén, the well-known chronicler of Bucovina Szeklers, recorded 170 of her tales. In 1979, ninety of these were published under the title Bukovinai székely népmesék ("Bucovina Szekler Folktales"). 1 Seventy-eight of her tales—-together with the tales told by her husband, her father, her uncle, and her young "pupil" Rózsika Mátýás—are still in manuscript. These too should be published before long.

Amateur folklore collector Ádám Sebestyén lives in the same village, where he has served since childhood as parish choir master and as founder of the local folk ensemble. He, too, is of peasant origin. He must have met Mrs. Fábián quite often. Nevertheless, he is rather laconic in his introduction to the Bukovinai székely népmesék. "I am a man of few words," he says of himself, and indeed he prefers to let others comment on and judge his collection. I am currently annotating Mr. Sebestyén's collection and would like to present a fuller picture of the storytellers themselves; hence, this short essay on the narrative art of Mrs. Fábián. I have drawn upon her tales, interviews with her, and correspondence with Ádám Sebestyén.

This essay also draws upon Linda Dégh's fieldwork in Kakasd between 1947 and 1954; the results of this fieldwork developed into a dissertation and a two-volume collection of tales, published in the series Uj Magyar Népköltési Gyűjtemény ("New Collection of Hungarian Folk Poetry"). An abridged version of her research was published in German, and later in English, as well. 2 As Dr. Dégh's research on the narrators of Kakasd has reached such a wide audience, the description of another storyteller from the same village should be of interest for international research.

Ádám Sebestyén mentions that the storytelling art of Mrs. Fábián has some traits in common with the storytelling talent of János Zaicz, the famous storyteller and "seer." János Zaicz was the brother of Mrs. József Palkó, Linda Dégh's favorite storyteller. The collector had the opportunity to hear János Zaicz's storytelling in his childhood and thinks that the common feature of Mr. Zaicz and Mrs. Fábián was their talent for attracting the attention of the audience. The storytelling art of Mrs. Palkó became well-known among folklorists through the work of Linda Dégh, but Mr. Zaicz died before researchers could conduct a thorough study of his
artistry. Therefore, as I cannot compare Mrs. Fábián's style to Mr. Zaicz's, I will draw parallels between Mrs. Fábián and Mrs. Palkó.

To use a simile from the world of sports, Mrs. Palkó resembles Mrs. Fábián in much the same way as a long distance runner resembles a sprinter. They are basically different personalities, a fact which is manifested not only in the length of their tales but also in the flavor of their storytelling. Mrs. Palkó was a deeply religious woman with a marked inclination to mysticism, a healer whose knowledge of the dark side of life is reflected in her affinity for Märchen which feature unfortunate heroines.

Though a lame and childless woman with a very realistic view of life, Mrs. Fábián is a good-humored, even-tempered person who prefers joyful tales and sees no contradiction in her various activities: doing housework, amusing children, and taking part in stage performances which accompany her storytelling activity. This basic difference between the two is intensified by a difference of twenty years in their ages: Mrs. Palkó was seventy when her tales were collected; Mrs. Fábián is not yet fifty. It is also important to note that twenty years passed between Linda Dégh's fieldwork and Ádám Sebestyén's collecting. Undoubtedly, this lapse of time has had a positive effect on the process of collecting (due to the improved technical equipment used in fieldwork), but has had just the reverse effect on the intensity of storytelling in the village.

Today, except for nursery school children and her own husband, Mrs. Fábián does not tell tales to anybody in Kakasd. During our conversations, she reminisced about the 1950s, when she worked on the neighboring cooperatives together with forty other Szekler women—among them some from the village of Kakasd—and told tales to them in the evenings after work. Even today, she cherishes the memories of how she was asked to tell tales and how heartily her listeners laughed at her tales. Since 1955 she has been a nurse in the nursery school of Kakasd-Belac; this one-time entertainer of adults has become a storyteller for children aged three to six.

