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TRACKING KNOWLEDGE: ON THE HISTORY OF CHANGING DISCIPLINARY IDENTITIES AFTER 1945

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Guest Editors
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Tracking Knowledge: On the History of Changing Disciplinary Identities after 1945. Introductory Remarks

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In June 1947, the scientific journal "Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde" (founded in 1897 by Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer), then edited by the folklorist Paul Geiger, published several texts by European folklorists who had been asked by Geiger for a "brief overview (...) of the work of the last few years and of the plans, and about the plans that are being nurtured in their country for the future". With this initiative, he hoped to strengthen the communication that had been interrupted by the Second World War and was convinced that, as a "neutral country," Switzerland could help to "re-establish former links and promote ties and promote international cooperation" (Geiger 1947, 145). Between 1947 and 1949, representatives of the discipline responded to the request and published short national overviews of current research in Italy, Romania, Austria, the Netherlands, Finland, Norway, Latvia, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Great Britain and finally Germany (which, for obvious reasons, was one of the most difficult texts to write). Switzerland willingly served here as a relief agency for German-speaking, Central and Western European folklore, much as Sweden did for Northern Europe and the Baltic States. With this Swiss initiative in the years after 1947, various dimensions of the field in which we are interested in the context of this issue become visible:

We ask about the processes and dynamics of forming and transforming knowledge within certain structures of politics and policies, of society and "culture," of economy and administration, focussing on scientific knowledge as well as looking at the practical knowledge of applied and/or public folklore. Furthermore, (just as Geiger also intended) we take on a reflexive position on the scientific work of folklore studies. The fact that disciplinary identity is always negotiated in the process is evident: We construct its specific history, formation, transformation and positioning within national and international contexts and scientific fields. When looking at these interdependencies, the various shapes of power of a discipline become visible, a discipline that explores, explains and popularizes knowledge and images of the "own", of specific communities, within certain people, often organized as a national state.

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Of course, 1945 was not at all a zero hour for folklore studies, but the total moral and scientific breakdown of "*Volkskunde*" in Germany and Austria, the two political blocs that arose after World War II, as well as the entirely different power situation within the Soviet sphere made it necessary to re-start cooperation and scientific endeavours, to re-orient the discipline within the landscape of ethnology and folklore studies, and to re-connect to previous colleagues and their findings. Thus, ethnological disciplines in Europe faced multiple challenges after 1945.

This special issue asks about the different ways of new orientations in scientific work of ethnological disciplines in Europe after 1945, about leaving "old epistemological tracks" behind and about taking new routes in the form of innovative methods and of "relevant" themes to a disciplinary future in the years until the 1980s. We do so in taking a reflexive perspective on scientific work within ethnology and folklore studies, building on the existing but somewhat dispersed and scattered literature published in recent years (see e.g. Fenske & Davidovic-Walther 2010; Moser, Götz & Ege 2015; Eggmann et al. 2019; Bula & Laime 2017). These works show the interconnectedness of national, institutional, personal networks and political ideological, societal and state systems: The war not only had cutting effects on scientific cooperation and international scientific institutions, the discipline of German-speaking "Volkskunde" for instance was also discredited due to collaboration with the fascist regimes (Bendix 2012; Johler & Puchberger 2016; Kuhn & Larl 2020). Furthermore, the Cold War brought new political affordances for the discipline and its broader societal contexts in European countries and thus split the discipline into specific national contexts. The years after 1945 were therefore a time of searching for new tracks in epistemology, of leaving behind old paths of scientific work, of (re-)defining content and of searching for a new disciplinary identity.

We took the 2019 SIEF-Conference "Track Changes: Reflecting on a Transforming World" in Santiago de Compostela as a chance to reflect on track changes in the history of our discipline—concerning historical changes and transformations as well as theoretical and methodological changes in investigating and reflecting the past of our disciplines. Our panel gathered colleagues from various national backgrounds with a shared interest in a reflexive perspective on anthropological knowledge and on the intertwining of disciplinary conditions, societal contexts and political opportunities and usages (Ash 2002; Barth 2002). This issue collects revised and expanded contributions of the panel and combines them with three texts responding to them.

The contributions in this special issue emphasise the reflection of different ways of new orientations in scientific and societal as well as political work, and they ask about new perspectives to a disciplinary future in the years between 1945 and 1980s. The aim of this issue is not directed at specific institutional or biographical histories; rather, the authors look at three dimensions of tracking knowledge: First, there are new epistemological perspectives, e. g. with the influence of sociological questions or with the new focus on urban contexts. Second, the authors focus on the complex relations of disciplinary developments with political conditions, with science and university politics and with ongoing transformations and dynamics in European societies. And

the third aspect deals with the existence of a cognitive disciplinary identity after 1945 and reflects on the logic behind writing knowledge and disciplinary history in our field from today's perspective.

When looking at the various empirical examples within specific contexts gathered in this issue from a comparative perspective, both general findings and stimuli for further thought arise. Once again, the importance of different institutions in the field of ethnology and folklore studies becomes apparent: The authors work with empirical material and various methodological approaches from academic and non-academic institutions, from university departments, research institutes, archives, museums and—although not too prominent—from both academic folkloristic associations as well as from those that are oriented more towards practical usage of their material. We follow their tracks of disciplinary and institutional as well as political and societal usage in the fields of building, re-building and/or transforming nations, systems and values. Both the diverse and multi-faceted actors as well as the political systems play a crucial role in stabilizing and promoting the discipline after 1945 - and we find resistance and resilience at the same time. We find detailed and source-based contextualizations that point to the micro level and concrete scientific practices—and see—the necessity of keeping the macro level in mind. These ambiguities we do not only have to bear, but make them comprehensible and traceable.

Contributions in this Volume

In the first essay, **Kaisa Langer** takes a close look at the fluid adjustments in the field of university education in folklore studies facing the new political system of Soviet socialism in Estonia after 1944. While these profound shifts were changing the "rhetoric" and adapting the organisation of science and the university system, choices of topics and research interests by folklore students remained relatively constant compared to the ones studied in independent Estonia. Langer convincingly calls this Sovietization of Estonian folklore studies a "balancing act", which she traces in detail in research plans, curricula and teaching documents—archival sources unfortunately rarely used in writing the history of knowledge of folklore studies to date.

In her essay, **Rita Grīnvalde** focuses on the Latvian scholars that were forced into exile due to the Soviet occupation. Her article looks at how this international scientific community worked in editing Latvian folklore texts and thus took part in an endeavour that mingled scientific motivation, economic interests, as well as national urgency with Latvian independence as a long-term goal.

Eija Stark follows the special situation of Finland in the Cold War period in her contribution. She insightfully presents the rather successful disciplinary history connected to processes and practices of Finlandization, to domestic and foreign policy and to international scientific and societal movements.

Related to this article—geographically as well as in content—is **Indrek Jääts'** study of the revival of the Finno-Ugric Studies in Soviet Estonian ethnography in the 1960s. Using the example of the ethnographic expeditions to the "isolated and archaic" Veps areas, he provides detailed insight into the interests and the special conditions of these expeditions as well as into scientific and museological strategies and outcomes.

Folklore knowledge and its production in Turkey is at the centre of **Hande Birkalan-Gediks** text. Guided by international theoretical and methodological considerations, she examines transformations of the political, social, societal and economic contexts in Turkey, especially from the 1950s onwards, and their interactions and influences on producing folklore knowledge, applied and public folklore.

In the sixth essay, **Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik** asks about the position of "theory" in the disciplinary transformations of ethnology and folklore studies starting in the 1950s. Using the case of Slovenian ethnology, she focuses on the dichotomy of "theory" and "practice" while showing that these discussions ultimately revolve around the indefinite epistemologies of folklore and ethnological research. Her "re-reading of disciplinary legacy" using the little-known Slovenian example points to the theoretical lack of ethnographic research at the time, as well as to the massive shifts brought on by the deconstruction of the discipline's subject.

The special issue concludes with three responses that do not only draw conclusions but point to shifts in perspectives and unresolved issues.

The first response comes from **Jiří Woitsch**. Based on his research in the archives of the Communist Party and especially of the secret police and intelligence services in the Czech Republic after the year 2000, he pleads for not emphasizing the contribution of prominent personalities too much. He advocates for research into the history of ethnology and anthropology in totalitarian regimes to take into account both scientific and non-scientific interests as well as competences and the "power of the system."

In his response, **Simon J. Bronner** points to the highly important influence of nationalism on the development of folklore studies. When he argues that the state has always been an eminent actor for folkloristic and ethnographic work, whether authoritarian or democratic, he reminds us to look more into the details of the complex connections between politics and science when writing our histories of ethnographic and folkloristic knowledge, especially in cases where ethnic-linguistic "minorities" play an important role, which seems to be the case in almost any nation state.

Karin Bürkert responds to the articles in this issue by highlighting the "nonlinear" transformation processes that led to and were aroused by Hermann Bausinger and the Tübinger Schule in Germany. She shows not only their influence for German speaking Folklore Studies/Volkskunde but also remarkable parallels and connections to other national institutions, persons and processes. She underlines the importance of archival material, especially of first-person-documents and correspondence, for the (historical) ethnography of academic practices and their impact on society.

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Becoming a Folklorist in Early Soviet Estonia: Learning the Rhetoric of the Socialist Research

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Abstract
In early Soviet Estonia, the goal of university education was to shape Soviet-minded cadres. Folkloristics was one of the many fields that were supposed to help rebuild a new society. However, the system was not effective: although the students learned about Marxist-Leninist theory and Soviet folkloristics, their choices in the fieldwork and research interests show that they mainly learned to use the Soviet rhetoric when needed, but mostly searched for ways to study folklore with approaches that were common before the Soviet period. The disciplinary identity mostly changed only in rhetoric aspects.

Keywords: folkloristics; Soviet Estonia; Stalinism; higher education; fieldwork; disciplinary history

During World War II, Estonia, a small country with a strong history of folklore studies, was occupied by the Soviet Union, and the new political situation altered research and teaching of folklore, and the public understanding of it. The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia, Nikolai Karotamm, held a speech in 1945 where he stated: "We need to start studying folklore seriously and systematically. There we will find the answers to many important questions about our people's past in the areas of political, economic and cultural development" (Karotamm 1945, 23). The Commissar of Education of the Council of Peoples Commissars Nigol Andresen had also written about folklore studies, emphasizing the importance of working with both older folklore collections and contemporary folklore: "We need to study the rich garners of our folklore. At the same time, the events of the Great Patriotic War, cultural history and the new folklore need to be carefully collected and studied" (Andresen 1944, 1). These high-level officials[1] were interested in the role of folklore in Estonia that the Soviet Union had occupied. Folklorists and folklore students in the early Soviet Estonia quoted these and similar statements to show the relevance of the field. I start the text about folkloristics in Soviet Estonia with these statements uttered by people who were not interested in folklore as such, but in its possible value in political and ideological perspectives. Folklore was a source of information about the past, valid for a new understanding of the people's history. Simultaneously, politicians expected the folklore to reflect the progress of the Soviet state and to inspire creative professionals. Folklorists needed to reevaluate their previous work, use collective methods for documenting folklore and analyze folk culture, using Marxist-Leninist theories and the works of Soviet folklorists.

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The article tracks the changes in studying and teaching folkloristics in the early Soviet or Stalinist period in Soviet Estonia. Estonia was a part of the Russian Empire until 1918. In the interwar period, the country was independent, and the Soviets occupied it in 1940 for a year. After three years of Nazi occupation 1941–1944, the Soviets returned. While the Stalinist period strictly lasted in 1944–1953, the cultural influence continued for several years after that, so the article will cover the developments until the mid-1950s (see also Raudsepp 2000, 137). Some of the processes characterize the whole Soviet period that lasted until 1991. I am charting the theories and methods the students got acquainted with in the Soviet university and looking at how they applied their knowledge in the student research papers and practical work. Becoming a folklorist in Stalinist Estonia was very different from studying folkloristics in independent Estonia. However, the field born out of national interest did not disappear in the socialist system; every year, there were some graduates of folkloristics. The number of students who graduated from the State University of Tartu in the field per year varied between one and seven during the Stalinist period.

The main sources of the article are the archival materials about the University of Tartu in the National Archives of Estonia: working plans and reports, protocols of faculty and department meetings, curricula, and lists of students. Naturally, one needs to be critical when dealing with documents of the Soviet period. The meetings' protocols might only reflect the part of discussions that were ideologically unproblematic, and the curricula might show the official content of the studies, but not what truly happened in the lectures. Unfortunately, there are no archived lecture notes or other unofficial sources that would show the studies from the students' perspective. Other important sources are the fieldwork diaries and the folklore materials collected by students that were stored in either the Folklore Department of the State Literary Museum, Folklore Sector of the Institute of Language and Literature, or in the Folklore collection of the Chair of Estonian Literature and Folklore, Tartu State University. In general, the diaries described the performers and performance situations. Authors presented some other topics in the fieldwork diaries according to their interests and experiences. The diaries' authors knew that others would read their texts, they often evaded topics that were hard to describe truthfully, and according to the Soviet ideology: they learned to write between the lines. Students were generally less careful in their writing than the professional folklorists. Some doubtful statements were common in their writings (Saarlo 2018a). Another valuable source to show the differences in rhetoric and practices are newspapers. I have used some larger dailies and the university's newspaper where the articles about fieldwork and folkloristics were published. All these sources show what the folklorists presented as folklore and how they communicated the folkloristics' goals; comparing the different sources presents a contrast between the texts and practices. I intend to follow the knowledge and the practices: what did the students learn at the university and how they applied what they had studied in their writings and in collecting folklore.

Folklore in the Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc

In early Soviet Russia, folkloristics as a discipline flourished, and different trends coexisted. With the start of Stalinism in 1929, the government started to control folkloristics more strictly, as the politicians saw folklore as one of the tools for building a socialist society. In 1930s, all fields of research were controlled by the state more than in the previous decade and evaluated according to the use they brought to the socialist society. In 1934, Maxim Gorky gave a speech at the All-Union Congress of Socialist Writers, where he stressed the optimism in folklore and its value for studying social relations (Gorky 1977). Folklore collecting was encouraged, and new Soviet topics such as the party leaders, revolutions, workers, and class struggles appeared, much of it pseudo-folkloristic in nature (Oinas 1973, 45–49, see also Miller 1990). After World War Two, folklorists in Estonia and other countries in the Soviet sphere of influence needed to share the Soviet understanding of folklore and its goals.

Ethnological disciplines in the Soviet Union and East-Central Europe have been studied quite thoroughly. Several overviews about Soviet folkloristics and ethnology were published during the Soviet period (Oinas 1961, Oinas 1973) and during and after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Howell 1992, Miller 1990). Many analyses of the ethnological disciplines in the Soviet Bloc have been published in the smaller languages of East-Central Europe, but there are also several international collections of articles (Hann et al. 2005, Brunnbauer et al. 2011, Hann, Bošković 2013) that discuss and compare the developments in the area. However, these collections do not include the Baltics that were part of the Soviet Union.[2] Still, I would argue that the discussion of Baltic folkloristics and ethnology fits better in the context of the ethnological research in the Soviet Bloc than in the Soviet Union. Different languages and disciplinary traditions meant that the research, however, prescribed from the colleagues in Moscow and Leningrad and determined by the Marxist-Leninist understanding of culture, historical and dialectical materialism, had a specific path be seen separately from the folkloristics in the Soviet Union. Estonia (just like Latvia, see Ķencis 2017, 2019; Treija 2017) was a borderland, where the researchers tried to imitate the research directions, but their imitation was never complete.

Most of the researchers in Eastern Europe were not aware of the work of their Soviet colleagues before the forced Sovietization of the countries after World War II (Hann et al 2005, 12). During the All-Soviet conferences, Baltic scholars presented their findings in a suitable way, but they were just picking out the texts and interpretations suited the Soviet research paradigm. Therefore, the ethnology and folkloristics in Soviet Estonia were an imitation game where all participants tried to follow the rules deducted from the suggestions and statements from the Soviet colleagues and goals in the research and culture politics the newly founded Soviet country. It was complicated because the rules changed in time, there was a lack of knowledge about the work conducted by the Soviet Russian colleagues or—of the Russian language. In Estonia, just like in several Central Eastern European countries, researchers paid lip service to the system and placed folklore in a new ideological context, while the actual research was not that different from the pre-Soviet work.

Folkloristics was Sovietized in Estonia gradually.[3] During the first years after World War II, folklorists and politicians presented the new position of folkloristics in the newspapers: folklorists were expected to collect folklore in the Soviet topics and reevaluate their previous work. What is more, the folklore collections were censored: texts and words that were unsuitable for the Soviet system were cut out or made unreadable (see Kulasalu 2013). The folklorists tried to adapt to the new requirements: searched for folklore about Soviet topics, learned about Marxist-Leninist theories, reevaluated their previous work. The Soviet colleagues communicated the new research directions during research conferences. Folklorists praised the methodological and epistemological possibilities for folklore studies in the Soviet framework in the newspapers and in the prefaces of books. The peak of Soviet theories in folkloristics was in the early 1950s. The gradual Sovietization of the research field reflected the country's overall political situation: the first Soviet years were filled with attempts to use Soviet vocabulary and find ways of continuing things as they were before. The late 1940s and early 1950s came with severe repressions. Since the mid-1950s, there was less political pressure on the discipline, but many newly adopted Soviet practices remained in use until the 1990s: the collective ways of collecting folklore, the tendency to show the social relevance of folklore studies, quotations of the Marxist-Leninist authors. For the researchers, it was a time to ask how they can continue their work and at least some of the heritage of the previous scholars. They seemed to search for a new disciplinary identity but do so by preserving the old identity and showing it in a suitable light.

Folkloristics in the University of Tartu: Popular Internationally Linked Field

Academia Gustaviana, the predecessor of the University of Tartu, was first opened in 1632. Due to the Great Northern War, the university was closed in 1710 but reopened in 1802. When Estonia gained its independence in 1918, a university reform took place and Estonian became the language of teaching in 1919. During the Republic of Estonia, students were relatively free in the decisions about their studies. The curriculum was flexible, especially in the faculty of philosophy, where students could combine almost twenty disciplines (Hiio & Piirimäe 2007, 318–319). As there was not enough academic literature in Estonian, the students read in various foreign languages (Mertelsmann 2004, 135). Attendance in classes was not compulsory. In order to pass a course, only exams were important. As the system was flexible and there were fees for studying, many students had jobs and needed more time than the standard period of study to graduate their studies. For example, in 1938, more than 40% of the students had exceeded the nominal period of study. Almost every second student did not graduate the university (Hiio & Piirimäe 2007, 336).

When the University of Tartu was reopened as an Estonian-language university in 1919, the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore was established. In Estonian Republic and during the following Soviet period, this was the only institution in Estonia where it was possible to study folkloristics as a discipline. When the department was founded, folkloristics and ethnology were seen as separate disciplines with

separate departments, one connected with philology, another with archaeology (Jaago 2003). The two disciplines remained separated during the Soviet period: folkloristics dealt with oral tradition, ethnology with the material culture. There were separate research institutions and study programs. Although often similar to those in the field of folkloristics, the developments in the field of ethnology are not in the direct scope of this article.[4]

The first holder of the Chair of Folklore at the University of Tartu was Walter Anderson, who previously had worked at the University of Kazan in Russia. In his first years in Tartu, Anderson, who had a Baltic German background, initially taught in German, but soon started to lecture in Estonian. Anderson was interested in comparative aspects of folkloristics. He participated in several research societies and was internationally active. In 1939, Anderson left the country (Seljamaa 2005). Another lecturer in folkloristics was Matthias Johann Eisen who died in 1934. In 1926, Oskar Loorits became a Ph.D. in folkloristics, and a year later, he started as a private docent at the Chair of Folklore. Folkloristics was one of the most popular disciplines among the students of the Faculty of Philosophy. According to Soviet rumors about the period, this was mainly because it was easy to pass the exams (Vaga 1950, 3). One student remembers that both of the professors were friendly, and during the oral exams, Eisen secretly helped the students to answer the questions asked by Professor Anderson (Ariste 1992, 299).

There were various folklore courses, the topics ranging from comparative methods in folkloristics, folk religion, epics, and other folklore genres to archival organization. Walter Anderson himself gave lectures about research methodology: in one year, the focus was on songs, in the next year, on tales. Every year, he gave a course about a different topic, e.g. cynocephaly or the New Testament in Estonian folklore. In every topic, international comparisons of the motifs were given. For the exams, students got acquainted to the relevant literature on the topic (Laugaste 1985, 608). They had some practical training in the Estonian Folklore Archives. The practical work in folklore collecting was not a specific part of the curricula, but it was encouraged, and students could get a scholarship and collect folklore during their spare time (cf. Ariste 1992, 298). The education in folkloristics gave the students a factual overview of various topics, skills to work with the literature, and to seek for international comparisons.

The Tartu State University: Learning to Follow the Rules

The University of Tartu was renamed and reformed after Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union. The Soviet universities were not autonomous but were connected to state apparatus: the state and the Communist Party could always interfere in the matters of the university. Many professors were dismissed, the Faculty of Theology was closed, academic organizations banned, and curricula were fixed. After the interlude of the Nazi German occupation that is not in this article's scope, the university was reopened as the Tartu State University on 15th November 1944. There were several ways of controlling the teaching and research at the university. Directives from the Ministry of Higher Education were applied, teachers were expected to visit each other's classes and write reports on the matter, the lecture notes made by students were controlled (Mertelsmann 2004, 138–140).

Illustration 1: The poster depicts the main building of the Tartu State University and states: "The citizens of the Estonian SSR have the right for education." Aleksander Pilar, 1946. EKM j 54339 GD 2840.

Instead of the previous Humboldtian model of higher education, research mainly was carried out in the institutes of the Academy of Sciences (where the political pressure was usually smaller as in the university), and the teaching staff at the universities was not expected to have a scientific degree, but just higher education (Mertelsmann 2004, 138). In Estonia, the number of people with university education had decreased drastically: in 1937, the number of people with higher education was over seven thousand. Ten years later, the number was around two thousand (Karjahärm & Sirk 2007, 31). The University of Tartu had lost around 75% of its teaching staff who had fled the country, were repressed, or started a career in the institutes of the Academy of Sciences (Mertelsmann 2004, 141). Therefore, it was hard to maintain the quality of teaching.

Unlike the pre-War university, in Soviet Estonia the attendance in classes was compulsory and the curriculum fixed. The methods of teaching were different: instead of seminars like in the pre-war university, lectures were the primary method of teaching. On the one hand, the curriculum was packed, and many lecturers were not qualified enough: it was easier for them to plan lectures and reuse the notes over the years instead of preparing seminars. On the other hand, the ideological situation itself led to more passive teaching methods—showing the politically correct interpretations to the students was safer than letting them discuss the materials themselves (Mertelsmann 2004, 138–139). The task of the students was to take detailed notes and learn everything by heart. Researchers needed to reevaluate their studies conducted before the Soviet occupation, as many books were banned or censored, there was not enough literature, and therefore, only a little independent work was expected from the students (Hiio & Piirimäe 2007, 471). Therefore, lack of suitable literature and experienced teaching staff on the one hand and the cautious attitude to the possible anti-Soviet discussions led to study programs where students learned facts and their ideologically suitable interpretations by heart rather than become skilled in the independent work.

Courses about Marxist-Leninist theory and History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were included in every curriculum, state exams in these fields were necessary for graduating from the university. In addition to that, the students had physical education and military training. For more political education, students attended compulsory meetings or conferences for political information (Hiio & Piirimäe 2007, 469). There was a lot of work to do, and few choices students could make during their time at the university.

The admissions system changed. Estonia became a part of the Soviet Union later than most other countries in the union. Therefore, the people's political consciousness was more suspicious for the Soviet authorities, and the background of the students was controlled more (Hiio & Piirimäe 2007, 428). Prospective students were to fill out a form about their background and write a *curriculum vitae* (ibid, 460). The state decided how many students could be enrolled. The admissions policy favored sciences; fewer people were admitted in the field of humanities (ibid, 511). Many people decided to study something else than initially planned because of the ideological content of most of the university programs in the Soviet Union (Aarelaid 1998, 131–133). For instance, the Estonian folklorist Ülo Tedre had been interested in history since he was a child,

but because of the Soviet occupation, he gave up the idea to study the field where all statements had to fit Marxist-Leninism understanding of the past. He then chose to study folkloristics because it was similar to the history, but was less controlled politically (Rooleid & Niinemets 2008, 137).

So the students had a very different university experience than their predecessors before the war. Instead of academic freedom, strict rules, too many courses, and ideological subjects were part of their university experience. What is more, they needed to find their way how to deal with the ideological situation. Although the memories about the previous value-system were there, people needed to lead their lives in the new political situation and made compromises. For instance, the lecturers followed the official plans in teaching, but between quoting the Marxist-Leninist classics and reporting about the success of the Soviet Union, they also mentioned the contrary facts. This kind of behavior trained the youth in self-censorship (Aarelaid 1998, 125–130). The art of praising the new system even when the experiences did not support the positive depiction was learned by all students, also by the university-trained folklorists.

Folkloristics in the Tartu State University: Learning the Basics of Not Only Soviet Folklore

When the Tartu State University was opened, there was a Chair of Folklore. In 1948 it was merged with the Chair of Literature and remained a part of the latter for the Soviet period. In a similar case, other departments and chairs in the university were also restructured. The Chair of Western European Languages was divided between two chairs in 1948: one for languages and others for literature. There were several reasons for restructuring the university chairs. Firstly, in order to the university structures to be similar all over Soviet Union. Secondly, there was not enough staff who would be both qualified and politically suitable. Moreover, thirdly, merging a chair was an ideological decision to diminish its role (Hiio & Piirimäe 2007, 500–501). Compared to the neighboring discipline of ethnography,[5] folkloristics was doing better: the Chair of Ethnography had been turned to an assistantship and later on, erased altogether (Rebas 1995, 272).

Folkloristics was a small and relatively unimportant discipline that received less political attention as the other fields in the faculty; notably the lectures were controlled less. What is more, it was relatively easy to use Soviet rhetoric in analyzing folklore: to emphasize that it was created by and disseminated by the "wide masses." After such statements, the analysis of the folklore materials might have little to do with the Marxist-Leninist theory. When the discipline of folkloristics was mentioned in the university newspaper[6] or work in the field was discussed in the chair and faculty meetings, it was usually as an excellent example of a field that has adapted well with the Soviet system. The problems with similar disciplines like literature or linguistics were discussed more fiercely in the media. For example, in 1949, university newspaper TRÜ and the most prominent daily newspaper Rahva Hääl published critique towards the work in the Chair of Literature and Folklore, but folklore was not mentioned in the articles nor in the discussions that followed.[7]

After World War II, Eduard Laugaste was hired to teach folkloristics at the Chair of Folklore Tartu State University. Laugaste had obtained his master's degree[8] in 1937 in the University of Tartu, worked as a teacher in secondary education after that. In 1970, he defended the doctoral degree. In addition to teaching, Laugaste had many administrative tasks: he was a vice dean and the dean of Faculty of History and Languages in the early Soviet period and simultaneously the head of the Folklore Sector of the newly established Institute of Language and Literature (ILL) in 1947–1952. As Laugaste had so many other duties, other lecturers were needed.

Finding qualified teaching staff was difficult. Previous professors had left the country, but also political reasons complicated finding the lecturers: folklorist and literary scholar August Annist was about to teach a course about Estonian and Finnish national epics,[9] but he was imprisoned for political reasons in 1945. Some courses were taught by people from the Folklore Department of the State Literary Museum,[10] like Erna Normann, who taught Finno-Ugric folklore in the years 1950–1951.[11] Next to professional folklorists, graduate students like Veera Pino had teaching obligations. For example, she held a seminar on folk songs for second and fourth-year students in 1951–1952.[12]

The Soviet university programs needed new curricula that differed from the previous. Although there were standard plans for curricula in the Soviet universities, in the year 1944, no such plan was available for most of the disciplines,[13] but in some years, all curricula were standardized according to the Ministry of Education plans. There were some small differences between Soviet Russian and Estonian curricula, firstly because Estonian students needed to learn Russian. It was also possible to find suitable topics for seminars from the Estonian context.[14] In the curricula for non-stationary students, the plans of Moscow University were a model to follow.[15] Mostly, all the students in the Soviet Union learned the same or at least similar things.

Most of the literature about folklore and folkloristics in the early Soviet Estonia was outdated as it did not include the Soviet understanding of folklore; some of the books were censored. Eduard Laugaste searched for the possibility for at least some reading materials. So he wrote the first volume of the history of Estonian literature that focused on folklore (Laugaste 1946). The tone of the writing was rather neutral, and Soviet folklore[16] was not explicitly mentioned. Only some statements of the folklorist Yuri Sokolov and writer Maxim Gorki were used. As the book's tone was not radically different from the pre-war folkloristics, new course book was compiled that described literature and folklore through the Soviet perspective. Again, folklore was part of the first volume of the textbook for literature (Sõgel 1953). The scholarly community criticized this book was heavily after Stalin's death for its simplifying tone. In addition to these writings, a translation of a coursebook by Soviet Russian folklorist Yuri Sokolov was used (Sokolov 1947), and some lectures were printed offset (Laugaste 1983, 106). Soon after Stalin's death, it was possible to use a wider variety of literature. Already in 1953, Eduard Laugaste said in one meeting that the graduate students are not aware of the literature that was published in the Republic of Estonia and planned to introduce these texts from thereon.[17] At the same time, the lecturers introduced the newest

developments in Soviet research. They incorporated the topics from journals Znamya, Zvezda, Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Oktober, Eesti Bolševik, and Looming in the teaching materials.[18]

To study folklore during the Stalinist period, one had to be one of the 25 students admitted to Estonian philology. These students could choose between four majors; folkloristics was one of the possible main subjects. In the Soviet Union, folklore was seen as the pre-form of literature, and therefore, there were strong connections in the university programs. After learning the basics of linguistics, Estonian language, and literature at the beginning of their studies, more specialized courses on folklore started for folkloristics majors from their third year on. It was not possible to make individual choices in the curriculum. All of the folklore students went through the courses "Introduction to folklore," "Folklore theory," and "Folklore of the neighboring people." On the third, fourth, and fifth year, there were seminars with changing topics. In the years 1949–1950, these seminars introduced Finnish folklore, Estonian work songs, and mythology.[19] The topics of seminars varied according to the availability of lecturers and current trends in research. For example there was a course on epics to celebrate that hundred years from the first edition of the Estonian national epic Kalevipieg (Laugaste 1983, 108).

In the three compulsory courses, the approach to folklore and folkloristics was clearly determined by Soviet ideology. Firstly, the introduction to Estonian folklore for the second-year students discussed folklore as the artistic creation of the people and as a research field that reflects the class struggles and the folklife in the past. Students learned about the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Gorky. A part of the introductory class about the Estonian folklore was the history of folkloristics. A part of this was titled "main characteristics of folkloristics in Soviet Estonia": just two years after the beginning of Soviet occupation, the new characteristics of folklore studies part of the university program. The course gave an overview of the main characteristics and genres of folklore.[20] Secondly, the course on folklore theory presented and criticized various schools. Romantic-mythological school, loan theory, historic-geographic school, Edward Burnett Tylor's anthropological school, Hans Naumann's theory of *gesunkenes Kulturgut*, and Freudian theories were showed critically, but nevertheless introduced to students as a part of the program. Chiefly the course on folklore theory introduced the Marxist-Leninist grounds of folklore.[21] The third course was about the folklore of the neighboring countries; the content of the course varied over the years. In 1946–1947 only Russian folklore and folkloristics were introduced, but a year later, not only Russian, but also German, Latvian, and Scandinavian folklore was discussed. In comparison to the previous year, the discussions of Russian folklore were more focused on Soviet folklore.[22] So it seems that the compulsory courses presented the main ideas of Soviet folkloristics, but at the same time, the courses introduced the basic terminology of folkloristics, history of the field, and several international theories.

Seminars that changed the topic every year had less to do with Soviet folkloristics or folklore. There was no special course on Soviet folklore. Seminars usually dealt with one particular genre. For example, the course on folk belief and customs intro-

duced topics like elves, death, sickness, sorcery, issues related to soul and body, and Christian influences on folk belief. These topics had little to do with Marxism-Leninism. Some other classes could more incorporate the ideology like the course on folk songs that gave a thorough overview about work and serfdom in the songs as these presented critiques to the class society. Moreover, the course described folk songs of other nations in the Soviet Union.[23] In another course, "folk tales, legends and short forms," folk tales were described as "projections of the social longings of the people and critique against the injustice of great, rich and mighty." Anecdotes and jokes were an important topic in this course because of the satire they showed against the weaknesses of the people in power. Interestingly, Aarne-Thompson's classification system of fairy tales was introduced for the students, although using it in the Soviet Union was a controversial issue.[24]

The variety of courses ensured that the students would be acquainted to the main genres of Estonian folklore. International examples used in lectures were either from the Soviet Union or Finland, where the language and folklore are similar to Estonian. Although the Soviet definition of folklore was one of the foundations of the courses, the examples that the students discussed were based on folklore texts. So the students received a good overview of folklore in Estonian folklore collections.

Illustration 2: Students of the Tartu State University in the lecture for Marxism-Leninism. Semjon Školnikov, 1946. EFA.269.0.43988.

Folklore Collections of Students—Longing for the "Real" Folklore

An essential part of the studies of future folklorists was practical work in folklore collecting. Documenting folklore mainly was seen as training for the students. Using the materials for research later was rather a side effect.[25] The lecturers and the graduate students collected folklore together with students. The first compulsory fieldwork practice for the folklore students in the Tartu State University took place in the spring of 1945 in Setomaa (Laugaste 1983, 115). In years 1947–1948, a program of practical work on the field of folkloristics was developed. After the third year of studies, a student had a year to go through a four-week internship that would introduce the discipline and Soviet working methods. The students spent two weeks collecting folklore and another two weeks at the Folklore Department of the State Literary Museum, with a possible alternative of making this at the Folklore Sector of the Institute of Languages and Literature or the Tallinn State Conservatory in the field of musical folklore.[26]

During the expeditions, students interviewed local people, wrote down the answers, and later rewrote the texts for archiving. During the Stalinist period, the possibilities for sound recording were rare; if folklorists decided to use sound recording, they mostly preferred musical performances. The students mainly used the typical model in the numerous folklore collections in Estonia since the late nineteenth century: handwritten texts were numbered and sorted by performers. The fieldwork notes that were handed to archives with the folklore texts included information about the performer (name, age, place of residence, sometimes also profession, and social class), the diaries of the fieldworkers presented information about the performance and social context.

The possibility of conducting fieldwork might have been one of the aspects that motivated prospective students to choose to study folkloristics. The newspaper articles that introduced the disciplines of the Faculty of History and Languages were introduced to youth in newspapers, always mentioned fieldwork. The fieldwork might have had touristic value for the students. For example, after an expedition to the island Hiiumaa one of the students wrote in her diary: "Our first expedition ended well. We collected relatively little due to our lack of experience and we didn't meet great sources of folklore. From Hiiumaa, we brought unforgettable memories with us, because it was our first time there."[27] The Estonian islands were a restricted border zone, where a special permit from police with a stamp from border guards was needed.[28] In order to go to a border zone, one needed an invitation. That explained why visiting an island was so exciting for the students. In several fieldwork notes, students mentioned the fun they had during the collecting trip: they went swimming or visited historical sights of interest. Some students got the opportunity to visit other countries in the Soviet Union. For instance, in 1951, students who specialized in Finno-Ugric philology or folkloristics did fieldwork among Karelians in Novgorod oblast.

In the first Soviet years, students mostly made their field trips in the company of some more experienced folklorists from other institutions. Later, students visited one particular area in small groups, or more extensive expeditions for the whole course took place. Working in bigger groups was a challenge. Often, many students inter-

viewed one person and wrote down the same texts.[29] As every student needed to present the results of the collecting trip, they used the possibility to add all the texts they heard in their notes. Therefore, the archived manuscripts about the student fieldwork might include even five or more descriptions of the same interview situation and the same folklore texts performed there.

It is interesting to note that although students had learned about the importance of social factors in folklore, the contextual information was still scarcely documented. Theoretically, the ways of documenting folklore changed a lot. In 1948, a conference about collecting research material took place in Tartu, the importance of social context was stressed, and expeditions were introduced there as the preferred method of folklore collecting. Expeditions were a way of documenting folklore in a larger group where professionals from different institutions or disciplines took part and interviewed people according to their specific interests, stayed in one place, and visited different areas around it.[30] The form of collecting did change: expeditions became a typical method of documenting folklore. In the early Soviet period, they were interdisciplinary, but later this was less common. Moreover, the changes in the content of documented folklore were not that distinct: it was still typical to interview older adults and contextual information was noted scarcely. As performer studies were a popular research area in the Soviet Union, in the 1950s the life stories of singers and storytellers were also in the focus of many Estonian folklorists and were documented better, but mostly only from outstanding performers. The difficulties in collecting folklore in the Soviet way were discussed in several meetings and analyzed in a diploma thesis by Veera Pino in 1950. Pino had joined an expedition in the summer after the conference that announced changes in documenting folklore, and in her thesis, she reflected the changes. Pino concluded that the bourgeois way of collecting still prevailed, and the expedition "brought more quantity as quality." The social context was hardly noted and mostly older adults were interviewed. Although Pino suggested better preparations before the expeditions and discussion meetings during the fieldwork, similar problems occurred to many expeditions to follow (Pino 1950, 198).

The preparations for the fieldwork were often inadequate. Notably, in the expedition with the goal of visiting and photographing places related to legends about the mythological figure of Kalevipoeg,[31] students who were sent out to record place-related legends had no map, measuring tape, compass, nor suitable films for the cameras.[32] Moreover, the Soviet regulations hampered fieldwork; for instance in 1955, the students who worked on the northern coast could not see some stones related to Kalevipoeg on the beach, as they had no permit to enter the border zone.[33] The students usually were not acquainted with the archival materials on the same topic or from the same area. The lack of preparations made some students feel uncertain about their tasks. One student noted in her diary: "I feel really bad, because I only have a vague notion of what we are going to work on."[34] Usually, before the fieldwork, meetings were organized where the students learned about the work and the organizational details. Nevertheless, it was not always the case as the student Veera Pino only found out a couple of days before her first fieldwork that she would participate in it.[35] The

fieldwork of different institutions was not coordinated well: in 1950, in island Kihnu, folklore students discovered that ethnography students were conducting fieldwork on the same island, using a very similar questionnaire, therefore documenting very similar materials.[36]

Although (or rather because) there were several uncertainties in the preparations, students themselves often had a somewhat romantic idea of where and what they would collect. For example, in 1950, Loreida Raudsep wrote in her diary: "My first trip for folklore collecting begins. I hoped to be in the countryside, but as it seems, we ended up in a "town." Märjamaa borough is a big settlement."[37] The students preferred smaller settlements, but their expectations to find fascinating folklore in a small village were not fulfilled: "In general we were really disappointed in Umbusi because we found no superstition or other things we hoped for."[38] When collecting kolkhoz folklore Ellen Niit was certain that kolkhoz Tõusev Täht is not interesting because it is too close to the nearby borough Tõstamaa.[39] Moreover, the interviewees themselves had ideas of what folklore is and where to find it. Notably, the interviewees of the students who were documenting contemporary folklore about collective farms in 1950 in Tõstamaa suggested them to visit a near-by island Kihnu with rich traditional culture instead of asking them about the contemporary issues.[40] The notion of folklore as something archaic was shared by the rural people and folklore students alike, although the latter had learned about folklore as reflecting the current society.

The students preferred older people as informants and were eager to claim that they were interested in "all kinds of old songs and tales."[41] At the same time, some possible interviewees who could know more about Soviet topics were left aside; for example, Herta Ploompuu had stayed overnight in the home of a front-rank kolkhoz member but left the next morning without considering to interview her hosts.[42] Students seemed to be very sure what was and what was not folklore. It is interesting to see how Ants Järv and his informant were in a different opinion about the status of jokes that the older man told the student. In his diary, Järv reflected on the meeting and he was amused that the man "held them to be real folklore," whereas he did not note down the texts he certainly found insignificant.[43] Fieldwork was full of situations where the young folklorists worked with an idea of folklore as an archaic relic that is about to disappear soon. Instead of following the Soviet ideas of contemporary folklore, the students were conservative in choosing their informants and topics.

Political pressure on Estonian humanities grew in 1950 when the replacement of the Estonian SSR leadership began, and at the same time, Estonian folklorists visited conferences in Moscow and Leningrad where their Soviet colleagues expected them to present contemporary Estonian Soviet folklore. In the summer of 1950, the students collected kolkhoz folklore with the purpose of "getting to know the kolkhoz folklore after the turn into collective agriculture, to see how human consciousness changes when the social conditions do."[44] Most of the kolkhozes were founded in 1949; therefore the students were expected to find folklore about a very new phenomena.[45] The students started with big expectations and the results of the interviews were rather disappointing. For example, after her very first day on the field, Loreida Raudsep,

who was collecting with a more experienced student, wrote: "I think the results are meager, but my companion Ülo Tedre finds them quite good for the first day."[46] Another student, Maret Jäger, wrote in her diary in the same year: "In conclusion one can say that my hopes to gather good kolkhoz folklore had been greater, but as it seems, there is not much of it. On the basis of my collection, one could say that the seeds of this folklore are already there. But there are still some rudiments of old customs (mainly among older members of the collective farm). The younger generation is creating a new, socialistic culture."[47] Often students wrote that they searched for informants, but nobody gave them suggestions or agreed to be interviewed. When they did manage to have a more extended conversation with someone, it might have been that the more trusting person said something anti-Soviet or contradicted the statements of other, more careful informants. To sum up, the fieldwork on contemporary Soviet folklore was not easy for the students: it was hard to find materials that would fit in the picture of positive socialist folklore.

Although it was difficult to fulfill the tasks of the fieldwork for the students, the professors were satisfied with their work. According to the report of the docent of folkloristics Eduard Laugaste the results of the fieldwork were good, and "information about contemporary folkloristic topics" was collected from 21 kolkhozes.[48] The members of the Chair of Literature and Folklore analyzed the work of the students in the meeting where the Professor of literature Juhan Käosaar, who had the task of reviewing the fieldwork according to the field diaries, collected materials, and reports, was generally satisfied and criticized only the lack of material that would show the social consciousness of the people in kolkhozes.[49] In comparison, another practical fieldwork took place on the island Hiiumaa in July 1954. The students had a task to collect Soviet folklore, and according to the report of Laugaste, all of them were successful.[50] It seems that it was not expected that the students would find much folklore that would praise the new situation, yet it was necessary to show the positive value of the work in reports that would be more likely to be read and analyzed by Soviet officials than the actual fieldwork materials.