It was her husband who called Ádám Sebestyén's attention to her talent. Ádám Sebestyén at that time collected tales and was looking for storytellers. Mrs. Fábián's storytelling made such a deep impression on him that he invited her to be the storyteller of the Szekler Folk Art Ensemble of Kakasd, established in 1973. This group visited all the neighboring villages and was also invited to perform on television in Budapest. Since the ensemble was founded, Mrs. Fábián's successful performances have won the ensemble not only the Golden Peacock Prize (which honors amateur folk art groups) and a decoration as an outstanding folk artist of Tolna county, but also several invitations to entertain various groups. She has visited a number of schools and children's libraries at the Szekszárd center of Tolna county, as well as the women's club in Paks and several retirement homes. Thus, her audience has grown to include children aged six to eleven, housewives, and aged pensioners.

At the nursery school, Mrs. Fábián tells a tale every day. She performed for adults every two to three weeks until her father's death in November 1979. Since then, she has refused invitations for some time, a fact which has not displeased her husband. Mrs. Fábián puts on her Szekler festive costume whenever she performs outside her own village.

By contrast, Mrs. Palkó—even though she had passed through
three countries in the course of the Szekler evacuation from Bucovina—did not set her feet outside her own village once she had settled with her family in Kakasd; in this, Mrs. Palkó was like other peasant women. She travelled to the capital only once when, thanks to Linda Dégh, she was awarded the well-deserved title "Master of Folk Art." Apart from wakes—when she performed for the entire community—she also told tales to her fellow women and to children. As we know from Linda Dégh's work, Mrs. Palkó considered long fairy tales such as Őrtestvér (AT 450) and Deszkavári királyfi (AT 532) to be fit for wakes. However, she made no distinction between tales told for the collector, for children, or for women.

In the course of our conversations between 18 and 21 February 1980, Mrs. Fábián not only told me the sources of her tales (that is, whether she heard them orally or read them), but also explained what tales she considered suitable for certain audiences. For nursery school children, she mainly tells animal tales and formula tales; for schoolchildren, fairy tales; for grown-ups, realistic joyful tales. This fact has also been mentioned by Ádám Sebestyén in the introduction to his Bukovinai székely népmesék, but the collector does not elaborate on his statement. This was one of the reasons why I undertook interviews with Mrs. Fábián. The other was that parents who bought the book did not know what sort of tales to tell their children; they read Mrs. Fábián's published tales to their nursery-age children without such discrimination. Mrs. Fábián was astounded at this practice, because she never tells to small children tales in which death, ghosts, or other frightening figures appear. Thus, in the nursery school, she never tells "The Dead Bridegroom" (AT 365), "The Devil's Mistress" (AT 407B), or "Godfather Death" (AT 332). Although she likes the latter and knows all three quite well, they are fading slowly from her repertoire, because they are suitable neither for didactic purposes, nor for nursery- and schoolchildren, nor for the amusement of grown-ups.

Several times, I witnessed Mrs. Fábián's nursery school performances. They normally take place around eleven o'clock, when all the children sit down in a semicircle on a rug. Mrs. Fábián sits in the midst of them on a chair holding a little girl in her lap. She never tells more than two or three tales at a time. She chooses these according to the children's wishes or by her own decision. She takes care not to tell two longer tales on the same occasion, and also not to repeat the same tales too often. Children especially like cumulative tales which involve numerical progressions, because such narratives allow them to take part in the storytelling by repeating the numbers in chorus with the narrator. At the end of the performance, they say thanks for the tale. The children of nursery school age do listen to fairy tales with interest, but Mrs. Fábián shortens and simplifies them according to the needs of her audience. For example, when she tells the tale Rózsa és Ibolya ("The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight," AT 313) to grown-ups, Mrs. Fábián ends with the episode in which Rózsa forgets Ibolya (AT 313C); whereas in her version for nursery school children (AT 313A), this scene is omitted. At the nursery school, she has told a much simpler version of Egigérő fa ("The Princess in the Sky-Tree," AT 468; D1415.2.5), which has not been found elsewhere in an Hungarian language area. Thus, several of her tales have two versions: one for smaller children and one for older ones. A few of these pairs are reproduced in the second volume of the Sebestyén collection. Obviously, then, old techniques
of one-to-one recording are not sufficient to capture the artistry of a storyteller who narrates to different audiences. To realize the actual form and function of the tales, we must listen to them in the presence of the intended audience.

As I am still at the beginning of my research, I must rely principally on previously recorded tales. Most of Mrs. Palkó's repertoire is known from the two volumes of Kakasdi népmesék ("Folktales of Kakasdi"). The entire repertoire of Mrs. Fábián is known only to her husband, to Ádám Sebestyén and his wife, and to myself. Though Mrs. Palkó told much longer tales, Mrs. Fábián's repertoire is much larger. But let us not consider the length and number of tales as indicators of value; suffice it to say that both narrators have perfectly fulfilled their self-determined functions. Mrs. Palkó took it upon herself to amuse those present at wakes, but the popularity of wakes has dwindled since her death. Mrs. Fábián, on the other hand, occupies herself with amusing the nursery school children of Belac and audiences of older children and adults outside her village.

In both cases the question of sources deserves attention; family tradition plays an important role for both storytellers. Mrs. Palkó mentions her father and brother as her principal sources. Mrs. Fábián refers to her father, her grandmother, and one of her aunts, and I discovered in the course of our conversations that she has learnt a number of tales from her husband as well.

Both women used printed sources, as well. When she was living in Andrásfalva, Bucovina, Mrs. Palkó had her son read tales from Elek Benedek's collection. The style of Benedek's tales reflects that of the genuine Szekler-Hungarian storyteller. When read aloud, these tales leave the audience with the impression that they are listening to a "native" storyteller. The Benedek tales Mrs. Palkó heard in her youth were incorporated into her repertoire in much the same way as were the oral narratives learned from her brother and father at a later age. In her later years, however, she adopted tales in a different way. The earliest "book tales" borrowed only a few episodes and some characteristic Szekler expressions, but those learned later in life are much closer to the written source, following the original plot very closely, and show little influence from her individual storytelling style. In the second volume of her Kakasdi népmesék, Linda Dégh presents illuminating examples of this feature.4

Unlike Mrs. Palkó, Mrs. Fábián is not illiterate; she enjoyed reading in her childhood and youth in Andrásfalva. She and her father most enjoyed reading from Benedek's collection, especially from the second half of the third volume of Magyar mese és mondavilág ("Hungarian Folktales and Legends").5 She adopted almost all of these tales into her repertoire. The volume had once been in the possession of the family, though it was lost in the course of the evacuation. Her father, Rudolf Györfi, often told these tales to his children. That is why Mária Györfi, his eldest child, never imitated Benedek's style despite the fact that she has had the opportunity to read the printed text, as well.

Mrs. Fábián's style is in striking contrast to that of Jolán Kalas, a blind storyteller from the northern Hungarian village of Sajóvelezd. Mrs. Kalas learned the Benedek tales in her childhood, but repeated them, even in her old age, with Benedek's characteristically Szekler phrases—a style quite different from the so-called palóc style of northern Hungary.6 Not so Mrs. Fábián: her style, full of lucid and apt sentences, ornamented with Szekler dialect words which retain the original Szekler intonation, does not follow
Elek Benedek. Mrs. Fábián borrows only the subject, and sometimes the shorter episodes and morals of the tales. She takes special care of not using any improper expressions. Mrs. Fábián, and her father before her, sometimes altered significantly the plots of the Benedek tales. One of her tales, Vas Laci (AT 312D), corresponds to Benedek's tale of the same title only in its first episode. In other parts, Mrs. Fábián adopts a number of motifs and episodes from other tales while omitting a number of Benedek's episodes, thus completely recomposing the text. As in Mrs. Palkó's tales, the disappearance of the written source and the continuous repetition of Mrs. Fábián's tales result in the crystallization of the recomposed forms which come to life in the storyteller's repertoire. In other texts—for instance in the tale Csudaerejű sár (AT 613)—though she sometimes makes mistakes, Mrs. Fábián's talent in composition clearly outstrips that of Benedek.