When the fieldwork had no specific topic like kolkhoz folklore or the legends about Kalevipoeg, students conducted interviews on miscellaneous topics. There was a considerable interest in songs, especially the older oral song tradition *regilaul*: the genre that was the cornerstone of the Estonian folklore collections (e.g., Saarlo 2017). This Kalevala-metric song was no longer part of the living singing tradition in most parts of Estonia in the mid-twentieth century. So the students documented newer end-rhymed folk songs (but often omitted sentimental songs that were not considered folkloric enough), descriptions of weddings and calendar customs, proverbs, riddles, and other genres. An interesting trend was to interview people about the Russian Revolution of 1905. Memories of this event reflected the history of class struggles in Estonia as many people who lived during the Revolution were alive and not too old to remember the events clearly; at the same time, the revolution had taken place so long ago that the different points of view were not politically relevant. Asking similar questions about World War Two would have a more significant potential to show possibly anti-Soviet tendencies.

During the Stalinist period, the students were careful to write down nothing that could be interpreted as counterrevolutionary or anti-Soviet. After Stalin's death, the students were more open to different topics and the problems of finding contact with informants were mentioned less often than in the years before. As a case in point, relation to religious practices can be followed. In the Soviet Union, religion was officially seen as an unnecessary relic of the past, and when the students collected kolkhoz folklore, they noted down that people rarely go to church and Christian traditions were fading. However, in 1954 students started their fieldwork in Muhumaa with a visit to the local church where a confirmation took place and noted that many people participated in the event.[51] In the same year, two students placed a wooden cross to a hill in Hiiumaa, where the locals traditionally had gathered crosses made from natural materials to commemorate relocated Swedes from Hiiumaa or to mark the place where bride and groom from rival wedding parties were killed.[52] Some weeks later, an expedition of the Institute of Language and Literature took place in Hiiumaa. Richard Viidalepp, who coordinated the expedition was surprised to see the cross: "Is it suitable for students to support the remnant customs that the folk has almost forgotten?"[53] So the students seemed to have a more liberal approach to religious practices than the professional folklorists who had learned to be careful with sensitive topics in their fieldwork diaries.

Nevertheless, the students had learned the phrases that depicted their work in Soviet fashion. They ended their field notes with a positive note even when the results were not good enough: "We left the practical work with more experience, and we can hopefully avoid mistakes and master different situations in our future work."[54] Students framed their diaries with Soviet rhetoric that was similar to the tone in the newspapers. For example, they could write in their diaries how some songs reflect the prosperity of the Soviet life and thankfulness of the people for the great leaders.[55] The descriptions of fieldwork were available for the wider public: it was typical that an article about the student fieldwork was published, at least in the university newspaper. Even when the expedition did not fill the goals, it was still presented positively in the print media. When Anita Rõõm had a goal to document legends about the mythological hero Kalevipoeg within her field trip in the summer of 1955, she had difficulties finding informants competent in the topic, and only four of her 189 folklore texts written down during the fieldwork were related to the goal of her fieldwork—legends about Kalevipoeg.[56] Nevertheless, she wrote an article about her "throughout successful" expedition in a country-wide daily newspaper (Rõõm 1955). Therefore, it seems that the students had mastered the art to present their work to fit with the Soviet optimist rhetoric.

Becoming a Professional Researcher as a Matter of Finding Suitable Rhetoric

There are several sources that reflect how students understood folklore and what did they value. Not only the fieldwork diaries of the students, described in the previous section, but also the research topics they chose in the course of their studies show

what their interests were. The students were encouraged to participate in thematic working groups of the Students' Research Society, where they learned research methods and gave presentations. The working groups gave possibilities to find research interests and train various skills, but at the same time were a way of political control on the students. A working group for folklore was founded in 1948. The first presentation was about manors in Estonian folklore.[57] As the group was not as active as planned, it was merged with the working group for literature. Although it had a separate subdivision, the group's main work was done in the literature studies, e.g. organizing writing contests for aspiring authors. Working group for literature and folklore was one of the most popular in the faculty. The members gave presentations in schools and factories, and the group had contact with universities in Latvia and in Leningrad.

Illustration 3: Students Ülo Tedre and Virve Murumaa visiting an observation platform on Emumägi. Ülo Tedre, 1950. KKI, Foto 1064.

A more demanding possibility for trying out the research was to compete in a contest for research papers. Contests for student research were organized in the pre-World War 2 University of Tartu and this tradition was continued in Tartu State University during the Soviet period. Students were presented a list of topics in the spring semester, and they had almost a year to finish the paper. For example, in the year 1946, the topic for a paper in the field of folkloristics was "The reflection of social relations in proverbs,"[58] in 1948 "Harvesting songs in folklore."[59] The beginning of the 1950s was ideologically stricter, and the research topics reflected it: in 1952, students could choose between the topics "Estonian Soviet folklore" and "Social satire in Estonian folklore."[60]

The research papers were reviewed, and it seems that other qualities were valued higher than the presentation of Soviet ideology. In 1946 the paper "Working relations in the manor according to Estonian folk songs" received the first prize in the competition for the folkloristic paper. Still, in the Chair of Literature and Folklore meeting, it was decided not to publish the paper because there were "several mistakes" and the historical background was not depicted enough: euphemisms for ideologically unsuitable text.[61] In 1948, the first prize was awarded to Grigori Kaljuvee for the paper "Sun in the Estonian folk tradition." His work cited no classics of Marxism-Leninism,

but one book by Oskar Loorits.[62] Kaljuvee presented an analysis of comparative mythology based on a large number of archive texts. He claimed that he considered the social background of the phenomena in his research and concluded that the agricultural means of production shaped the religious ideas (Kaljuvee 1948). Although the connections to the Marxist theory were weak, the paper won the prize.

The students added the Marxist theory usually formally in their diploma thesis, although they discussed the social context of folklore in most of works, even if the topics had little to do with the Soviet ideology (Laugaste 1983, 113). The most crucial paper for students to write was their diploma thesis at the end of their studies. In the years 1945–1955, 25 diploma theses were defended in the field of folklore. The students could choose their topic from a list where various genres and approaches were usually offered. In the year 1951, the topics suggested for the diploma thesis are as follows:

- "Depiction of revolutionary actions of peasants in 19th century Estonian folklore,"
- "Social relations in the village according to older folk song,"
- "The unity of form and content in Estonian older folk songs,"
- "Plague in Estonian folklore,"
- "Legends about Suur Tõll,"
- "Riddles about tools,"
- "The history of Jakob Hurt's manuscript collections."[63]

In the Stalinist period, the most popular topics for the thesis were folk songs, beliefs, and customs. Archived folklore was the source of most diploma theses. The number of archive texts from nineteenth and early twentieth century that reflected social injustice could have been used for far many research topics that would fit the understanding of class struggles, but surprisingly, the students were offered relatively neutral research topics. Over the years, they could write about Sun or Moon in the folklore, about healing wounds, or other topics where the connection with class struggles was not apparent. Of course, the lists with suggested topics always had some related to serfdom, depiction of manors, or other issues that were more clearly related to Marxism-Leninism.

No student wrote their diploma thesis on the topic of Soviet folklore. In the last year of his studies, Heldur Niit had written a course paper about kolkhoz folklore and gave a presentation on the topic at the conference of the Students' Research Society. His course paper was praised in the university newspaper, and Niit wrote an article about folklore in the collective farms in the nation-wide cultural weekly *Sirp ja Vasar* (Niit 1950). But for his diploma thesis, Niit focused on folk tales, and later as a graduate student, he also did not choose Soviet folklore as his research area, although he was an expert on the topic. In 1954, Niit participated in a meeting of the Chair of Literature and Folklore where he gave an overview of the folklore texts that were archived as Soviet folklore. Niit concluded that they were either aesthetically of low value or not folkloristic.[64] Although it was officially declared at the meeting that Soviet folklore

should be studied more, it did not happen, and the report of Niit might have been one of the motivations for abandoning the topic. Therefore it seems that the students—just as professional folklorists—avoided researching Soviet folklore in Estonia because not enough Soviet folklore had been documented and what was available in the archives, was not sufficient for a thorough analysis. The interests of students were instead in the classical genres of folklore. Over the years, the Faculty of History and Languages was criticized that the content of seminar writings and diploma theses is not topical enough or Marxist-Leninist theory was used superficially. However, no more significant change occurred.

For example, according to the regulation for evaluating course papers and diploma theses, the central task of the opponents of the student writings during the defense procedure was to evaluate how well the author of a thesis has solved the research problem according to the Marxist-Leninist methodology.[65] The duties of opponents were reviewed, and in 1950 they were said to be shallow in their tasks: "It is only said that the thesis is generally written correctly and based on Marxist writings, but it is not specified what is Marxist about the text. In searching for mistakes mostly facts or form of the diploma thesis are reviewed, but the analysis of the ideological disposition of the work is more superficial."[66] Still, the habit to just superficially quote some works by Marxist-Leninist authors and then continue the writing without further incorporation of the ideological statements characterize the whole Soviet period. However, this did not mean that the students were able to get a diploma without a thorough knowledge of the Soviet ideology. To graduate, all students needed to take exams in their discipline and Marxist-Leninist theory. The state exam program on folklore was prepared in the years 1947–1948. This document listed what the graduate should know, e.g. see folklore as an artistic creation of the folk, know the statements of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Gorky.[67]

There were several strategies of finding a research topic that corresponded to the trends in Soviet folkloristics, but at the same time, revealed new aspects in Estonian folklore. There were topics that Estonian folklorists avoided in their work when possible, Soviet folklore being the most prominent example. The ethnologists also tried to avoid some research topics that had been state-supported, like the developments in contemporary culture that could be used to justify Russification (Johansen 1995, 196). Nevertheless, there were topics where several young researchers dealt with issues that were the core of Soviet folkloristics. For instance, performer studies—a field that originated from Soviet research—was a theoretical frame that many folklore students used in analyzing the singers of Estonian older folk song *regilaul* in the postwar years. (Oras 2008, 50–51) Another topic where national ideas and interests of Soviet folkloristics collided was research in folk epics. Collectively created epics suited with the Soviet idea of the creativity of the folk. Besides, in 1957 the hundred-year anniversary of the Estonian national epic Kalevipoeg was celebrated. Therefore, the epic Kalevipoeg and folklore materials it was based on were one of the central interests of folklorists in the 1950s. Student fieldwork was carried out, and several students wrote their diploma theses on the topic (Saarlo 2019, 23–25). One strategy to study a topic that was not di-

rectly related to trends in Soviet folkloristics was to state that the previous work on the topic and the source materials needed to be reevaluated from the Soviet perspective. The reevaluation meant including a bit more social context and some citations.

In 1947, postgraduate study period called *aspirantuur* (Russian: *аспирантура*) was founded by the Department of Folklore, making it possible to get a scientific degree in the field of folkloristics. The Tartu State University and the Institute of Language and Literature had graduate students. Officially, the university preferred specialists who had worked at least three years after graduating, but with a recommendation from the chair or from the research council, also fresh graduates could start in *aspirantuur*. In the first years after the graduate program was established, there were several difficulties, as the students had too many tasks and failed to graduate on time. Graduate students had three years to write and defend a dissertation. In addition, they had to take five exams: dialectical and historical materialism, major and minor specialization, Russian, and another foreign language.

Not all students could continue their graduate studies in the Soviet Estonia. Ülo Tedre had graduated from folkloristics at the Tartu State University in 1951 and wished to continue his graduate studies at the university, but was invited to be a scientific secretary at the State Literary Museum. There, officials of NKVD[68] pressured him to get a degree at the Graduate School of the NKVD, but Tedre, who did not want to be politically involved, could start graduate studies at the Institute of Language and Literature. As there was no suitable supervisor for Ülo Tedre at the Sector of Folklore, a supervisor from the central institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences was searched. Ülo Tedre spent part of his graduate studies in Moscow at the N. N. Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnography after he had passed the exams and started collecting materials for his dissertation about class struggles in the nineteenth century rhymed folk songs in Estonia in 1955. His poor Russian skills hindered Tedre in exams, but he could defend the dissertation in Tallinn and in Estonian (Rooleid & Niinemets 2008, 140–141). In the Stalinist period, it was expected that the graduate students worked on socially relevant topics. Another graduate student Veera Pino defended her dissertation "Social conflicts in Estonian villages according to *regilaul* (Estonian older folk song)" in 1954. So both graduate students had found a topic that could be approached from the Soviet angle: archival materials reflected the social and class conflicts in the nineteenth century, and it was possible to give a new perspective of life in Estonian villages. Simultaneously, the dissertations were about a topic that had less relevance in the contemporary life in the 1950s.

When the thesis was successfully defended, the graduate student obtained the degree of the Candidate of Sciences. Another dissertation was needed to get a doctoral degree. During the Soviet period, only Eduard Laugaste became the doctor of folkloristics. After his pre-war master's degree was acknowledged as the degree of Candidate of Sciences in 1946, he continued to write his doctoral dissertation and obtained the degree of doctor of folkloristics in 1970. As he was active in many positions and institutions, he was not able to graduate earlier, and in the many years of writing, the focus of the dissertation changed: in the beginning, he planned to show how the types

of folk songs developed parallel to social changes,[69] but finally he graduated with the thesis on alliteration in folk songs. The shifting focus from the social background to the form of songs shows a general pattern: questions of the form in folklore were abandoned as formalist and bourgeois in the Stalinist period but later became one of the central research topics. As Liina Saarlo stated, Sovietization conservated Estonian folkloristics: because of the political pressure on the field, studying contemporary folklore or social issues was abandoned as research topics as soon as there was another alternative for research (Saarlo 2018b, 147–148).

The graduates of Soviet universities were not free to choose their jobs, and instead were given a job placement that they had to accept. Academically better or just active students often found their future employer during the studies (Hiio & Piirimäe 2007, 461–462). In the 1940s, when the career possibilities were introduced to the prospective students it was said that the graduates of the Estonian Literature and Folklore Department of the Tartu State University would find jobs as teachers, translators, editors, librarians, and journalists. Some young people who had written their thesis about folkloristics got a job in one of the mentioned areas and did not continue to work in the field of folklore. Three institutions were offering academic jobs for folklorists: Tartu State University, Folklore Department of the State Literary Museum, and Folklore Sector of the Institute of Language and Literature. During the Stalinist period, most of the young folklorists started their careers in the latter because it was founded as late as 1947 and needed qualified staff. The first candidates of sciences Veera Pino and Ülo Tedre were employed there. However, although fresh university graduates were hired, the research was not radically Sovietizised. The young folklorists were not so successful in using the Soviet research practices as expected. In 1947, a commission evaluated the work in ILL and in the State Literary Museum and concluded that ILL is politically stagnated whereas a much older institution, the Literary Museum, is ideologically much stronger (Ahven 2007, 37). Although ILL hired young researchers who were educated in the Soviet Union, they still made mistakes that were seen as a result of their "old bourgeois views and methods" (ibid, 55). In the Literary Museum, mostly older folklorists worked, several of them had not been able to finish their studies in the Republic of Estonia, but they had the practical skills in fieldwork and archival organization. Since the mid-1950s, some graduates also started to work in the Folklore Department of the State Literary Museum. The least jobs were available at the Tartu State University. In Soviet Estonia, there were more jobs for folklorists than during the earlier period of the Republic of Estonia (Olesk 1990, 521). To become a folklorist meant getting a job in one of the three folkloristic institutions and finding a way to master the ideological statements but still find his or her way of doing research.

Discussion: Doing Folkloristics as a Balancing Act

When land is occupied, all social and intellectual structures change. In the Soviet Union and its satellite countries, institutions were reorganized, and the goals of social and intellectual life were defined through the Soviet ideals of building socialism. The folkloristic research in Soviet Estonia is an example of one of the many "small eth-

nologies" in Eastern Europe: small in the number of researchers included in the field, but also small in scope, primarily focusing on one national group, the territory of one country. Officially it was claimed that the Soviet perspective opened up new research possibilities. Yet, folklorists declared the search for new disciplinary identity in their writings, actually rather searched for suitable phrases that would frame the research done about local and mainly historical topics. The new research areas were discussed and presented in writings and speeches as progressive but were less prevalent in actual research. There were several reasons for this carefulness in choosing research topics. On the one hand, there was so little contemporary folklore that would show the Soviet system in a positive light; on the other hand, I would argue that Soviet understanding of folklore was not acceptable as a research foundation for the folklorists.

The Soviet Union presented itself as a country that brings prosperity and education to broad masses. Nevertheless, the students were quite restricted in their studies, and the teaching at the university was strictly controlled because it was expected that only Soviet-minded specialists would graduate from the university. As in many fields of humanities and social sciences, there was not enough teaching staff or reading materials in folkloristics. The curriculum was unified according to Soviet central plans in the Tartu State University and included Marxist theory, military education, and sports. The folklore students had to be socially active like all the students of the time. The practical work was a possibility to find out who had the abilities and interest to work as a folklorist. The students' preferred informants and the research topics show that although in newspapers, reports, and books, the Soviet approaches to folklore and folkloristics were successful, the students had a rather conservative understanding of folklore studies. No thesis was written about Soviet topics, and the students saw the older adults in remote villages as the potentially best performers of most valuable folklore texts. The awards for the best research papers in folkloristics were given to writings that only superficially dealt with Marxist-Leninist theory. So the university did not shape a new generation who would have been convinced in Soviet ideas, but rather conservative folklorists, who knew how and when to use suitable rhetoric and quotations. The tendency to only learn the suitable rhetoric at the university instead of becoming a convinced socialist was common to most of the Eastern Bloc countries, as was the lack of foreign contacts and, in many cases, longing for the pre-war ways of doing research.

Sovietization of folkloristics in Estonia was not successful. The rhetoric of new perspectives and innovative methods was a cover for the research done as it was already before the war—even if the new generations of scholars conducted the studies. Managing this balancing act between claiming to do Soviet research and continuing appreciating folklore in the pre-war sense meant that the epistemology of the research hardly changed. Folklorists chose the research so, that it was possible to claim the importance of such topics in the Soviet system, but the actual research content had little to do with Marxist-Leninist ideology. Nevertheless, the safe choices in research topics meant that the contemporary culture was hardly documented or studied. The Soviet period brought a series of social changes that reshaped the folk culture. However, the

researchers neglected the contemporary culture as an ideologically loaded research topic. The Soviet period mostly conservated folkloristic studies: young and old researchers searched politically neutral research topics.

The students who wanted to continue their career as researchers had to make more compromises as their research needed to convey more Soviet ideas than the undergraduate students' work. In their scholarly activities, they needed to condemn the previous methods and prove the social importance of folkloristics in the new Soviet society. Still, the graduate students in the Stalinist period did not choose contemporary Soviet folklore as their topic but discussed the social struggles reflected in folklore texts collected mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century. Contemporary issues mainly were left aside because of their complexity: the source materials would not support the Marxist theories or the optimistic style expected from this kind of research. After Stalin's death, these scholars could research the classical genres of folklore. The researchers continued to quote the Marxist-Leninist works throughout the Soviet period, but this did not affect the actual analysis of the materials.

The new Tartu State University was expected to shape young people into Soviet-minded specialists. Instead, the youth learned the formulaic language of the new system and the ways to show the social significance of working with archive texts from the previous century. In the newspapers and various meetings, the docent Eduard Laugaste depicted the folkloristic work at the university as successfully adapted to the new society, while the neighboring disciplines were criticized for their bourgeois work. The discipline seemed to be on new tracks, while the knowledge produced and values that were shared were similar to the ways folkloristics was done before the Soviet occupation.

Notes

1 The First Secretary was the highest political position in a Soviet country, Commisar of Education administrated public education and culture.
2 The developments in the Baltic countries are discussed in a recent collection (Bula, Laime 2017).
3 This is a very condensed overview of the general developments in folkloristics in Estonia the Stalinist period. There are several recent overviews about the topic, in English see Kalkun, Oras 2018, Kulasalu 2017, Naithani 2019, Saarlo 2017 and Saarlo 2018a.
4 For an overview of Estonian ethnology before and during Soviet period see Jääts 2019.
5 In the Soviet Estonia, the discipline of ethnology was named ethnography and mainly dealt with analysing material culture.
6 For example: TRÜ 1949, no. 14, p. 1.
7 RA, EAA.5311.63.3.
8 1946 it was recognized as the degree of Candidate of Sciences.
9 RA, EAA.5311.63.3, p. 42.
10 The name of Estonian Folklore Archives during the Soviet period.
11 RA, EAA.5311.63.16, p. 60.
12 RA, EAA.5311.63.16, p. 75.