While making notes to the Bukovinai székely népmesék, I came to believe that Mrs. Fábián must have read the tales of János Kriza and Mrs. Palkó, as well as Benedek's. However, it came to light during our conversations that though she has seen the two volumes of Kakasdi népmesék, she has had no chance to acquire a thorough knowledge of these tales, and she does not even know János Kriza's folklore collection. That portion of her repertoire which originated in folk tradition is much richer than I first suspected. Mrs. Fábián does have, however, another written source which she has used artfully in her capacity as nurse. She regularly reads the storybooks in the library of the nursery and listens to the tales read by the teachers, adopting those she likes best, and even telling them to the collector. Among these written sources are other Benedek tales, the folklore collection of László Arany, Gyula Illyés' collection of Hetvenhét magyar népmese ("77 Hungarian Folktales"), several Grimm tales, other foreign tales translated into Hungarian, and even so-called modern tales written by well-known authors. This part of her repertoire seems to be the most casual, the least organized, and the least constant. Nevertheless, such stories are an essential part of her tale stock.

Henrik Lovas, director of the Library of Tolna County, maintained that Mrs. Fábián's entire repertoire should be published. I agreed that the opportunity to present the entire repertoire of an accomplished storyteller should not be missed. As far as I know, never in the history of folklore research on individual repertoires has such a project been undertaken. In my notes to the second volume of Bukovinai székely népmesék, I intend to designate the stable items of Mrs. Fábián's repertoire, as well as the more or less casual and occasional ones, which she read once and may have easily forgotten soon after she told them had they not been included in the first volume. Because it is often read, this book has affected the storyteller herself and has helped to a great extent to stabilize her repertoire as it existed at the time of collecting, preserving even those tales which might have been forgotten.

The storytelling process experienced and described by Linda Dégh in the early 'fifties has continued up to the 'seventies, especially in the case of Mrs. Fábián. The effect of printed texts on folk poetry has been strengthened by the increasing size of the reading public and the mass of folklore collections designed for a wider public. Mrs. Fábián heard many book tales in her early childhood, listened to tales read by teachers at the nursery school, and read tales to her husband, but her storytelling talent helped her transform tales she had read into orally performed texts.
Carl-Herman Tillhagen made his informant Milosh take an oath that he had never read tales from printed sources. But centuries of printed texts have greatly affected the orally transmitted and recorded tales of the Szeklers and other Hungarian groups. These printed sources include not only present-day tale books and school textbooks, but also nineteenth-century collections. Even versions of the *Gesta Romanorum*, Pontian's History, and Gáspár Heltai's adaptation of Esop's tales are often found in the field. It was Linda Dégh who pointed out the influence of trash literature on folk poetry. This fact must be taken into consideration not only in scholarly essays but also in collections such as *Bukovinai székely népmesék*, which are intended primarily for a wider public.

In addition to giving all available information on the source of the tale, we must also describe the individual traits of the storyteller's style and mention the possible mistakes resulting from the storyteller's misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the source text. Mrs. Fábián's storytelling talent is most marked in her style, and sometimes as well in her ability to reconstruct tales and in her magnetic performing presence. These aspects deserve special attention, but such an analysis can be conducted only with the recognition that Mrs. Fábián's repertoire and style vary according to her various audiences.

Between 18 and 21 February 1980, Mrs. Fábián's entire recorded repertoire was analyzed from the point of view of origin and function, and several questions were cleared up. First, although 168 of her tales have been recorded to date, her actual repertoire is considerably larger—a fact which deserves our attention. Second, those tales which she cannot recall by title she remembers through some characteristic episode in the plot, through the recollection of some dialogues, or through the main characters. These tales form a constant part of her nursery school repertoire and have been published in Volume 1 of *Bukovinai székely népmesék*. Third, Mrs. Fábián remembers quite well which tales she has learned from her family (father, grandmother, and aunt), but she tends to confuse her exact sources. When she behaved improperly as a child, she was often instructed by her relatives with didactic tales for young girls: "Mind you, the same thing might happen to you." Finally, she is well aware of what tales are best suited for a certain audience. She needs only a few minutes to prepare for the nursery school audience, but she takes more time preparing for performances outside the village. She recalls the tales she is going to relate; if it can be found in a published version, she reads it or tells it to her husband. But even with such a preparation, it may happen that the audience will embarrass her by asking for an additional tale or a tale she has performed on another occasion on stage, on radio, or on television. It may happen that she will recall the tale only after she has left the place of performance. Naturally such things never happen when she tells tales for nursery school children.

Although the tales differ in genre, composition, and style according to the audience in question, these differences are fully apparent in her printed collection, which was recorded in one-to-one interviews with collector Ádám Sebestyén, an honored personality in her village. There are certain other features of her storytelling art, however, which are also conspicuous in this material, and are not dependent on the occasion or on the audience.

The majority of her Szekler tales from oral or printed sources, as well as those learned from other sources but incorpo-
rated into her stable repertoire, remind us of János Honti's well-known statement that the structure of tales is conspicuous and easily discernible. This storyteller has a special talent for constructing tales. Even if she does not specialize in the stylistic ornamentation of tales, and even if—as she herself admits—she has trouble remembering some of the tales learned from her father, she puts special emphasis on composition. Mrs. Fábián has no fragmentary tales; at worst, she has reconstructed tales. This is especially true of tales she learned from elderly members of her family. She remembers these well; their closest parallels are to be found in Transylvanian folklore collections of the nineteenth century, for instance that of János Kriza. She relies most heavily on her creative powers when she no longer remembers the tale properly. In such cases, she recomposes a new tale from tales latent in her memory and from reminiscences of everyday life in Andrásfalva, as is shown by the tales Vas Lací and Egigérö fá. Her special compositional talents are also observable in tales taken from Benedek; she is inclined to correct structural disproportions in these stories.

There is another smaller group of her tales, however, where—as has already been mentioned—she is slightly less sure of her compositional abilities. These are the tales either translated from foreign languages or written by well-known authors. Their structures are less lucid, their plots less pronounced; they have no parallels in the Catalogue of Hungarian Folktales now in preparation. Her lack of practice in performing these tales is probably the principal reason for their loose and unusual structures. When these tales were collected, Mrs. Fábián seemed to have difficulties in recalling them.

There is another very interesting feature of her tales: Mrs. Fábián sets many of her tales expressly in the Bucovina, in the village of Andrásfalva. The peasant characters and even the animal figures of her tales wear Szekler traditional costume. In the animal tale of the fox and the wolf (AT 1+2), the fox wears traditional trousers and a long shirt, in which he conceals the stolen fish. The envious wolf tries to catch fish with his tail by putting it into a hole in the ice on the local river Szucsáva. His tail freezes in the cold water, and the Szekler women, who in the morning come to wash their clothes in the river, beat him.

Mrs. Fábián's motivations for localizing the settings of her tales are different from those of the Romanian storyteller Mihály Purdi. Purdi's interest was inspired by the collector Sándor Hocopán; as a result, this narrator began to concentrate on the Romanian culture of Arad as it existed in his youth; thus, he often refers in his tales to this ethnographic environment. But in our case, it was Mrs. Fábián herself who realized the importance and merits of describing the peasant life of the Bucovina—this fact is all the more important, as not only the collector and the nursery school children, but also the older children and adults of her audiences in neighboring villages, are of Bucovina Szekler origin. In their present consolidated circumstances, these people feel some nostalgia for their former home and their vanished way of life.

Though Mrs. Fábián populates her tales with schematic characters similar to the "bodiless tale characters" described by Max Lüthi,17 their costumes are typically from Bucovina. In the tale Molnárleány (AT 956A), the fleeing girl casts her clothing piece-by-piece onto the tree tops; these clothes are typical pieces of the Szekler peasant costume. Furthermore, Mrs. Fábián renders beautiful the scenes and dialogues which are typically rural in
nature. These reflect the Bucovina dialect and show a marked difference from everyday dialogues in the Szeklers' new, urbanized, more prosperous Hungarian surroundings. The characteristic "local color" of her tales is highly appreciated not only by folklorists but also by her adult audience, who are disappointed to find how much their former home villages have changed when they return to Romania as tourists.