13 RA, EAA.5311.5.1, p. 4.
14 RA, EAA.5311.5.86, p. 63.
15 RA, EAA.5311.5.8, p. 8.
16 Meaning contemporary folklore that depicted Soviet system and its leaders in a positive way.
17 RA, EAA.5311.63.23, p. 108a.
18 RA, EAA.5311.63.16, p. 23.
19 RA, EAA.5311.63.19a.
20 RA, EAA.5311.63.9a.
21 RA, EAA.5311.63.9a.
22 RA, EAA.5311.63.12a.
23 RA, EAA.5311.63.9a.
24 RA, EAA.5311.63.9a.
25 RA, EAA.5311.5.80, p. 31.
26 RA, EAA.5311.63.12a.
27 EKRK I 5, 240 < Hiiumaa – Elly Küla (1954).
28 The border zone was established to prevent illegal entry or exit and contrabandism.
29 EKRK I 1, 129/30 < Tõstamaa – Heldur Niit (1950).
30 EKM, n 1, s 112.
31 The mythical Kalev's son was the central character in the Estonian national epic and a character of various legends (about the epic see for example Hasselblatt 2016).
32 EKRK I 2, 349/50 < Väike Maarja, Rakvere – Anita Riis (1951).
33 EKRK I 11, 59/60 < Jõhvi – Anita Rõõm (1955).
34 EKRK I 2, 349 < Väike Maarja, Rakvere – Anita Riis (1951).
35 KKI 5, 473/5 < Setumaa – Veera Pino (1948).
36 EKRK I 1, 124 < Tõstamaa – Heldur Niit (1950).
37 EKRK I 1, 405 < Märjamaa – Loreida Rausep (1950).
38 KKI 13, 269 < Põltsamaa – Maret Jäger (1950).
39 KKI 12, 345 < Pärnumaa – Ellen Niit (1950).
40 KKI 12, 339/40 < Pärnumaa – Ellen Niit (1950).
41 EKRK I 5, 31/2 < Hiiumaa – H. Kala, E. Priidel (1954).
42 EKRK I 2, 38 < Rapla – Herta Ploompuu (1951).
43 EKRK I 11, 28/9 < Paide, Rapla – Ants Järv (1953).
44 RA, EAA.5311.63.16, p. 85.
45 The newly founded kolkhozes were also the research topic of other disciplines. For example, Ea Jansen who started working in the Institute of History in 1950s, was supposed to write about the history of collectivization of agriculture – something that had only taken place some years ago. (Aarelaid 1998: 116).
46 EKRK I 1, 415 < Märjamaa – Loreida Rausep (1950).
47 KKI 13, 269 < Põltsamaa – Maret Jäger (1950).
48 RA, EAA.5311.5.80, p. 31.
49 RA, EAA.5311.63.19a.
50 RA, EAA.5311.63.16, p. 112.
51 EKRK I 6, 27 < Muhu – E. Veskisaar, I. Sarv (1954).
52 EKRK I 5, 38 < Hiiumaa – H. Kala, E. Priidel (1954).
53 KKI 27, 128 < Hiiumaa – Richard Viidalepp (1954).
54 EKRK I 5, 350 < Hiiumaa – Jenny Langinen (1954)
55 E.g. KKI 5, 510 < Setumaa – Veera Pino (1948).

56 EKRK I 11, 78 < Jõhvi – Anita Rõõm (1955).
57 TRÜ 1948, lk 2, nr 3.
58 RA, EAA.5311.63.3, p. 3.
59 RA, EAA.5311.63.3, p. 55.
60 RA, EAA.5311.63.23, p. 92.
61 RA, EAA.5311.63.3, p. 7.
62 Oskar Loorits was an Estonian folklorist, head of the Estonian Folklore Archives and lecturer at the University of Tartu. He fled the Soviet occupation in 1944. In early Soviet Estonia, the name of Oskar Loorits was censored from the folklore manuscripts and his works that contained ideas that were often considered nationalist at the time were banned.
63 RA, EAA.5311.63.16, p. 54.
64 RA, EAA.5311.63.33, p. 1–17.
65 RA, EAA.5311.5.86, p. 13.
66 RA, EAA.5311.5.86, p. 41.
67 RA, EAA.5311.63.13.
68 NKVD (Russian: *Народный комиссариат внутренних дел*) was the Russian People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, carried out purges as Soviet secret police agency.
69 RA, EAA.5311.63.16, p. 93–94.
70 I have used the traditional citing system of Estonian Folklore Archives. The citation is structured in a following way: archival collection, subseries in the collection, the volume, the pages in the volume (the number of the text) < the place where the text has been recorded—name of the collector (year of collection).

Archival Records

Estonian Folklore Archives[70]

KKI – folklore collection of the Institute of Language and Literature.
EKRK – folklore collection of Estonian Literature and Folklore Department of the University of Tartu.

Estonian Literary Museum

EKM – the archive of the Estonian Literary Museum as an institution.

National Archives of Estonia

RA, EAA.5311.5 – Dean's Office of the Faculty of History and Languages, Tartu State University.
RA, EAA.5311.63 – Chair of Estonian Literature and Folklore, Tartu State Uni versity.
EFA.269 – Školnikov, Semjon. The Film Archive.

Art Museum of Estonia

EKM GD – Graphic Art Collection.

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Scholarly Infrastructure: Latvian Folklore Editions in Exile

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Abstract

As a consequence of changes during World War II, many Latvians who were educated professionals in the field of folkloristics were exiled and found their new homelands in Sweden, Germany, the United States of America, and other countries. Gradually, together with researchers from other fields, they created a scholarly infrastructure for continuing Latvian folklore studies. This included making core Latvian folklore texts available for research. This article contextualizes and traces the course of the creation of two major editions, 12 volumes of Latviešu tautas dziesmas (Latvian Folksongs, 1952–1956) *and 15 volumes of* Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas (Latvian Folk Legends and Fairy Tales, 1962–1970).

Keywords: history of folkloristics; exile; Latvian folklore; folklore text editions; *Latviešu tautas dziesmas*; *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas*

Introduction

After World War II, a new phenomenon began to emerge the disciplinary history of Latvian folkloristics, respectively, Latvian folklore studies in exile. Until then, professional folklore studies had developed in Latvia, particularly in Riga, where the national institutional foundations were laid in the 1920s and developed throughout the 1930s. Soon after establishing the University of Latvia (1919), the Faculty of Philology and Philosophy introduced regular lecture and practical seminar courses in folklore; however, only a narrow emphasis on Latvian folksong interpretation and mythology studies were available for the basic level Baltic philology students. The future philologists were also encouraged to engage in individual fieldwork research and folklore collecting in rural areas of Latvia. In the 1930s, the gap between international folklore research trends and Latvian academic practice was partially remedied by lectures delivered by visiting foreign scholars from Lithuania, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, and France (Reinsone 2017, 103–106). In 1924, the Archives of Latvian Folklore was funded. Its postulated goals were to collect, archive, publish and study folklore. The Archives served both Latvian and international scholars in their studies, particularly those who had asked for information about specific focus areas (Vīksna 2017, 88). Like in many European countries of the interwar period, folkloristics in Latvia developed as an important element of national educational and cultural policies with State funding for "spiritual culture" studies (Vaivade 2017, 66–75). Simultaneously, Latvian folkloristics was also among the humanities with a dynamic international context (Treija 2017, 126–133). The end of World War II was followed by decades

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of Soviet occupation in Latvia (1945–1990). The Soviet totalitarian regime marked an abrupt end to the former academic practices and inclinations, and folkloristics was not an exclusion. The continuation of the interwar period folklore studies was embodied on the other side of the iron curtain, in the settings of Western democracies. These studies were primarily developed thanks to the efforts of individual intellectuals.

What could be called Latvian folklore studies in exile were activities carried out by many Latvian émigrés. The community of Latvian folklore researchers was scattered across continents and countries. Still, they kept together based on personal involvement and interest, contacted each other through mail correspondences, met at Latvian academic events, and cooperated on solo and joint publications. Apart from the homeland and its traditional culture, several Latvian scholars who were professionally trained in other fields, such as linguistics, law, and theology, showed interest in folklore research. From the history of knowledge perspective, these new adepts to folklore studies conformed to the double roles of migrant intellectuals; respectively, they were migrants both to foreign countries and "academic nomads and renegades" (Burke 2016, 43) to an alien discipline. Both trained folklorists and the newcomers joined forces to create a scholarly infrastructure useful for Latvian folklore studies in the conditions of emigration.

A big task before the engineers of scholarly infrastructure was to ensure the availability of Latvian folklore texts. The most logical step for implementing this idea was to republish formerly printed texts in sufficient numbers of copies. Latvians implemented two large-scale folklore publishing projects in exile. The edition of Latvian folksong texts, *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* (Latvian Folksongs, 1952–1956), was published in Denmark, Copenhagen. The voluminous folk narrative edition, *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas* (Latvian Folk Legends and Fairy Tales, 1962–1970), in its turn, was released in the United States by Waverly, Iowa. The two editions presented potential knowledge on Latvian folklore: the bodies of folklore texts to be studied in the future manifested the potential knowledge "which can be reactivated by actors who read the books and research the archives" (Mulsow 2019, 162). However, the volumes also demonstrated actual knowledge through research articles on various folksong topics and the motif index, which added value to the editions—seeing these educated individuals preparing these folklore editions as well as the exile audience at the receiving end of the published books as, in Swiss historian Philip Sarasin's terminology, "actors of knowledge" (in German, *Akteure des Wissens*; Sarasin 2011, 169–171), this article seeks to examine their roles in knowledge-making. What was the cultural and political context for Latvian folklore editions? What was the individual knowledge actors' input? What disincentives did these actors face? What was the reception of the published volumes?

Maintaining Latvian Folklore Studies in Exile

From 1944 to 1945, as World War II came to an end, the Red Army approached Latvia, and many Latvians, among them a significant number of educated people, representatives of the intelligentsia, fled from their homes. The number of emigrated citizens

from the three Baltic republics, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, was estimated at around 620,000 people (Švābe 1950–1951, 235), and among them, approximately 175,000 were Latvians (Plakans 2017, 41). In the initial period of Latvian exile, there were two "safe havens for the reluctant refugees," Germany and Sweden (Lazda 2015, 16). From 1945 to 1950, those in Germany lived in displaced persons' camps which were supervised by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and, later on, by the International Refugee Organisation. After that, the period of dissemination began, and the refugees found their way to their new home countries. A considerable proportion of Latvians moved to the United States, but many also settled in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and South American countries. Only a handful remained in continental Europe. Despite this dispersion, the Latvian exile community largely tried to keep in touch with each other. Among the means for keeping Latvianness alive and cultivating Latvian culture were joint events in smaller ethnic circles, like attending Latvian church or festivities, publishing and reading Latvian exile press and books, and, for the younger generation, attending the Latvian weekend schools and summer camps.

The Soviet occupation split the Latvian folklorists into two groups: those who stayed in Latvia and tried to cope with the new Soviet ideology and those who found their way to the free democracies and hoping to continue their research work away from their homeland. Among those who fled, the best-known Latvian folklore scholars were Ludis Bērziņš (1870–1965), Arveds Švābe (1888–1962), and Kārlis Straubergs (1890–1962). Bērziņš moved to the United States, whereas Švābe and Straubergs connected their later lives with Sweden. From 1929 to 1944, Straubergs had been the head of Archives of Latvian Folklore. His colleagues, the heads of the Folklore Archives of the other two Baltic countries, had also emigrated: the Estonian folklorist Oskar Loorits found asylum in Sweden, and the Lithuanian folklorist Jonas Balys, in his turn, after a period in Germany, moved to the United States. In exile, they all continued active professional lives and, in one way or another, devoted themselves to folklore research. While abroad, representatives from other fields such as writers, musicologists, historians, etc., also began to show interest in studying traditional culture. Unfortunately, the opposite happened in exile as well: once active folklore researchers disappeared from the field. Thus, for example, Eduards Zicāns (1884–1946) passed away already in the camp period in Germany, but Heronims Tihovskis (1907–1991) spent busy years in Canada, with no chance or need to continue his studies of traditional folk costumes.

The scholarly infrastructure for Latvian folklore studies in exile was multifaceted and developed unevenly. First, once in a while, the knowledge of Latvian folklore was transmitted through formal and, even more so, through informal education. Academic teaching of some Latvian folklore subjects began at the Baltic University in Hamburg and Pinneberg, Germany, while emigrés themselves still lived in the displaced persons camps. Later, some scholars of Latvian origin included folklore teaching in their courses (e.g., linguist Velta Rūķe-Draviņa at Stockholm University). Second, exile scholars formed networks of cooperation, supported each, and continued researching Latvian folklore. Numerous exile academic organizations, like *Ramave*, a Chicago Group of Baltic Philologists, and the Latvian Academic Organization in Sweden, maintained a

lively spirit and helped exchange knowledge with the exile community worldwide. Third, folklore texts and folklore studies were transmitted to the stakeholders through Latvian exile press publications and books. The volumes of *Bibliography of Latvian Publications Published Outside Latvia* (Jēgers 1968, 1972, 1977, 1988, 1994) show hundreds of publications relating to Latvian folklore—they vary from small size folklore textbooks to serious monographic studies.

In conditions of exile, keeping their language and traditional culture alive, actualizing folklore in emigration publications, was the strategy of Latvians and other diasporas that had fled communism and resided in the Western world. After the Second World War, other ethnic communities in the new cultural and political settings took even more significant steps than Latvians in building their folklore research infrastructure. For example, due to the efforts of the professional folklorist Jonas Balys, the folklore of the Lithuanian diaspora in the United States, soon after he arrived in 1949, was carefully recorded, published, and archived. Balys visited Lithuanian immigrants in many American cities and collected thousands of songs. His collection was deposited at the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music in Bloomington, at the Archives of Folk Song at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and at the Archives of American-Lithuanian Culture in Putnam, Connecticut (Bradūnas Aglinskas 2006). The Ukrainian diaspora representatives in Canada, with Dr. Bohdan Medwidsky as a central figure, led to the establishment of the Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta in Edmonton in 1977. At the archives, Medwidsky assembled students' fieldwork projects from a course on Ukrainian folklore. A few years later, the Ukrainian Folklore Program offering both an MA and Ph.D.in Folklore followed, and the diaspora archives grew into an extensive repository of materials on Ukrainian folk culture (Chernyavska 2018, 33–35).

On the contrary, the Latvian efforts to collect and archive their folklore in exile had been somewhat sporadic and never on so large a scale. Some significant traces have been left only in individual Latvian-origin researchers' works, such as Inta Gale Carpenter's study of her grandfather's folklore repertoire (Gale Carpenter 1980), which started as a part of the final requirements for her MA in folklore at Indiana University. The recorded repertoire consisted of personal history narratives, animal tales, songs, riddles, puzzles, anecdotes, folk poetry, among others.

Every aspect of scholarly infrastructure is worth a separate research article. The intellectual infrastructure itself is a facet of the broader history of the knowledge realm. The question "What of the arenas for the production and circulation of knowledge?" (Östling, Larsson Heidenblad, Nilsson Hammar 2020, 16) may be asked both regarding everyday life and the disciplinary history of a branch of science, thus, in a wide range of applications, showing the practicality of the infrastructure concept within the scope of the history of knowledge. Keeping in mind that one thing at a time gives the privilege to go deeper into the subject, herein, only one phenomenon will be examined—the publication of the most expansive Latvian folklore text editions.

The Copenhagen Project: An Edition of Latvian Folksongs

Latviešu tautas dziesmas (Latvian Folksongs) was one of the Latvian exile folkloristics grand projects. Following the best folklore publishing standards from earlier times, this edition of Latvian folksongs was carefully prepared by three renowned editors: lawyer, historian encyclopaedist, Professor Arveds Švābe; classical philologist and folklore researcher Professor Kārlis Straubergs; and linguist Edīte Hauzenberga-Šturma (1901–1983). *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* was prepared and published by Copenhagen-based Latvian publishers, *Imanta*. The 12 volumes were printed from 1952 to 1956. The body of the texts was a combination of two earlier major folksong editions: *Latvju dainas* (Latvian folksongs) by Krišjānis Barons and Henrijs Visendorfs (1894–1915, vol. 1–6) and the edition of the Archives of Latvian Folklore, Pēteris Šmits' *Tautas dziesmas* (Folksongs, 1936–1939, vol. 1–4). A systematic selection of "the most typical" Barons' song variants were made, and Šmits' editorial remarks were kept (LTDz II, 466). The compositional structure of the volumes followed Barons' arrangement: starting with

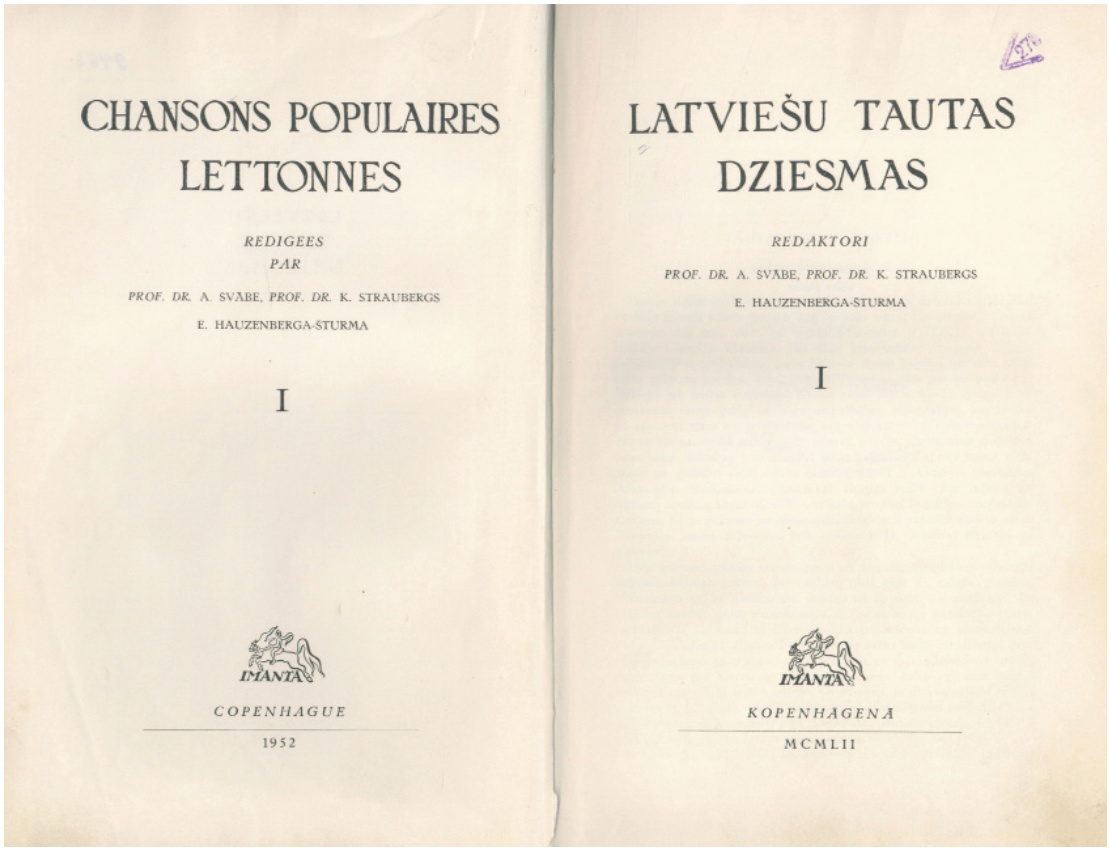

Figure 1. Title page of the first volume of *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* (1952).

songs about singing, continuing with the flow of human life, which included a voluminous cycle of the wedding songs, and concluded with a collection of obscene folksongs. The novelty was the orthography and punctuation principles which, with full accuracy, were introduced and looked after by one of the editors, the Baltic philologist Hauzenberga-Šturma. Unlike in Barons' *Latvju dainas*, the dialectological differences between regions were respected and demonstrated in print (LTDz II, 463–465).

The exile edition contained over 60,000 folksong texts altogether, most of them trochaic quatrains, as well as 66 game descriptions (LTDz XI, 520–556). A topographic index of the towns and parishes where the folklore materials were collected was provided (LTDz II, 403–409; 411–418), and in the last volume, an extensive index of folksong numbering and a table of contents were added (LTDz XII, 133–166). The volumes were ornamentally decorated in an aesthetically pleasing way by poet and artist Ojārs Jēgens, whose appreciation for Latvian folklore over the same period manifested in several illustrated folktale selections. Inside the grey canvas covers, were special introductory reprints of old engravings, drawings, a photo with ethnographic content, and illustrated essays.

The essays that accompanied the volumes are an essential contribution to the research of Latvian folklore in exile. The articles' topics were aligned to the themes of the songs contained in each volume, and several studies; for example, the ones on folksong language issues, presented topics that had never been examined by Latvian scholars before (Rudzītis 1977, 471). The articles were different in length and thoroughness; thus, they fit both the former academic circles and general audience of diaspora Latvians. The most productive contributors were the editors themselves. Kārlis Straubergs prepared at least one essay for almost every volume. He wrote about Latvian folksongs written on monuments of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries (LTDz I, XXVI–XXXII); pregnancy and childbirth (LTDz I, 151–161); child celebrations (LTDz I, 162–169); the Latvian family and the mother's role in it (LTDz II, 7–9); relationships between young people (LTDz III, 279–301); weddings, as shown in folklore and historical sources; several essays covering the various stages and manifestations of wedding rituals (LTDz IV, 277–296; V, 1–15; V, 155–169; VI, VII–XVIII; VI, 65–97; VII, VII–XII; VII, 157–183; VIII, 1–133; VIII, 395–415); funeral rituals (LTDz IX, 91–104); and annual Latvian festivals (LTDz XI, 5–29).