The Bucovina Szekler background of her tales has a didactic value when she performs for children: it establishes and strengthens a feeling of solidarity already strong among grown-ups—a solidarity which adults maintain through frequent visits and correspondence among different groups of the original community, now found in Hungary, in the Dèva region of Romania, and in the United States.¹⁸

Despite their frequent telling and—in some cases—their common printed sources, the Bucovina Szeklers' tales are not homogenous. There are some favorite types which are kept alive in a number of versions, but it is difficult to find examples of the development of local redactions even within one community, as in the case of the Catholic Szeklers who migrated from Andrásfalva to Kakasd. Linda Dégh placed special emphasis on neighborly relations and kinship groups who are entertained by a certain storyteller. Dégh also stated that the storyteller can modify his tale for various occasions, though she paid less attention to this phenomenon.

To date, folklore research has paid little attention to special programs of storytelling evenings—to mention one example, the wake of Mrs. Kuzus, where funeral songs and numskull stories were performed in turns. Furthermore, the seasonal order of storytelling activity has not been examined at all.¹⁹ Each season, the storyteller must decide whether or not he or she is willing to continue storytelling activity; an able storyteller cannot forget his profession. In this respect, storytelling is like swimming or iceskating, but due to several reasons, interruptions which may span several years can occur in a storyteller's career. Such was the case with Mrs. Fábián, when after her father's death she did not tell tales for half a year; but I also know storytellers who in their old age gave up their activity completely.

When Mrs. Fábián—often at the urging of her audience—decides to continue her activity, she builds up her annual repertoire. Certain tales are favored while others stay in the background, in accordance with the tastes of her audience. Personal ownership can only be claimed for well formed, stable parts of a repertoire. The more occasional pieces naturally stand outside the question of ownership. Recently, in a very delicate condition due to her father's death, Mrs. Fábián did not emphasize her own "authorship" of certain items. Rather, she constantly repeated "This is also my father's tale," and seemed to consider herself as a mere epigon of her father.

Her stable repertoire is most probably repeated every year; her storytelling activity certainly varies with various audiences, and newly learned tales seem to change year by year. The audience has conflicting expectations of the storyteller: on the one hand, they want to hear their most favorite pieces every year; on the other, they want to get acquainted with new ones. Tales learned in the storyteller's youth and those continually repeated are firmly wedged in her memory; the newly or occasionally learned ones often change.

Max Lüthi does not seem to understand why the biology of tales is so much in the center of scholarly interest in a period
when traditional peasant culture is already in a state of disintegration.

20 Mrs. Fábián's storytelling activity is a living example of this phenomenon, and at the same time an apt answer to Lüthi's question: on the one hand, her stories preserve many valuable archaic features; on the other, it is also important to examine under what circumstances a peasant storyteller can satisfy the demands and needs of a rapidly urbanizing world. The frames of her activity are perhaps less strictly defined than they used to be in a traditional peasant community. It is also obvious that demands of the new audience are much more complex. Within these loose frames, only the character, personality, and tastes of the storyteller are the guiding factors. The strong directive force of tradition is preserved only in the memory.

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1 Ádám Sebestyén, Bukovinai székely népesésék (Szekszárd, 1979), vol. 1.
3 Dégh, Népese, p. 235; idem., Märenchen, pp. 105-112.
4 Dégh, Kakasd népesésék.
5 Elek Benedek, Magyar mese- és mondavilág ("The World of Hungarian Legends and Folktales"), 5 vols. (Budapest: Athenaeum irodalmi és nyomdai Kiadó, 1894). This collection has had six editions; from the third on, it has been published in ten volumes.
8 László Arany, Magyar népesesegyűjteménye ("Collection of Hungarian Folktales") (Pest, 1862). There are seven editions of this collection; it was printed in paperback form from the second edition and soon became very popular with a wider public.
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10 Dégh, Folktales and Society, pp. 146-63.
12 Dégh, Folktales and Society, pp. 146-63.
16 A. Hotoşan, Povestile lui Mihai Purdă ("The Tales of Mihai Purdă") (Budapest, 1978).
20 Lüthi, Märchen, p. 72.
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