Straubergs' writing was inherent in retrieving evidence of his ideas in folklore texts themselves in combination with a historiographical approach. In Sweden, where he settled in exile, he had a research fellow position at the Institute for Folklife Research, affiliated with the Nordic Museum. Research duties at his workplace were centered around Latvian folklore (Ekmanis 1994, 41); therefore, to a great extent, they overlapped with the studies published in *Latviešu tautas dziesmas*. Unlike other Latvian folklorists in exile, Straubergs had the privilege of access to unpublished materials of the Archives of Latvian Folklore. Being the Archives' Head from 1929 to 1944, he efficiently arranged for the typed copies of written folklore manuscripts to be taken with him on the boat to Sweden. Planning on further studies, he commented on the inexhaustible treasures he had taken with him: "For my future research work I need ex-

actly what I brought with me from Latvia. It came out naturally—I took what I had not yet worked on, which I had not yet started. It just seemed to me the most valuable—I couldn't part with it" (Kārkliņš 1962, 126). This well-organized primary source collection let Straubergs continue Latvian folklore research addressing his studies both to the Latvian exile community and international scholarly circles to which former independent Latvia was now closed off behind the Iron Curtain. At the Archives of Nordic Museum in Stockholm, Kārlis Straubergs' fund, there are manuscripts of his studies on Latvian family traditions, with proofreading notes, excerpts and transcripts of published historical sources and Latvian valuable folklorefor his research (*Nordiska Museets Arkiv*, Kārlis Straubergs' fund, Vol. 14, 20–22, 41–46, etc.). The interested audience in Latvia got acquainted with Kārlis Straubergs' scholarly heritage from the exile period only in 1995 when his studies were published in various volumes of the exile folksong edition later to be compiled in a book which came out in a special collection of his articles (Straubergs 1995). During the Soviet period, he belonged to the silenced "bourgeois" scholars of the Interwar period (Treija 2019, 27).

Arveds Švābe briefly covered topics of folksong collecting history (LTDz I, V–XXV), orphan songs (LTDz II, 10–12), some legal aspects in folksongs, like inheritance rights (LTDz II, 83–85), Latvian social status, as it appeared in folksongs (LTDz X, 249–255), and songs on war (LTDz X, 373–378). The third editor, Edīte Hauzenberga-Šturma, did major language editing of the volumes (Reidzāne, Treija, Vīksna 2017, 38–47). In connection with this work, she prepared two articles on the linguistic rules of Latvian folksongs and the new edition's orthography matters (LTDz II, 463 – 465; XI, 614–625).

Tocover all the various topics of the volumes, other exile authors were invited to contribute to *Latviešu tautas dziesmas*. Three articles demonstrated a philological analysis of folksongs: meritorious folksong researcher, Professor Ludis Bērziņš had allowed to extract his former writings on problems of stylistics of folksongs (LTDz IV, V–XXVI, Bērziņš 1935, Bērziņš 1940); literary critic Jānis Rudzītis contributed an essay on folksong metrics (LTDz V, VII–XXVI); poet Veronika Strēlerte, in her turn, wrote on the lyricism of folksongs and other poetic aspects, comparing those to the professional poetry (LTDz III, V–XII). Composer Volfgangs Dārziņš provided an extensive study on Latvian folksong melodies; the article included music notation and maps of different melody types (LTDz XI, 577–613). The reviews of traditional material culture were entrusted to the archaeologist, and long-time director of the National Museum of History, Dr. Valdemārs Ģinters, and to architect and ethnographer, founder and former director of the Ethnographic Open-Air Museum of Latvia, Professor Pauls Kundziņš. For the exile folksong edition, Ģinters wrote on Latvian folk costumes (LTDz II, 279–321) and traditional women's work at home, such as weaving textiles and grinding grain. (LTDz III, 1–16). Meanwhile, Kundziņš' studies illuminated traditional architecture, interior elements, and household items (LTDz VIII, VII–XVI; IX, VII–XXV; X, V–XXVI). Agronomist Jānis Vārsbergs analyzed the folksong texts and thus reflected on the agrarian lifestyle of Latvian peasants (LTDz X, 1–38). Two shorter essays by medical representatives broadened the range of topics. Anatomist and anthropolo-

gist Dr. Lūcija Krastiņa-Jēruma was represented by her short study on Latvian female physical constitution (LTDz II, 245–246). She was the first woman in Latvia to receive a scientific degree in medicine, and she defended her dissertation "A Latvian Female from Anthropological Point of View" in 1935 (Jerums 1935). Apparently, in the second volume of to *Latviešu tautas dziesmas,* she was quoted in Kārlis Straubergs' excerpt collection (an identical quote included in his article in 1949 (Straubergs 1949, 6), and the reference included in the volume was inaccurate since it referred to a secondary source (Cielēna 1942, 261–262). Along with that, some semi-anonymous Dr. med. J. Ā. introduced the collection of obscene folksongs with some contemplations on reproductive health issues (LTDz XII, 5–8).

The topic of Latvian mythology was presented by an epitome from a more extensive study by Ludvigs Adamovičs, "Old Latvian Religion", presented in the form of lectures in 1937 (LTDz XI, 557–576; Adamovičs 1937). The remarkable church historian, religious researcher, and politician Adamovičs became a victim of the Soviet regime. In 1941, he was deported to Siberia. He was executed in Solikamsk in 1943 (Staļinisma represēto ... 1989, 180). Another author from the other side of the Iron Curtain whose work was honored by the exile folksong edition was Kārlis Straubergs' brother, historian Jānis Straubergs. He stayed in occupied Latvia and passed away in 1952. A shortened combination of his articles on Latvian jewelry found in archaeological excavations (Straubergs 1938; 1939) was included in the second volume of *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* (LTDz II, 322–332).

In the introductory essay, "The Fates of Folksongs", Arveds Švābe gives an overview of Latvian folklore collecting, systematization, and research history. In conclusion, he predicted the immanent significance the new edition might have in uniting the exile community:

> The many editions of the folksongs show that our nation has such great piety towards this ancestral legacy that we can even speak of a folksong cult. Therefore, a mood favourable for common goals, where even a wise politician often fails, can quite easily be achieved by a choir song that every Latvian listens to, regardless of his or her religion, political beliefs and social status, and feels that centuries of fate bind him to the people who sing and listen to these songs. (LTDz I, XXV)

The huge corpus of Latvian folksong texts, as well as the articles which accompanied the volumes laid the foundations for the continuity of Latvian folklore studies outside Latvia. The authors' overview involved in the project shows the carefully selected cast of knowledge actors: they presented both independent state researchers and those intellectually active in Latvian exile society.

The potency and function of *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* was twofold: to strengthen the Latvian identity and promote the folklore research in exile. In the following years, this edition was used in numerous folksong studies. It was also the basis for the first Latvian folklore digitalization project, which began as early as 1974 by Canada-based Latvian computer specialist Dr. Imants Freibergs and psychology and folklore researcher Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga (Freibergs 1989; Kanada atbalsta ... 1974, 3; R. 1977, 7–8; Veldre

Beldava 1989, 3, 6). This project later developed into the Boston-Montreal Dainas Data Base, and the computational processing of Sun songs led to the exploration of their multifaceted semantics and resulted in a monograph series by Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga (Vīķe-Freiberga 1997, 1999, 2002, 2011, 2016). In 2005, this remarkable work of Latvian exile folkloristics was prepared by Maruta Lietiņa Ray for publishing online (Baumanis 2006, 8). It is available in the XML version at the site of the Library of the University of Virginia.[1]

This was a financially demanding publication. Hence, the Latvian exile society was mobilized throughout the free world. This folklore edition had a pre-signup. In the first volume and subsequent volumes, there were lists of the subscribers' names. The lists included several hundred individual Latvians living in Australia, the United States, Canada, England, Sweden, and Germany in the early 1950s. There were also New Zealand, Argentina, Brazil, Italy, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Ireland, Norway, and Denmark among less represented countries. Among other interested persons, one can see names of Latvian language and culture researchers who were prolific in following their years of exile, including Haralds Biezais, Kārlis Draviņš (Sweden) and Jānis Bičolis (the U.S.). Some Latvian exile organizations, like Cultural Fund of Australian Latvians, the Latvian Lutheran Church in Brooklyn, New York, and the Latvian Society of Sydney, were also among the money donors and edition subscribers (LTDz I, 425–431; II, 469–471; III, 489–491; IV, 441–442; V, 459–460; VI, 507–508; VI, 479; VIII, 461).

In 1956, after the preparation and printing of *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* was completed, it was the most ambitious edition in the history of exile publishing. In order to reach a wider Latvian audience, it was advertised in exile press. The Cultural Affairs Office of the American Latvian Association proposed the idea of donating it to local libraries. Thus, in 1957, the publisher *Imanta* developed a special offer: everyone who bought two sets (at subscribers' price) would get a third set free to give away to their local library (Imanta 1957, 4).

In an interview with a London-based Latvian newspaper in 1961, publisher Imants Reitmanis reported that Latvian diaspora readership was constantly shrinking, making successful publishing more difficult (Jaunajai paaudzei … 1961, 5–6). The edition was available for purchases even in 1976; however, it was not easily available (Irbe 1976, 26). The new generation of Latvian emigrés was growing, and youth and children were explicitly addressed as a part of the edition's promotional activities. There was a big concern that the young generation would not read in Latvian as much as their parents did (Jaunajai paaudzei … 1961, 5) To cultivate feelings of Latvianness among youth, the Australian diaspora organized a special debate on *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* subscriptions. The discussion questions were these and the like: Do you agree that the youth should subscribe to the Latvian folksong edition? What should be done to make young people aware of this responsibility? How many Latvian families at your place of residence should subscribe to the folksong edition so that you say that they have fulfilled their role in protecting Latvian culture? (Jaunatnei 1953, 7) In the Latvian exile community, reaching out to the younger generation to know their people's folklore was a constant and continuous process. Even very young children were

introduced to main facts of Latvian folkloristics and *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* (Drusciņas par … 1973, 4).

When it came to managing the process of preparing this grand edition, *Imanta* faced several difficulties. For instance, the publishing house director was forced to give explanations on copyright issues (Reitmanis 1953, 3). With sarcasm, Jānis Rudzītis described those demands as "Jesuit-raised dust of royalty claims" (Rudzītis 1953, 5). Twenty years after the volumes were published, journalist Viktors Irbe let it be known that the publishing work was not a complete success story. Not only did the publishers struggle with the sales of the folksong edition, but their storage was affected by a fire. Only with the support of the Danish Government could the missing volumes have been reprinted. (Irbe 1976, 26)

Overall, the Latvian community welcomed the new edition with compliments and gratitude. Jānis Rudzītis remarked that, before the *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* project started, the only hope for restoring the availability of folk poetry collections in exile were photocopies of Krišjānis Barons' *Latvju dainas*. The grand publishing of *Imanta*, according to his testimony, did the work that the Archives of Latvian Folklore had planned in the future. Rudzītis pointed out that the emigrés were committed to the major work in folklore publishing, whereas the occupied Fatherland went through the process of folklore fabrication (Rudzītis 1953, 5). Indeed, the initial period of the *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* publicationoverlapped with the flourishing of so-called Soviet folklore and the new discipline of Soviet folkloristics in the republics of the USSR, among them Latvia. The grotesque phenomenon of Soviet folklore evaporated soon after Joseph Stalin's death in 1953 (Ķencis 2019, 28, 36, 57). Jānis Rudzītis also indicated the target audience of *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* volumes: they were meant for "a scholar's and national fanatic's eye" (Rudzītis 1953, 5).

A review, titled "A Work for Tomorrow", published in 1952 in the New York Latvian newspaper *Laiks* (Time), was full of national excitement. The folksong edition was seen as proof of national identity and diaspora vitality. "In the face of the vastness of the world and the unknown tomorrow, we will survive and remain Latvians as long as our hearts keep hearing the simple but profound teaching of the folksongs which are collected for generations" (R. J. 1952). This review warned against the assimilation of Latvian diaspora people into their homeland countries. The author projected the new edition as a means to an end against the loss of Latvian identity.

The publishing house *Imanta* with its founder Imants Reitmanis thought of the *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* edition as a political act. Their goal was to keep Latvianness alive and to demonstrate to the free world the existence of Latvian culture. *Imanta* never hid the fact that through the books they published (folklore selections, history studies, Latvian literature, etc.) their national ideological agenda was implemented. They refused to compromise, even though it would have been more commercially viable by issuing non-relevant easy-to-read books (Landavs 1966, 4; Landavs 1971a, 5; Landavs 1971b, 3–4). The monumental edition of Latvian folksongs was the publishers' special pride. Reasonably, both by contemporaries and later generations of Latvian diaspora, it was seen as "the greatest monument erected in exile to Krišjānis Barons" (R. S. 1985,

6). On several occasions, this folksong edition also appeared as an argument in political rhetoric. Thus, in an article dealing with cultural life in occupied Soviet Latvia, in a somewhat naive manner, its author expressed disappointment that not the smallest crumb of information in the Copenhagen folksong edition appeared in the Soviet press. In contrast, the exile community tried to be informed on Soviet folklorists' achievements (R. D. 1958, 6). For Latvian Independence Day on November 18, 1953, the Latvian envoy Kārlis Zariņš wrote to their compatriots around the globe:

> I think we must first be aware that we are not just Latvians, but nationally united Latvian nation. (…) We have the edition of Latvian folksongs, Latvian encyclopaedia, poetry, shirt stories, novels, research studies—can't we be glad and proud of that? Isn't this a forward-looking vision of Latvian creative intelligence and a fierce struggle to preserve our national spirit and regain independence? Every job in our cultural field is a struggle, a vivid struggle for our freedom. (Vienība … 1953, 2)

His words echo the passion that many exile Latvians had for keeping the spirit of the Latvian nation alive and the importance he placed on folklore in achieving this goal.

A critical voice regarding *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* could be heard in writer Valdemārs Dambergs' reviews. Observing the articles included in the volumes, he opposed the reckless interpretations of folksong metrics and character. He refused the anachronistic and romantic approach of adjusting the folksongs to today's worldview and standards:

> One of the most important factors which we have to consider is the one that this folk poetry belongs to a different era of folk whose character, social system, mentality was different from our current nation. Therefore, the gauges and scales of our era cannot match those under which folk poetry has developed. (Dambergs 1955, 381)

Thus, Dambergs concluded that, despite the efforts of the representatives of prolonged emigration, the understanding and knowledge of Latvian folksong rules is "still hazy" (Dambergs 1955, 382), in other words, relative. He demanded that the research essays on folksongs issued go into depth (Dambergs 1957: 460). However, Dambergs closed his reflections on a positive note. He acknowledged both the edition's cultural value among emigrés and also the fact that articles published in *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* would raise many research questions in the future, including topics like folksong metrics, original vs. borrowed melodies, among others (Dambergs 1957, 465).

Some promotional reviews on the new Latvian folksong edition also appeared in English and German language publications. Their authors were more or less directly related to the Latvian exile community. Latvian poet Astrīde Ivaska introduced the readers of the international literary quarterly, *Books Abroad*, to the edition in a review with the laudatory title, "A Monument to the Anonymous Genius of Latvian Folk Poetry." To the Western audience, she proudly stressed the uniqueness of Latvian folklore:

> What makes the Latvian folk songs unique and interesting to the world? Definitely cultic in origin, they are of surprising antiquity: the age of some types of Latvian folk song is estimated (by methods which will be discussed later) as close to two thousand years. They have sprung directly from the native soil without foreign influence (except during the postclassical period of the folk song, the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries). As the oldest monuments of one of two remaining Baltic languages, they are of interest to the linguist. Close to the common Indo-European heritage not only linguistically, they yield rich insights to the student of comparative mythology. (Ivask 1960, 126)

Although somewhat apologetic, Ivaska's review was not biased and could serve as a roadmap for foreign researchers from different disciplines.

A short informative review in the German academic journal, *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* (Journal of Slavic Philology), on the first printed volume of *Latviešu tautas dziesmas* was published by the Estonian folklorist Oskar Loorits (Loorits 1954). Loorits was the founder of the Estonian Folklore Archives (1927) and its first Head. He was a good acquaintance of his Latvian colleagues, Kārlis Straubergs, with whom he shared the same home country in exile, Sweden, and Edīte Hauzenberga-Šturma. He tried to popularize the achievements of Latvian folklore in several articles both during the Interwar period and later in solidarity with the Latvian folklorists in exile. Similarly, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, the new edition was appreciated by "a Latvian friend" (Hauzenberga-Šturma 1991, 133), William Kleesmann Matthews (Matthews 1957). He knew Hauzenberga-Šturma and other Latvian emigrés from the Interwar period. The Estonian-born English linguist Matthews was an English lecturer at the English Language Institute in Riga and at the University of Latvia.

The enthusiasm of the Latvian exile publishing house, *Imanta*, as well as the engagement and input of the three energetic scholars, Arveds Švābe, Kārlis Straubergs, and Edīte Hauzenberga-Šturma, in the role of the editors, made *Latviešu tautas dziesmas*, or, as the edition was commonly called, *Copenhagen Folksongs*, into one of the most significant projects of Latvian exile folkloristics.

Waverly, IA, Project: Edition of Latvian Folk Narratives

The other grand project's story was a little bit different. Inspired by the favorable outcome of *Imanta's* folksong edition, the publishers *Latvju Grāmata* (*Latvian Book*), who were based in Waverly, Iowa, USA, decided to provide the Latvian audience with the primarypublication of narrative folklore, a supplemented reprint of Pēteris Šmits' *Latviešu pasakas un teikas* (Latvian Fairy Tales and Legends). This project was carried out between 1962 and 1970. Šmits (1869–1938) was an honorableLatvian sinologist, linguist, and ethnographer.

The 15 volumes of folklore were originally published in Riga from 1925 to 1937, and it was one of the most significant works of Latvian interwar period folkloristics. Šmits compiled former collections of prose folklore, published and unpublished sources. Among the published materials, a large part was Ansis Lerhis-Puškaitis' collection, and his seven volumes of *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas* (Latvian Folk Legends and Fairy Tales, 1891—1903). The first 12 of Šmits' volumes consisted of fairy tales which

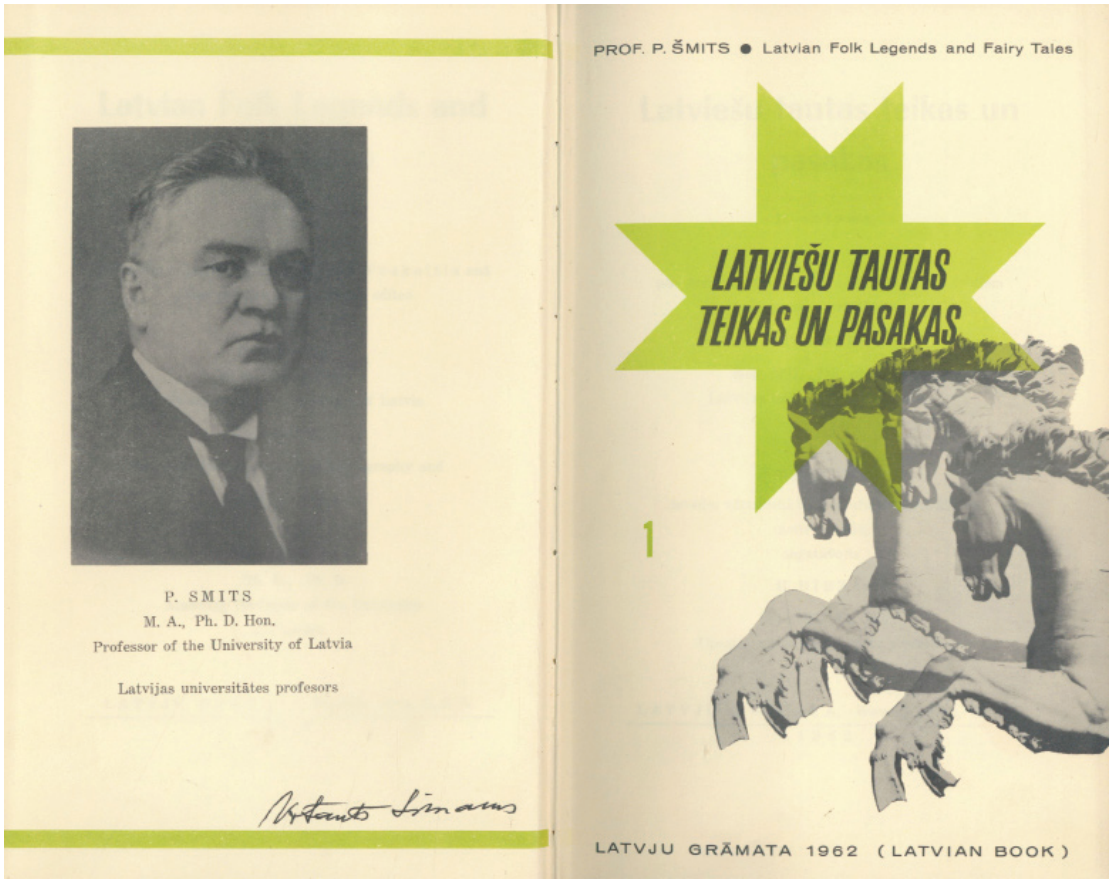

Figure 2. Title page of the first volume of *Latviešu pasakas un teikas* (1962).

were arranged according to Antti Aarne's typology of folk tales, and the last three were folk legends. The 15 volumes contain 7895 folklore texts altogether. To the present day, his Latvian fairy tale publication remains the largest and most representative edition of Latvian folk narratives (Pakalns 2017, 192). Professor Šmits had provided the publication with a thorough introduction (130 pages) which covered multifaceted topics: collection and arrangement of fairy tales; origins of fairy tales; fairy tales and legends; historical evidence in fairy tales; variants of fairy tales and legends; and foreign fairy tales in Latvian literature.

There was quite a bit of confusion regarding the second print of Pēteris Šmits' work because of the title. The publisher Eduards Dobelis (1915–1977), apparently due to negligence, had named the 15 volumes not identically to the Šmits' original, but after the earlier collection by Ansis Lerhis-Puškaitis, *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas*. The references to the artistic design of the volumes also give a hasty and careless impression. In the first volume, the name of the active exile artist Vitauts Sīmanis (Aistars 2004) is shown; however, the introductory pages of many other volumes seem to present different styles and "handwritings" without artists' names being mentioned.

Only from the publisher's correspondence, one gets to know that the ornamentation design was done by artist Žanis Ventaskrasts (LNB RXA263, 234, 63). In some cases, ready-made generic imprints seemed to be used (LTTP III, XV). Every volume consisted of Šmits' editions' facsimile pages, which were surrounded by front pages of the National Latvian Publishers (under this name, *Latvju Grāmata* addressed to the English-speaking audience) and the motif-index in the English language. In several cases, the index was in typescript, and its pages were numbered separately. From time to time, the empty pages at the back of the volumes were filled with publishers' advertisements, lists of new books, and their prices. Thus, despite the ambitious intention, this edition's overall impression leads one to think that it was completed in haste with carelessness and commercial motives of the National Latvian Publishers.

The first volume was introduced by Eduards Dobelis' address, a page of quite rambling text in the English language. He began as follows:

> This work is dedicated for the time coming and for the destiny of people living far away at the Baltic Sea – the Latvians. Throughout centuries, since pre-historic times, the Latvians being in cross-roads of East and West, in the very heart in Europe, have survived and outlived the conquerors and developed a stubborn ability to live and love their homeland. All that has brought up a rich and colourful folklore and national culture – and it is our duty to bring it up. (LTTP I, a-4)

The actual addressee is not clear by this input. On the one hand, the publisher in a foreign language presumably addressed the international community. On the other hand, the pathos of ethnocentrism appealing to national feelings permeates the text.

Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas was a cooperative work between the Latvian publishing house in the United States and Haralds Biezais, Ph.D. (1909—1995), a Latvian scholar exiled to Sweden. After completing successful theology studies and attaining a doctoral degree in his new homeland, Biezais studied at Uppsala University, where he managed to receive a doctoral degree in philosophy. His main research interests were the history of religion, mythology, and folklore. (Kalnačs 2003) At the initial phase of the edition's publishing (from 1962), Biezais was a deputy professor at Uppsala University, whereas, by the 14th volume (in 1970), his academic position had changed to professor at the Academy of Åbo (Turku) in Finland.

Haralds Biezais provided the first volume of *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas* with a Latvian introduction "Collectors of Latvian Fairy Tales" (LTTP I, a-5–a-14), which contained biographical information on Ansis Lerhis-Puškaitis and Pēteris Šmits. Meanwhile, he also pointed out regardless of the purpose of the edition, may it be for the continuity of the spiritual life of the nation or for research purposes, the precondition is the availability of the folklore material itself (LTTP I, a-5). Biezais' own goal was to make the Latvian folk narratives available for international research. Therefore, in parallel with the preparation of reprint volumes, he kept preparing the motif-indexes corresponding to each volume's content. For all volumes together, the total extent of the index was 368 pages. In the "Introductory Notes" to the motif index, Haralds Biezais mentioned to specialists in the field of folklore:

> The Motif-Index used here has been prepared in accordance with the requisites internationally known Stith-Thompson "Motif-Index of Folk Literature", I-VI, 1955-58, in order to facilitate the accessibility of this very rich Latvian folklore (fairy-tales) to international research. This will be of great help even to those who are not familiar with the Latvian language, who, understandably, are in the majority. On the other hand, this index will assist our own Latvian researchers to refrain from recognizing as genuine those Latvian motifs which in reality have travelled around and readily are found in other nations' as well. (LTTP I, 434)

It is clear that he had not only a Latvian audience in mind but saw a much broader scope in the work he was doing. Biezais was probably one of the most international-scholarly-audience-oriented Latvian folklore researchers in exile. Biezais also pointed out that, contrary to his desire, "for technical reasons," they have failed to give a systematic synopsis of each motif group, as it showed in Stith Thompson's work. (LTTP I, 435)

Starting in the 3rd volume, Liene (Lena) Neulande's (1921–2010) name appeared as another compiler of the motif index. Neulande, who later became Biezais' spouse, was a Latvian folklore and mythology researcher who also had emigrated to Sweden at the end of World War II (Krogzeme-Mosgorda 2010, 247). Liene Neulande developed the long-term work on *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas* motif index into a separate publication in the Finnish Academy of Sciences prestigious series *Folklore Fellows' Communications*. It was supplemented with later published sources, including fairy tale and legend selections prepared by Soviet Latvian folklorists, namely, Austra Alksnīte, Alma Ancelāne, Kārlis Arājs, Alma Medne-Romane, and Jānis Niedre (Neuland 1981, 12–13). In the preface, Neuland credited the Swedish and Finnish folklorists, her University professors Dag Strömbäck and Lauri Honko, and the Nordic Museum librarian Jan-Öjvind Swahn, whom all had encouraged her to work on the *Motif-Index of Latvian Folktales and Legends* (Neuland 1981, 5).

The latest volumes were regularly mentioned in short book reviews in the Latvian exile press, for example, in *Latvija* (Latvia), *Latvju Vārds* (Latvian Word), *Latvija Amerikā* (Latvia in America). However, these short paragraphs were rather generic press releases than critiques. Some press publications mentioned that *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas* are among the books that Latvian organizations would buy for their libraries (Bibliotēka … 1967, 5). One of the few slightly more detailed and evaluative articles was by historian Edgars Andersons. He emphasized the usefulness of the edition for non-Latvian researchers due to the English motif index (Andersons 1968, 80) and encouraged Latvian students to base their research topics in their Master's and doctoral degrees on the new edition (Andersons 1968, 81). Andersons also addressed a short review, published in the American journal, *Western Folklore,* to the international audience, encouraging libraries to buy the new Latvian folklore edition (Anderson 1964).

Justifying Harald Biezais' expectations, the exile edition of Latvian folktales and legends was obtained by libraries in the United States, Germany, Sweden, and other

countries and became available for more international scholars. This edition was also translated into German by the editorial team of the international folk tale research project, *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (Encyclopedia of Fairy Tales), respectively, by a native Latvian involved in the translation work (Pakalns 2005, 158–161). A part of the translated manuscript, three volumes of folk legends, kept by the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, has been published online as a Latvian and German bilingual text corpus in 2012 (Pakalns 2005, 162–167).[2]

By the time the index began to be published, Haralds Biezais promised the readers: "A review about the attempts up to now in editing, selecting and indexing of Latvian fairy-tales will appear in a critical form in the last volume of this work" (LTTP I, 434). However, the 15th volume ends abruptly with the last portion of the motif-index. There are neither concluding words nor summary from Professor Biezais, nothing recapitulating other than a short anniversary announcement from publishers on the front page: "Celebrating 20 years of activities in America, publishing house thanks all who supported the preparation of the biggest Latvian folklore work" (LTTP XV). The correspondence between publisher Eduards Dobelis and researcher Haralds Biezais kept by the National Library of Latvia (LNB RXA263, 234) exposes hidden unpleasantries.

An exchange of letters between Eduards Dobelis and Haralds Biezais began peacefully in 1961, in a rather business-like manner on both sides. The original purpose of the cooperation between the two was Haralds Biezais' offer to review the forthcoming edition in international academic journals, one review after the first volume, another after the last (LNB RXA263, 234, 1–2). After that, Dobelis proposed to append every volume with a few pages of commentary and bibliography, addressing the Latvian Uppsala researcher to this work. (LNB RXA263, 234, 3) On July 27, 1961, Haralds Biezais sent the publisher a programmatic letter with milestones described: the edition, in Biezais opinion, needed 1. a motif index, based Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson's developed system; 2. A critical bibliography of Šmits' sources; 3. short biographies of Latvian folk tale collectors, Lerhis-Puškaitis and Šmits; 4. a critical bibliographical overview of printed folk tale sources after Šmits' edition; 5. a list of international scholars who already had used Latvian folklore narratives in their research, Matti Kuusi from Finland, Jan-Öjvind Swahn and Anna Birgitta Rooth from Sweden, Will-Erich Peuckert from Germany. Haralds Biezais also regretted that the Copenhagen folksong publishers did nothing to reach an international audience: "Once the exile people made material sacrifices, they had to seize the opportunity to make the edition available for international scholarship. We and our culture are silenced, largely through our own fault" (LNB RXA263, 234, 4). Despite being very busy, Haralds Biezais agreed to cooperate on preparing a decent Latvian folklore publication, and the contract between Dobelis and Biezais was signed on November 15, 1961 (LNB RXA263, 234, 15). However, Biezais insisted that his texts should not be corrected or altered in any way (LNB RXA263, 234, 14). At the beginning of correspondence, a constant feature is a mutual exchange of ideas on the best ways to advertise the Latvian folklore publication. In Biezais' opinion, along with the Latvian exile community, the target audiences

were international research institutes and scientific libraries (LNB RXA263, 234, 14, 63, 69 et al.). For reviews, Biezais recommended Dobelis get in touch with the most prominent journals in folkloristics, like *Fabula* and *Journal of American Folklore* (LNB RXA263, 234, 140). However, the reviews in these journals never did appear, most possibly, due to the publisher's passive action.

The first misunderstanding began already at the signing of the contract remotely. Haralds Biezais refused Eduards Dobelis' proposal, for promotional purposes, to write a superficial non-scientific blurb for the edition which would propagate the romantic but unsubstantiated idea of Latvians' origin from the ancient Indians and the similarity of the Latvian language with Sanskrit (LNB RXA263, 234, 17). "I cannot write such a script as you want without losing my repute of an internationally renowned scholar," Haralds Biezais replied to him (LNB RXA263, 234, 18).

Soon Biezais also realized that the publisher did not take the accuracy of the technical recording of the index seriously enough. Along with the poorly organized proofreading process by Dobelis, this created tensions between the two partners (LNB RXA263, 234, 22). After the first volume was published, Biezais pointed out some typesetting issues and index numbering errors due to the publisher's editing. However, he was determined to continue the thorough work he had begun (LNB RXA263, 234, 63). In 1963, as the volume publication picked up the pace, Eduards Dobelis impatiently asked if the index could be simplified. On this slip of *Latvju Grāmata*, Biezais had written a blunt reaction response: "Science cannot be simplified" (LNB RXA263, 234, 70). Biezais was very angry when he learned that Dobelis was making arbitrary and incomprehensible corrections to the index, "You have shamed me in front of the whole world!" (LNB RXA263, 234, 72) Realizing that their understanding of research-based publications was very different, Biezais, in a sarcastic tone, on January 26, 1964, explained to Dobelis what such an index meant to folklore studies:

> You are worried about the index. That is the only gate to the international world. Šmits' fairy tales have lied and would lie, forgotten by the world, because they cannot be studied in Latvian. Thanks to the index, everyone knows what is inside. I gave the index of the first two volumes to the editorial board of the journal *Arv*, which is distributed worldwide in 3,000 copies. And, at the academic meeting, the editor came up and told, that it was a great thing, he had not known that Latvians had such a great material. He also promised to include a review on the first two volumes in the journal. Therefore, pray to God that I may have enough time and patience to bear these sacrifices. (LNB RXA263, 234, 72)

Here Biezais is clearly frustrated and trying to focus on the importance of the work he has done. One can also ascertain of Biezais' work ethics the importance he set for his professional reputation. That, however, did not match the value system of Dobelis, or at least his real business interests for the folklore edition they cooperated on.

On March 18, being in a better mood, Biezais mentioned that such hard work as making the index can be done "only with motives of national romance, but not with the justification of the mind" (LNB RXA263, 234, 74).

Eduards Dobelis' and Haralds Biezais' letters show mutual dissatisfaction, and eventually, their communication turned into ceaseless clarifications of misunderstandings. Dobelis constantly complained about financial failures related to the *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas* (LNB RXA263, 234, 80–83, 85 et al.). Biezais sometimes had to remind that he had not received his symbolic salary (LNB RXA263, 234, 89, 100, 107, 111 et al.). Due to financial difficulties, part of Biezais' royalty was paid in *Latvju Grāmata* books; unfortunately, the books were not always sent in a disciplined manner, as promised by Dobelis (LNB RXA263, 234, 74, 75, 86, 87 et al.). The authors of the index, Biezais, and Neulande often did not receive their copies of their published work or received them after multiple reminders. A great deal of Biezais' dislike was caused by the fact that Dobelis arbitrarily left a part of the third volume's index unpublished (LNB RXA263, 234, 87, 93, 103). Their communication escalated most in 1965, when Biezais concluded that a temporary solution could be an ultimatum: either Dobelis settled all obligations with him, or the work would not continue (LNB RXA263, 234, 89, 93). It helped to move forward. For Haralds Biezais, it required great diplomacy to maintain cooperation with Eduards Dobelis. Sometimes Dobelis appeared blatantly vulgar (LNB RXA263, 234, 92). Sometimes he appeared quite cynical. For instance, on September 25, 1967, Dobelis wrote to Biezais: "I have to rush you because my subscribers die one after another." (LNB RXA263, 234, 89, 113) With resentments, still, in 1970, the publishing of Šmits' exile edition was finally finished.

Browsing the Latvian exile press, quite soon, one can find that the publisher Eduards Dobelis had scandalous fame among his contemporaries. There are very few publications that improve his reputation. In most references, Dobelis appears likea person with low professional standards and questionable interpersonal ethics. The criticism against the owner of *Latvju Grāmata* included non-agreed "improvements" in authors' texts, non-agreed publishing of Latvian writers' and illustrators' work, unjustified defamation, and more (Autoru apzagšana … 1970, 6, Duniks 1977, 13, Kārkliņa 1975, 3–4, Rudzītis 1966, 2, Sproģis 2009, 5, Unāms 1970, 2, Vidbergs 1961, 6, et al.).

Launching the publication of *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas*, Eduards Dobelis had no other than commercial and probably self-pride motivations. Despite his sometimes-odious behaviour, Eduards Dobelis' work together with Haralds Biezais and Liene Neuldande resulted in a fundamental folklore source publication useful both for Latvian and non-Latvian researchers. For the second half of the 20th century, these 15 volumes of folk narratives along with the 12 volumes of folksongs, prepared by Arveds Švābe, Kārlis Straubergs, and Edīte Hauzenberga-Šturma and published by *Imanta*, were two cornerstones for Latvian folklore studies outside Latvia.

Conclusion

From the point of view of the disciplinary history of Latvian folkloristics, the same necessity for folklore text as a source for potential studies can be adduced. The assumption of a pure thirst for knowledge can be made respectfully by looking at the substantial volumes on the bookshelves of the Archives of Latvian Folklore (where they were exposed only in the 1990s after Latvia regained its independence). How-

ever, when examined more closely, the background motivations and contexts of creation for *Latviešu tautas dziesmas*, or *Copenhagen Folksongs*, and the America-published *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas* are quite different. The folksong edition was a product of joint efforts of publishers *Imanta* and enthusiastic scholars, Arveds Švābe, Kārlis Straubergs, and Edīte Hauzenberga-Šturma, and a large team of other knowledge actors who contributed the articles to the volumes of this edition. The folk legend and fairy tale, in its turn, was primarily motivated by the commercial interests of the publisher Eduards Dobelis which contradicted the interests of the scholar Haralds Biezais. Above all, keeping the regaining of Latvia's independence in mind, these editions were also of national importance for the emigrant society, one way to keep Latvianness alive in exile.

The analysis shows that all the actors of knowledge, respectively, potential and actual folklore knowledge, play their role towards an outcome: publishers, editors, authors of articles, researchers who prepared the motif index of the fairy tales, book distributors, reviewers, academic users, passionate promoters of the projects in the Latvian exile press and during Latvian community events, readers, et al. Regardless of individual motivations of these knowledge actors, ultimately the mere act of preserving, publishing and thus introducing and reintroducing their readers to the Latvian cultural heritage is a testament to the undying hope that Latvians shared under Cold War circumstances in Western exile. Due to the lack of relevant sources, a lesser-known group of these knowledge actors is the readers. How much did the general Latvian audience read volumes? Was the pathos of subscribing to the volumes followed by the actual reading of them? Or was it mostly an elegant gesture of a national agenda? These questions will be answered when the readership audience, the representatives of the Latvian exile community, most of them now at a very respectable age, are interviewed. The author of this article has launched such a research project to understand knowledge transmission in exile communities.

Notes

1 http://latviandainas.lib.virginia.edu/
2 pasakas.lfk.lv

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Was Folklore Studies Finlandized? Changing Scholarly Trends in Finnish Folklore Studies in the Cold War

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Abstract
This paper examines the impact of the Cold War on Finnish folklore studies as an academic discipline. Drawing on the university curricula of folklore studies at the University of Helsinki, the article seeks to trace disciplinary shifts from 1943 to 1979. The era coincided with a period of Finlandization—that is, a political culture subservient to the Soviet Union. The research strategies that the leading folklorists took continued concentrating on ethno-historically important Finnish- or Swedish-speaking oral traditions. International orientation consisted of balancing between the East and West scholarship. Among the academics, Finlandization often meant simply ignoring topics that dealt with the USSR.

Keywords: History of ethnological sciences; Finnish folklore studies; Theoretical trends in folklore studies; The Cold War; Finlandization

Introduction

We often tend to think that the study of folklore represents a political tool that once belonged to either Romantic nationalism in the nineteenth century or to the ideologies of Nazism and Socialism in the twentieth. Given the fact that the use and study of folklore have played an essential role in many ideologies and political agendas, it is surprising that the field has been criticized for lacking a proper theory of its own and for borrowing ideas from other fields—from sociology, for example (Dundes 2005, 385; Oring 2019, 137). At least in Europe, folklore and its study carry a political burden, which alone ought to compel us to keep examining our disciplinary legacy, different regimes of the past exploited folklore collections, and folklore studies to benefit and further their political agendas. Consequently, our scholarship of today or the recent history is not free from ideologies or political agendas either, since, regardless of globalization, nation-states continue to exist and boundaries between ethnic cultures continue to be maintained as well as created (Bendix 2002, 112; Noyes 2007).

Throughout the Cold War and until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the term self-censorship in the Finnish language had only one meaning: the conscious silence about and ignorance of problems related to or within the Soviet Union. Self-censorship in this regard pertained to publications as well as to public debates (Hentilä 2016). The term Finlandization has been used to describe Finland's status as a neutral buffer state during the Cold War. For the Finns, it meant accepting a significant measure of Soviet influence on their domestic governance and foreign policy and not

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openly making efforts to align with the West. Practices associated with Finlandization appeared at the level of public discourse—that is, politics and mass media. Such discourses shifted attitudes to correspond with values believed to be favored and approved by the Soviets. As a result, there was a thoroughgoing practice of silence, use of indirect expressions, and reading between the lines in Finnish society during the Cold War (Salminen 1999, 17). The Finnish version of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* ("struggle to overcome the negatives of the past") includes interpretations of the Soviet influence over Finland and aspects of Finlandization and self-censorship.

Can folklore studies be considered a field of study that mirrors the political climate of a given country at a specific time? This article aims to analyze in more detail what kinds of scholarly turns occurred in Finnish folklore studies during the Cold War era. It also asks how geopolitical changes influenced research topics, theories, and methodologies in folklore studies in Finland. The article seeks to answer this question by exploring the university curricula of folklore studies at the University of Helsinki in the 1943–1979 period. The objective is to highlight significant elements underlying the history of scientific knowledge in the specific disciplinary context. Focusing on the academic curricula, I will define the context and circumstances in which academic rationales were at work. Additional questions posed in this article are thus closely tied to the history of power relations in ethnological disciplines at large and among the academic elite. Arguably, such ties continue to effect on contemporary debates and concerns about the role of "the national sciences" in multicultural societies.[1]

What Was the Historical Context of Postwar Folklore Studies in Finland?

Finland, a military ally of Nazi Germany, lost the Second World War to the Soviet Union. In the following years, the fear of Finland allying with a revitalized Germany, and later the West, was an essential part of motivating Soviet reservations. The Allied Control Commission (ACC) that consisted mainly of Soviet members began monitoring Finnish society. All anti-Soviet literature was removed from bookstores and libraries. Moreover, a particular institution started to censor textbooks and chapters of Finnish school history books that dealt with, for example, the Sovietization of the Baltic States (Kaljundi et al. 2015, 69). A new Finnish foreign policy embraced the assumption that to achieve peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union, Finland had to acknowledge and consider Soviet security interests and accommodate them whenever necessary. The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance signed in 1948 ("the Finno-Soviet Treaty") expressed explicitly this principle. Via the treaty, Finnish politicians pledged neutrality and friendship with the Soviet Union. However, unlike the treaties signed by the Soviet Union with the East European countries, the Finno-Soviet treaty applied only to Finnish territory, making Finland responsible for the defense of its borders and not obligating it to participate military action outside this area. In the following years, neutrality became the core understanding, not only of Finnish foreign policy but also of a widely shared national ethos (Aunesluoma and Rainio-Niemi 2017, 53–54). For the Finns, neutrality meant a careful existence between the two superpowers.

In subsequent years, the practice of Finlandization—that is, a political culture subservient to the Soviet Union—evolved. Although Finland remained a multiparty, parliamentary society, it had to cope with the Soviets, who exerted a profound influence on both the foreign and the internal politics of Finland. For example, public media remained silent about Soviet atrocities, the USSR was never openly criticized, and the Finnish government curtailed some nationalist groups. Later, especially from the 1970s onward, the policy of neutrality expanded into a government-owned public broadcasting corporation, one that practiced self-censorship. Common broadcast themes included, on the one hand, praise and embellishment of the USSR, and on the other, criticism and condemnation of the US (e.g., Hilson 2008). Although newspapers were more independent when it came to reporting Western news and had thus more liberal views, they, too, were under pressure from the Soviet side. Nevertheless, the Soviets did not censor Finland. Its censorship was conducted from within.

Although the political and media elite were deferential, the remainder or the grassroots of Finnish society was not Finlandized (Hilson 2008). Indeed, American popular culture had a powerful hold on the Finnish imagination. The influence of TV-series, movies, for example, Walt Disney's films, Reader's Digest, not to mention products such as Levi's jeans and Coca Cola, were deeply felt in day-to-day life. Moreover, unlike the Eastern bloc countries that restricted their citizens' travels abroad, residents of Finland were free to take trips overseas. Furthermore, although the state-owned office revised Finnish schoolbooks, nationalistic view of Finland as a historically predetermined nation-state maintained dominant. For that matter, history textbooks, for example, presented recent global history in opportune neutrality through refraining from political standpoints (Ahonen 2008, 251). In terms of freedom of choice, individuals could make decisions about and allocate their funds as they wished. Although there were public silences concerning critical attitudes toward the Soviet Union, everyday talk often consisted of openly pro-Western sentiments.

Finlandization has often been regarded as synonymous with the presidency of Urho Kekkonen (time in office: 1956–1981). Kekkonen personally fostered good relations with Soviet leaders. Still, at the same time, he used his powerful position to rail against his opponents and to quell criticism considered to be anti-Soviet. Folklorist Martti Haavio and especially ethnologist Kustaa Vilkuna were both friends of President Kekkonen. Interestingly enough, Kekkonen was godfather to both Haavio and Vilkuna's sons. (e.g., Majamaa 1997). Vilkuna actively collaborated with the Soviets, and because of his friendship with President Kekkonen, he was able to promote cooperation between the Finnish and Soviet-Estonian folklore archives (Häggman 2015, 104). Kustaa Vilkuna's activities in the Finnish Literature Society evidence his artful practice of Finlandization: For instance, he once publicly praised the Soviets but could pursue his own scholarly and national aims (Häggman 2015, 88). Close relations to state power occurred on many levels, as the Academy of Finland appointed Vilkuna, Haavio, and later Matti Kuusi to its members. Awarded by the president, Academician is the highest honorary scientific title in Finland.

Not only did personal connections to the president increase the number of folklore studies departments, but they also influenced governmental policies regarding higher education. On the national level, folklore studies as a postgraduate-level subject expanded in the era of Finlandization. Besides professorships at the University of Helsinki and the Swedish-speaking university Åbo Akademi in Turku (established in 1926), folklore studies was founded at the University of Turku in 1963 and with the combination of ethnology and folklore studies at the University of Jyväskylä in 1964. The ethnological sciences were probably the most successful disciplines in Cold War Finland because, in addition to the increased number of professor chairs in the field, they actively contributed to policy-making for humanistic studies (see KTK 1965).

Historically, folklife studies in Finland consisted of two different disciplines, folklore studies, and ethnology, with the former traditionally concentrating on oral culture and the latter focusing on material culture. Based on eight curricula of Finnish folklore studies at the University of Helsinki (1943–1978),[2] this article examines the disciplinary shifts that took place between them, contextualizing them within accompanying patterns of political history. The focus is on the materials—that is, books, articles, and research papers—that *the students of folklore* studied from the basic to the advanced levels. The teaching staff of the discipline, professors, docents, and assistant teachers, constructed the folklore curricula. As Konrad Kuhn has pointed out, the small size of the discipline in various European countries meant that the personality, interests, and positions influenced the content, strategies and effects of disciplinary knowledge (Kuhn 2015, 83).

Teaching, research, archival work, and collecting folklore from the mouths of "the folk" were conducted under the aegis of Finnish folklore studies. The Finnish Literature Society formed the focal point of folklore studies. The building was the site of the departmental office where lectures and seminars took place, and archival internships carried out until 1970. During their student years, all undergraduate folklore students wrote 2-3 theses based on actual archival work. Generations of folklorists became acquainted with archived folklore collections by surveying an unprocessed collection of materials that had started to grow substantially from the 1930s onward. The close relationship between academic research and the place of the primary source materials, the Finnish Literature Society, has been a hallmark of Finnish folklore scholarship. For over a century, the Finnish Literature Society, which houses vast collections of materials on magic, epics, charms, proverbs, tales, and oral histories, served as the locus of the formation of disciplinary core ideas, student instruction, and other activities fundamental to the field. It is thus fair to argue that teaching and the reading lists reflected the contents of Finnish folklore research explicitly.

Until today, Finnish humanistic scholars have ignored the influences and silences of contemporary history within the field. They have been reluctant to study the Cold War era and Finlandization in their particular research areas (Hentilä 2016). The same applies to the Finnish folklore scholarship conducted in the second half of the twentieth century. Previous studies have generally failed to acknowledge the influence of foreign politics and have approached past research with a sense of homage (e.g., Har-

vilahti 2012; Lehtipuro 1983),[3] with only a few exceptions (e.g., Anttonen 2005; Wilson 1976). In contrast to the apolitical stance of Finnish folklorists regarding their field of study, Baltic researchers have demonstrated increasing interest in the interwar era and the Soviet period. For instance, focusing on the history of Estonian or Latvian ethnography as it progressed through various political regimes, researchers have made visible the constraints on scholarship regarding powerful political institutions (Jääts and Metslaid 2017; Bula and Laime 2017). Baltic researchers reflect upon their disciplinary history and identity against the backdrop of Soviet rule that, of course, was the different from what the Finnish context was.

In this article, disciplinary movements in Finnish folklore scholarship between 1943–1978 involved three approaches: folklore as the national and patriotic discipline; folklore studies as an international field of study, and finally folklore as a mixed bag of approaches connected to social awareness. Although the analysis deals with the leading folklorists of that time, I also occasionally mention Kustaa Vilkuna, professor of ethnology during the years 1950–1959. He had a direct connection not only to Finnish academia and to the Finnish Literature Society but also, above all, to the President of the Republic, Urho Kekkonen, the orchestrator of Finlandization.

National and Patriotic Discipline

From the first professor chair 1898 until the end of the 1960s, the basics of folklore studies consisted almost solely of the *Kalevala* and epic poetry. This legacy constituted the backbone of the discipline. The post-war scholarship hence continued the *Kalevala* and the text-critical approach to epic poems.[4] The *Kalevala*, a collection of folk poems compiled by Elias Lönnrot, had been published in two editions (1835/1849). Folklore studies as the field of study concentrated on the original folklore texts that were once the source material of Elias Lönnrot in his compilation. From the late nineteenth century onward, folklorists had recognized that Lönnrot's intuitive recombination of lines from different variants, different poems, and even other types of poems had created characters and situations that did not occur at all in the vast folklore sources (Wilson 1976, 41; Sawin 1988, 187; Anttonen 2005). During the first decades of the Cold War, the old paradigm of oral traditions of the Finns was a safe phenomenon to examine. Because many of the epic poems were initially collected from geographical areas belonging to the USSR, from the Soviet perspective, Finnish folklore scholarship was probably not a suspicious science. In this sense, being "a neutral" created a context in which philology-based verse inquiries as a standard science could continue.

The disciplinary legacy consisted of a view of "literary folklore studies" in which folklore texts were interpreted as a part of the unlettered tradition within a literate society. Scholars studied folklore as it existed within the literate (or semi-literate) civilization (see Zumwalt 1988, 99), although modernization with the rise of literacy and the standard of living had already profoundly affected the lives of rural commoners. Apparently, the discipline was "the celebration of a national", in other words, folklorists positioned the object of study so that the Finnish national point of view constituted the starting point of everything. As the sign of being a very national disci-

pline, the language of the readings was more and more frequently in Finnish, which only further enshrined the field as one of the core "national sciences" in Finland. The idea of authentically national comprised of shared language, mind, and everyday life, which, despite the increasing elements of geopolitical bipolarity, industrial development with a high level of education, was considered as the peasant. Although this was a part of the European scholarly axiom, it was not unfamiliar to US folklore scholarship either.[5]

Changes in the curricula occurred especially at the intermediate and advanced levels—that is, at the levels at which students began broadening their disciplinary knowledge. A significant number of books, articles, and other readings as the framework of folklore studies increased. Moreover, the reading list became more extensively international (see Moilanen 1961). At the intermediate level in 1968, for example, the total amount of material consisted of 34 items, out of which 21 were in Finnish, 5 in Swedish, 5 in English, 3 in German, and 1 in Estonian. Since Russian was not popular in the Finnish upper secondary education, students and researchers, in general, did not have the requisite knowledge of Russian (e.g., Mikkonen 2016, 166). Therefore, Y. M. Socolov's "Russian folklore" in the curricula was in English. Moreover, as a voluntary foreign language in Finnish grammar school, German retained its status as the most popular foreign language until the beginning of the 1960s, when English overtook it (Kaarninen and Kaarninen 2002, 264).

The political influence the Soviet Union sought to pursue was not explicit at the beginning of the Cold War. On the contrary, curricula changes in the early 1950s coincided with strong anti-communist sentiments not only in the West but also in Finland. Prevailing anti-communist attitudes combined with the glorification of those who fought in the Second World War were sentiments shared by professors and university students alike, most of whom came from an upper-middle-class background (Virtanen M. 2007, 93). Historically, the Finnish intelligentsia, including ethnologists and folklorists, used to be conservative nationalists. For them, German intellectual and cultural influences had been of considerable importance from the early nineteenth century onward. The Second World War made no difference. Professors Martti Haavio (years of service: 1949–1956) and Matti Kuusi (1959–1977) served in the Second World War. As was typical at that time, both were politically conservative and had strong ties to German-speaking scholarship.

Later, Matti Kuusi pondered his role as professor of folklore studies. He stated that, above all, his duty was "to work for the Finnish nation." For him, studying Finnish folk culture was a pursuit inspired by sincere love for his nation—and for that matter, as he argued, science should be tendentious (Krogerus 2014, 680). Among academics, Finlandization often meant simply ignoring topics that dealt with the USSR. Therefore, most humanists chose to study issues that had nothing to do with Soviet history, culture, or society (see Hentilä 2016). In practice, this led to a concentration on either research involving old materials already preserved in the Folklore Archives or on non-political aspects of Finnish culture, such as children's lore, working-class, or lumberjack traditions.

Matti Kuusi's view above resembled the national ethos of the time known as *henkinen maanpuolustus* that emphasized neutrality, democracy, and love of fatherland as the core values of the nation. It was a direct translation of *Geistige Landesverteidigung*, the term used in Switzerland since the 1930s, referring to spiritual national defense. In Finland, inspiration was also drawn from the Swedish concept of psychological defense (*psykologiskt försvar*) when the select committee started to work in 1960 (Aunesluoma and Rainio-Niemi 2017, 63). The core idea was to deepen the lay understanding of democracy and the Finnish way of neutrality.

Due to the official doctrine of neutrality, cooperation between the Nordic states intensified in Cold War Finland. Nordic collaboration occurred on many social levels—for example, establishing a common labor market and the creation of the Nordic Passport Union, which allowed Nordic citizens to freely travel to and reside in another Nordic country indefinitely (Hilson 2008, 66). Communication between Nordic folklorists had been established already in 1907 when Kaarle Krohn, together with Axel Olrik and Carl von Sydow, founded *Folklore Fellows*. Turbulent war years, as well as the deaths of the central figures, ceased active communication. After the Second World War, contacts gradually increased, and consequently, Sigurd Erixon with his Danish and Norwegian colleagues established the *Nordic Institute of Folklore* (NIF) in 1959 (Rogan 2013, 96). It is fair to say that this institute and its purpose appeared to be the Western-oriented internationalism in Cold War Finland. Via the NIF, Finnish scholars could facilitate international meetings and debates on the latest paradigms, such as genre analysis or the nature of oral tradition (Lehtipuro 1983, 208–209). For the Finnish folklorists and ethnologists, cooperation between colleagues in proximal countries was relatively easy due to shared orientation toward national cultures in each of the Nordic countries, i.e., Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. As Dan Ben-Amos has argued, a significant motivation for such studies was their national significance (see Ben-Amos 1989), and the NIF worked actively to promote it.

Up until the Second World War, the curricula of folklore studies had included multiple readings on neighboring nations or kindred peoples, such as Estonians, Votians, and Latvians. The majority of Finno-Ugric ethnic groups, which had been a focus of folklore studies, lived in the territory of the Soviet Union. In the decades following the war, however, this focus decreased. Moreover, at the same time, language instruction in Estonian and Karelian, both of which were once considered necessary skills of Finnish folklorists, gradually disappeared among younger generation folklorists (Häggman 2015, 215). The Soviet version of the history and national identity of Estonia and the other Baltic States was prevalent and official in Finland. In an academic address in 1964, President Urho Kekkonen advised against maintaining contacts with exiled Estonians. According to him, Finland should pursue neutrality and therefore avoid communication or collaboration with any community of which the official Soviet regime disapproved (Krogerus 2014, 691). However, folklorists did not completely agree. Despite the president's advice, the curricula until the early 1970s included a study by Oscar Loorits, an Estonian exile living in Uppsala, Sweden.

Regardless of official politics and despite advice to refrain from open contacts with exiled Estonians, Estonian culture, language, and scholarship retained a special place in the minds of Finnish folklorists. Throughout the Cold War era, the curricula included readings on Estonian folk traditions and language although conducted by the Finnish scholars or Soviet-Estonian folklorists aligned with Soviet Estonia, such as Eduard Laugaste and August Annist. Official state formation in the Soviet Union comprised ethnically based republics, and as such, Soviet-Estonian folklorists were the only Estonians with whom it was appropriate or advisable to work. The co-operation between the Finnish and Estonian folklorists had been made possible due to the official Finnish–Soviet Scientific and Technical Cooperation agreement signed in 1955 (Mikkonen 2016). Aside from endorsing technical achievements and innovations, the deal included cooperation in the humanities and social sciences. Surprisingly enough, cooperation in this regard operated in the Finnish Literature Society house and by folklorist Väinö Kaukonen, who became Soviet-minded after the war. Because of this, the majority of the folklorist community regarded Kaukonen suspiciously. Generally, the scientific cooperation within the folklore studies meant several fieldwork trips to Soviet Karelia and short visits to Tartu, the closed town in the Soviet Union from the 1960s onward (Häggman 2015, 88).

In general, few in the Finnish Literature Society embraced the Soviet proposal for scientific and technical cooperation with enthusiasm (Mikkonen 2016, 153). Suspicion and mistrust reigned supreme, and leading folklorists seldom praised the USSR. It took time to learn the discourses and maneuvers needed to negotiate with the Soviet side. One of the most crucial aspects for folklorists to master was to, in every situation, emphasize the supremacy of the Soviet Union, even when the actual research purpose was, for instance, to examine Estonian folklore (Krogerus 2014, 692–694). For folklorists, however, scientific cooperation entailed the potential to establish a new connection to the Finno-Ugric peoples (Estonians, Karelians, and others) who had stayed behind the Iron Curtain ever since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 (Mikkonen 2016, 154).

Due to the impact of the political situation during the 1950s and 1960s, the overall importance of the folklore of kindred nations and peoples decreased. Likewise, global geopolitical flows affected the use of the works of Will-Erich Peuckert (1895–1969). His studies were incorporated into the Finnish curriculum beginning in 1951 but were removed only a few years later. Peuckert was a folklorist specialized in German working-class folklore. However, from the viewpoint of the Nazi regime before the Second World War, Peuckert was considered "unreliable." Consequently, in 1935, he was forced to leave his position by the Nazis. After the war, however, Peuckert was among the few surviving folklorists who had not been in the service of the Nazis (Jacobsen 2007), and he returned to German academia, eventually becoming the first professor to be reassigned folklore teaching and duties (Dow and Lixfeld 1994, 271). Thereafter, Peuckert's studies obtained more recognition, and as the result, it included in the Finnish curricula for few years. Later, Peuckert published a study on Lenore by the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters (1955). Undoubtedly, the sudden emergence

of Will-Erich Peuckert's research in Finnish folklore studies stemmed from his politically untarnished scholarly reputation (e.g., Fenske 2010, 63).

Compared to German and Swedish ethnology, which were both interested in encyclopedias and folk culture atlases—that is, in "the wholes" (Garberding 2011; Fenske 2010)—Finnish folklore studies continued to date individual folklore texts composed by Finns (or by Karelians) to assign them a place in an established historical line. With its strong emphasis on the text-critical approach—that is, verse—Finnish folklore studies collaborated closely with linguists. Students whose primary subject was Finnish were obliged to study folklore until the intermediate level, and vice versa—a rule came to an end at the beginning of the 1970s (Häggman 2015, 215). Folklore studies' implicit hierarchy usually placed versed folkore in trochaid tetrameter (epics, spells, charms, proverbs) first, followed by fairytales and folksongs, which, besides the early works of Antti Aarne and Kaarle Krohn, had a smaller role in the curricula. Moreover, the Aarne–Thompson Index (AT-Index) (1928, expanded 1961), a catalog of folktale types, was not included in the curricula of Finnish folklore studies at all. One educated guess to explain its exclusion could affect the field's strong emphasis on reading the latest studies, which in turn led many Finnish folklorists to doubt the total value of the book. The AT-Index is scientific in that it is systematic and concentrates on the organization of knowledge, yet it lacks testable explanations. By early 1960, Finnish folklorists became increasingly interested in folk beliefs and forms of vernacular religion, both of which I will discuss in the following chapter.

Folk Belief Studies and New International Orientations

Within the post-war curricula, the emphasis on mythology increased first in the reading list and then as a separate line within the folklore program. Folklore scholarship in Finland has a long history of the questions of vernacular religions and paganism. This preoccupation harkens back to the first decades of the twentieth century at the University of Helsinki's Faculty of Arts. Then many students became familiar with the teachings of Kaarle Krohn as well as those of Edward Westermarck, an internationally trained anthropologist interested in marriage life, incest taboo and moral values. One notable scholar who began as a protégé of Krohn and Westermarck was Uno Harva, who, as a scholar of Siberian shamanism and mythology, made quite an impression on the young Martti Haavio, who in turn became interested in folk beliefs (Anttonen V. 2012). Later, as a professor of folklore studies, Haavio continued studying pagan forms of religions and assigned several studies carried out by Uno Harva as required readings to his students. Hence, to understand the extent to which folk religion specialists directed the course of folklore studies, one must note the academic genealogy and works of several leading researchers.

Why was the comparative study of religion included in Finnish folklore studies? The humanistic disciplines at the University of Helsinki considered the religious dimensions of folk culture as a central feature of Finnish oral tradition. Further, Finnish scholarship on Christianity and religious thought were early on interested in its vernacular forms—in other words, in (folk) forms and expressions of religion distinct

from the official doctrines and practices of organized Christianity. While theoretical approach to the study of epics, spells, and charms was philological, more and more it was also possible to approach folklore as sets of beliefs and mythical traditions. Both approaches used the same sources—that is, verse (Herlin 2000, 164). Over the decades, folklore studies constituted the only academic program that gave teaching in folk religion until the first established graduate program in comparative religion began at the University of Turku in 1963.

The new discipline in Turku comprised both comparative religion and folklore studies, and its first professor was Lauri Honko, who, one year earlier, had published a study on spirit beliefs. In his work, *Geisterglaube in Ingermanland* (1962), Honko combined insights from social anthropology, the phenomenology of religion, social psychology, and sociology. He argued that the ability to receive and transmit beliefs about guardian spirits depended on in-group membership in terms of age, kinship, and occupation. According to Honko, folk religion manifested as a total worldview, one that included guardian spirits, the dead, as well as the Devil, Jesus, and the Christian saints (Anttonen V. 2012). He thus took a path different from those taken by proponents of the old historic-geographic approach and those taken by Finnish researchers in general, including Martti Haavio, and Matti Kuusi, and adjunct professor Jouko Hautala.

After a research visit to UC Berkeley in 1962, Honko first became acquainted with ideas that would soon become known as the New Perspectives in Folklore. This "performance school" called attention to systematic features of folklore as expressive culture and communication. Unlike the European comparatist perspective, the New Perspectives in folklore regarded the study of folklore as examining the social uses of tradition and the features of performance. As Paredes and Bauman stated, folklore was now understood primarily in the context of expressive performance (see Paredes and Baumann 1972). Combining the archival-based legacy of Finnish folklore scholarship, which had relied heavily on archived verse materials, with the New Perspectives approach, Honko elaborated his theoretical views on genre analysis and the role-theory model (Anttonen V. 2012). Although he held a professorship in Turku, Honko occasionally gave lectures at the University of Helsinki. In 1966, Honko developed a course on the methodologies of folklore. Unlike Matti Kuusi and Jouko Hautala, who preferred their students to read Finnish (historic-geographic epic) studies, Honko assigned readings composed mainly by American or Nordic authors.

Why, then, was Honko so different from his predecessors in Finnish folklore scholarship? One apparent reason is his Western orientation. Honko was one of the first to travel to the US due to the ASLA (Fulbright) grant program, which the US government created in 1949. Accepted applicants to this exchange program had to undergo a CIA background check. Left-oriented thinkers or those openly critical of the US were typically not those who ultimately became US exchange scholars. Often those who were approved and were able to perform one-year research in the West were later in their career assigned to professorships in Finnish academia (Tarkka 2013, 4–5). The official policy of neutrality enabled Fulbright grants and thus, US-visits and influences of American popular culture. This kind of mental impact was the US strategy within Finland against the Soviets (Fields 2020, 10).

Another central figure in Finnish folklore scholarship with a comparative religion orientation was Jouko Hautala. He is likely not well known to international readers since the language of his most cited book on Finnish and comparative folklore studies was Finnish (1954). This book contains a collection of studies made in Finnish folklore scholarship. Although the book did not include a robust theoretical approach nor even a methodology, it was widely studied among many generations of Finnish folklorists, remaining in the curricula until 1995. Hautala taught at the University of Helsinki's folklore studies in 1947–1971, first as an adjunct professor, then as a deputy professor, and finally (after losing a permanent professorship to Matti Kuusi) as an extra professor specializing in comparative religion. Usually, it was Hautala who was responsible for advanced-level studies, and because of his personal orientation on folk beliefs, he argued that folk religion is a prerequisite for understanding folklore (Kinnunen 1991, 39). Hautala's courses on the methodology of folklore typically contained text-critical studies. In a broad sense, changes in methodology courses depended on who was in charge. In sum, besides the epics and text-critical approach, comparative religion had become a secondary mainstream means by which to study commoners' culture.

As leaders in their field of folklore and as respected members of their departments, Haavio, Hautala, and Honko were all in a position to encourage young students and to orientate them in folk religion. In effect, then, a body of students continued to research and to elaborate on the concerns and ideas of their mentors. The Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society paid special attention to folk religion since questionnaires targeted assumed ancient belief systems. Because of Haavio and his interest in vernacular forms of religious thinking, folk beliefs were explicit from the beginning until the 1960s in the folklore collections. In 1962, for example, a series of questions dealt with the topics of death, the dead, and prohibitions concerning work and holy days (see Anttonen V. 2012).

Within folklore studies at the University of Helsinki, folk religion as a sub-field separated from the text-critical concentration in 1960. First-year studies consisted of the *Kalevala* and epic poetry as well as archival internships for all. Still, students then had to choose whether to specialize in oral traditions and speech genres, or in comparative religion. It is noteworthy that the comparative religion concentration included the works of Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and Franz Boas—all classic anthropologists. However, before the specialization, which occurred approximately during the second year of study, the curriculum included readings from both text-critical and folk religion concentrations.

Often, the line between the fields was not strict because both aspects merged in the analysis. Textual analysis worked for the method and folk belief frame as the preliminary "theoretical" assumption. For example, Martti Haavio and Matti Kuusi based their empirical data on archived verse texts, but the interpretations dealt with the worldviews of ancient communities (Stark 2019). The divided orientation within folklore studies lasted until 1970 when the first department of comparative religion opened at the Faculty of Theology (Markkula 1997, 18–21). Within the folklore studies program at the University of Helsinki, the folk religion orientation remained until

early 1972. It was the mythological aspect that expanded the scholarly focus more globally. For example, Juha Pentikäinen's study of beliefs about the supranormality of a dead child that were found "throughout Nordic countries as an old tradition, as well as among the Sámi and even the Inuit of Greenland" (1968) represented a new generation of Finnish folklore studies which sought to understand the human condition at multiple levels. This kind of analysis was not typical in the long tradition of Finnish folklore studies.

In the broader view, the reasons for intellectual expansion within folklore studies were diverse. First, folklore studies was among the first disciplines to study culture(s) in Finnish academia. Not only anthropology but also comparative religion, as distinctive disciplines, emerged primarily out of Finnish and comparative folk poetry studies (i.e., folklore studies) because of the growing need for more nuanced knowledge on human communications and cultures. The Krohnian type of philology could thus no longer fulfill intellectual demand. It could not satisfactorily answer essential questions, such as how communities in the past used to think about their neighbors, the environment, and the supranormal, as well as why people recite certain rhymes, and in which situations.

The paradigm shifted as new questions about communal communication and mentality, as well as collective psychologies, emerged. The historic-geographic method became incompatible with these new approaches, although it nonetheless still influenced archival practices. By the end of the 1960s, a reflexive turn took place in folklore studies, not only in the community of Finnish folklorists but all over the West. Drawing new insights from sociology and political sciences, senior undergraduates and graduates, that is, the generation born in the 1940s, began to address problems in folklore scholarship, and especially in folklore collection practices. The curricula of the 1970s responded to external and internal forces by offering students a mixture of intellectual opportunities that resulted from the social awareness throughout the 1970s. The 1970s curricula of Finnish folklore studies became a collection of heterogeneous approaches to humanistic scholarship.

A Mixed Bag: A Field of Study Connected to Social Awareness

After the Second World War, the US became the epicenter of global scientific knowledge, mainly due to the wartime collapse of European academia (Rossiter 1985). In Finnish folklore scholarship, US scientific influences significantly altered the subfield of comparative religion and its readings within the curricula. Besides the Soviet Union's attempts to influence Finland and the existing Finnish–Soviet scientific agreement, Finnish folklore scholarship, much like the other humanist disciplines, was not very sympathetic toward official Soviet scholarship (see Hentilä 2016). Globally, this coincided with increasing intellectual pressure caused by the new modes of consciousness, which were infusing academic work. The collapse of colonialism in the South, civil rights movements in the West, and leftist student movements from the 1960s onward (see Noyes 2007) contributed to such pressure. This period has been argued as a time of "memory conflict," as new ideologies were beginning to challenge old na-

tionalistic paradigms (Kinnunen and Jokisipilä 2012, 446). Despite existing boundaries between different research fields and interests, young and old generations alike were now both living in a society in which preexisting geopolitical arrangements had to be reconsidered and ultimately questioned.

The intellectual shift also involved a generational gap. While Matti Kuusi had been a text-critical comparatist, his successor, Leea Virtanen (1979–1994), was as an expert in contemporary children's lore. Interestingly, however, the *Kalevala* and epic poetry continued to represent the scholarly canon, as both were not only accepted but also appreciated by the conservative right as well as by the left-oriented younger generation. The core curriculum requirements dealt with the *Kalevala* and Finnish epic poetry. At the same time, the field widened its disciplinary subject in terms of sub-fields and questions about modern times and pre-modern peasant times. In advanced-level studies in the 1971–1972 academic year, students could choose between three sub-fields: (1) folklore studies, (2) cultural anthropology, or (3) comparative religion;[6] later, in 1978–1979, there were four options for intermediate-level studies and onward: (1) folklore studies, (2) field and archival work, (3) popular culture, and (4) cultural anthropology. The introductory text of the curriculum presented the discipline as "tradition studies" (in Finnish: *perinnetiede*; in Swedish: *tradition vetenskap*), i.e., a field of study that focused on the mental elements of folk culture, especially on collectively shared oral traditions.

The field's fragmentation coincided with the rise of sociology that had a central role in developing welfare state by satisfying the state's need for knowledge. In Finland, much like in the other Nordic countries, sociologists shared the view that they were social engineers in the service of society and were thus actively participating in the making of the welfare state (Hokka 2019, 359). Moreover, sociologists were active in planning the Finnish spiritual national defense (Aunesluoma and Rainio-Niemi 2017, 66). Sociology thus influenced the vocabulary and views of folklorists by, for example, increasing readings on gender studies and critical analyses of mass culture. In the early 1970s, folklorists' reading lists included, for instance, *Mass Culture*, by Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White (1957), which stated modern communication had an isolating effect. Theodor Adorno, one of the leading members of the Frankfurt School of critical theory and whose article was in the book, argued that television enslaves people to repetition and robs them of aesthetic freedom (Adorno 1957, 482–483). This kind of academic thinking echoed the anti-American sentiments of the time that were perceived not only against American governments but also against movies and tv-series.

A new way to reformulate Finnish folklore studies at the University of Helsinki emerged, one that was connected to the social sciences and to politically engaging concepts and terms. One such term, which folklorists absorbed from journalism studies, was the "consciousness industry" (in Finnish: *tajuntateollisuus*), which referred mainly to mass media and education as the institutions of brain rot. According to the Marxist perspective, the ruling class seeks to control the content and output of the media to naturalize the status quo in the consciousness of subordinate classes. Interestingly, the

term consciousness industry began to appear in the field's curricula syllabus description in the 1970s.

These kinds of Marxist views incorporated into folklore studies curricula alongside traditional questions about the *Kalevala* and other traditional topics. Subject matter areas widened to include the working-class culture, thereby reflecting the existing civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1970s. Moreover, readings from related fields, such as sociology, increased throughout the 1970s. The field responded to and reflected changing political, socioeconomic, and contemporary problems, as it did everywhere in the folklore studies of the West (Kuhn 2015, 90–91). The curricula in focus were not openly anti-Soviet, but they were not entirely pro-American either. Presumably, practices of 'the folklore neutrality' were part of broader understandings of European neutrality, especially in Switzerland, Austria, and Sweden, which at the time no longer showed up as isolationism or exceptionalism but as a legitimate policy allowing small, developed countries to play a constructive role as mediators between the super-powers. Neutrality became a core value and a constitutive of Finns' self-perception, too, during the Cold War (Aunesluoma and Rainio-Niemi 2017, 56, 60). In the same manner, the curricula of the Finnish folklore studies consisted of, besides the studies of Finnish folk culture, a balanced combination of East and West scholarship.

The introductory texts of the field contributed to a broadened understanding of the various kinds of folk groups. The 1971–1972 curriculum stated that the object of study could either be "archived, mainly old peasant culture or contemporary, for example, popular culture, youth culture, and children's culture and other sub-cultures' traditions." Contrary to the increasing number of readings in Finnish, the reading list now included only a few books or articles written in German. By now, it was clear that the old intellectual connections to German-speaking scholarship had ceased. Publications by important international scholars, such as Margaret Mead and Bronislav Malinovski, had been translated into Finnish, the preferred language in the 1970s curricula. Although folklore studies was intellectually expanding toward Western paradigms, and even though the English language had become standard among the exam books, the discipline still represented "a national science" in the way that readings were in Finnish. Furthermore, the primary national topics—that is, the folklore and folkways of the Finnish-speaking Finns—were by far the most popular themes among those enrolled in bachelor's and master's studies (see Järvinen & Saarikoski-Hyttinen 1987).

To gain a better understanding of foreign cultures meant studying other regions and nations that were European. In 1971–1972, students who chose folklore studies (instead of cultural anthropology or comparative religion) had to decide whether to specialize in Estonian (Soviet Estonians Ottilie-Olga Kõiva and Eduard Laugaste), Swedish (Bengt R. Jonsson and Karl Ivar Hildeman), Russian (Y. M. Socolov, a Russian Academician) or American folklore (Jan Harold Brunvand). The 1971–1972 curriculum included *The Study of Folklore* by Alan Dundes (1965), although it was requested to study only partially. The book was a collection of several theoretical articles, including leading US scholars and few international classics, such as Axel Olrik and Carl von Sydow.

There are a few reasons why Finnish folklorists were excluded from the groundbreaking anthology by Alan Dundes. First, Finnish researchers had historically identified themselves toward German-speaking academia. In practice, many Finns, including some top Finnish scientists, did not have sufficient English skills. Second, the discipline had been mired in the historic-geographic paradigm in Finland longer than it had been elsewhere. Theoretically, Finnish folklore scholarship had not sufficiently developed, or if it was, the more recent studies were available only in Finnish. Third, higher education in Finland was the result of governmental politics, and as such, explicit eagerness to collaborate with the US academically was considered inappropriate.

Since the Finnish academic apparatus was unable to produce widely cited scholars in the Cold War era, it was the international—or more precise, American—university education and platform on scholarly debates that enabled new avenues of research on Finnish folklore. One example is Elli-Kaija Köngäs-Maranda, who received her Master's in folklore in Helsinki, but then left Finland to attend Indiana University to complete her doctoral education. Köngäs-Maranda was a structuralist who studied Finnish-American communities as well as the Solomon Island natives. In the US, she engaged in fieldwork in an area not usually considered a typical zone of interest in her native country (Virtanen L. 2000). Consequently, her writings were not studied in the 1970s Finnish folklore studies, although Finnish professors and researchers knew her very well. What were the reasons for not including Köngäs-Maranda in the curricula? One reason might be practical, such as the limitations of foreign books and articles in Finnish academic libraries and bookstores (e.g., Ekholm 2016). The other the fact that she had an unorthodox approach to her Finnish colleagues. It can, however, be presumed that the reason was not political, that is, her explicit US-orientation.

Another researcher with a Finnish orientation was William Wilson, who gained a broad audience with his study, *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland* (1976). The Finnish translation of the book came out in 1985 when a group of ethnomusicology students undertook the endeavor. Surprisingly enough, it was the Workers' Educational Association of Finland (WEA), which published the Finnish version of Wilson's study, not the Finnish Literature Society. According to one of the translators, Vesa Kurkela, the group was not eager to publish the book in the Finnish Literature Society because, for them, the society represented old (nationalistic and patriotic) values. Therefore, the choice of the publisher was probably the continuum of the dichotomy that had entered the Finnish academic workforce already in the 1960s, causing a rift between a leftist younger generation of scholars and the conservative professors (Mikkonen 2016, 159).

Although Wilson's study was very explicit in its critique of folklorists' ethnonationalism and the right-wing legacy in Finland, *Folklore and nationalism in Modern Finland* became a success in terms of citations and book reviews. The study received criticism and vehement critiques, especially in Finland. Well into the 1990s, it continued to be excluded from the curricula of folklore studies at the University of Helsinki. Gradually, however, Wilson's notions gained a foothold in folklore studies' circles,

becoming a kind of disciplinary coup that stimulated important self-reflections among Finnish folklorists (e.g., Anttonen 2005, 155–156). There are at least two reasons for the relatively late breakthrough of *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland*. First, it was an American who published it during the Cold War. Second, the main argument of the book was that Finnish folklorists from the 1930s onward were strongly pro-German, and this view referred to sensitive and potentially volatile areas of discourse that had thus far been silenced although it was common knowledge. It is clear that the arguments made by Wilson were too fundamental at that time, and they therefore needed more time to become accepted. Moreover, anti-American sentiments as a byproduct of the leftist movement were popular among Finnish students. For example, many of the folklore students were explicitly skeptical toward "the vulgar American" performance school (see Kinnunen 1991, 9). It was only as late as the early 2000s when the concept of performance shook off "the ideological West" label in the Finnish folklore scholarship.

Conclusion

When comparing eight curricula between 1943–1978, the most visible disciplinary move concerns the widening research focus. Although the discipline has continued to concentrate on varieties of oral traditions, especially in epics and other oral tradition mediums, expressed in Finnish, it has also expanded its target to social groups within Finnish society. Despite new theories, such as structural analysis or the socio-psychological understanding of folklore, that made breakthroughs since the end of the 1960s, the majority of works in Finnish folklore studies continued to focus on materials considered to be ethno-historically important, i.e., Finnish- (or Swedish-) speaking oral traditions.

For 35 years, the scope of Finnish folklore studies expanded to three distinctive orientations: the nationalistic one, which consisted of the readings on the *Kalevala* and the oral epics, internationally oriented comparative religion, and social awareness of the folklore studies. The first comprises the subject matter from which the independent discipline first evolved in the late nineteenth century. The core of Finnish folklore studies at the University of Helsinki consisted of inquiries of verse. The second, comparative religion orientation, was an approach that contributed true international breadth to Finnish folklore studies. Global perspective and human mind, not language itself, entailed in the academic study of comparative religion that made it internationally more orientated than the orientation on Finnish verse. However, Finnish folklore studies developed their version of comparative religion, one that combined text-critical inquiry with frameworks of the human (religious) mind. Comparative religion became an independent discipline in the Cold War era.

The last disciplinary move of Finnish folklore studies in the 1943–1978 was scattered topics of interest that had the perspective of and empathized with others from diverse backgrounds and cultures. Instead of a pro-Soviet attitude, the 1970s curricula were a mixed bag of everything having a slight anti-American bias. Changes in production and globalization challenged folklore studies that both transformed the

discipline from an institution concerned primarily with matters of one-culture communities, and nation-building to one in which more comprehensive understanding of human communities was a central research focus. In a broad sense, the miscellaneous nature of the 1970s curricula mirrors that era. The social movements of the 1960s and 1970s triggered transformations that resonated profoundly at all levels of society in the West. Culture was no longer something concerning "bygones" or "popular antiquities," but instead served to indicate cultural communication by a group of any kind.

Within folklore studies, there were orientations toward comparative religion, cultural anthropology, contemporary culture, and finally, oral traditions. Overall, since oral traditions constituted the topic around which the discipline had initially revolved, they have remained the core of folklore studies. Despite the broad expansion of research topics, the discipline was still called "Finnish and comparative folk poetry studies" (in Finnish: *Suomalainen ja vertaileva kansanrunoudentutkimus*) until 1989, when it changed its name to "folklore studies." Undoubtedly, the name change reflected the changes in topics of interest within the field, but it also mirrored "the glasnost" of the Cold War era.

Given the country's status as a relatively small whose independent statehood has never been taken for granted, the role of the one-culture in the nation-state remained central to Finnish folklore studies after the Second World War. It is fair to say that the studies conducted by humanist researchers and the emergence of political and cultural institutions throughout the Cold War, were intertwined. The Cold War, as times of crisis, created a new and perpetually volatile geopolitical situation that sharpened the distinction between us concerning them. Although, officially, Finland could not ignore the existence of the Soviet Union, it could retain a kind of uncensored intellectual life. Various forms and uses of disciplinary knowledge, and many of the key terms in the field, multiplied in the Cold War era. Students learned Finnish, Scandinavian, European, Russian, and American folklore. In terms of a bipolar world, the Cold War folklore studies in Finland markedly transformed into neutrality. Was this because of Finlandization or despite it? Undoubtedly, critical approaches to this segment of disciplinary history are still very much underdeveloped.

Notes

1 The term "national sciences" (in Finnish: *kansalliset tieteet*; in Swedish: *nationella vetenskaper*) was developed at the end of the nineteenth century to describe those disciplines that generated conceptions of history, homeland, and culture; in addition to folklore studies, they included disciplines such as history, archeology, and Finnish literature (see Aronsson et al. 2008).

2 The curricula are: 1943; 1951; 1958; 1960; 1963; 1968; 1971; 1978.

3 Concerning this, the argument of Elliott Oring that folklorists are often too romantic and sentimental toward their objects of study might sometimes be correct (Oring 2019, 138).

4 The number of studies that dealt with the *Kalevala* or Finnish epics in the basics of folklore studies were as follows: 7 out of 10 books in 1943; 12/18 in 1958; 7/13 in 1968; and 7/25 in 1978.

5 Simon Bronner has pointed out that although the US appeared to lack attributes associated with Romantic nationalism, such as peasants, consistent geography, ancient historical legacy, and common racial and religious stock, American folklorists adapted folklore to nation-building in the late nineteenth century with a mythology of the frontier heroes, one suggestive of a democratic individualist ethos (Bronner 2019, 18).

6 Within the folklore studies program, a separate line of folk religion remained although there already was the discipline of Comparative religion in the Faculty of Theology.

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The Revival of Finno-Ugric Studies in Soviet Estonian Ethnography: Expeditions to the Veps, 1962–1970

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Abstract
Estonian ethnographers (ethnologists) have been interested in Finno-Ugric peoples, linguistically related to the Estonians, since the early twentieth century. The Golden Age of Finno-Ugric studies started in the 1960s when Estonian ethnography was already subjected to Soviet ethnography. The preferred destination of Estonian researchers was the isolated and archaic southern Veps area. Old phenomena were disappearing there, and Estonian scholars studying ethnogenesis had to hurry to save what they could for science. Relatively free access to the eastern kindred peoples was their advantage in international Finno-Ugric studies—almost the only way to the world outside the Soviet camp for the Estonian ethnographers. Besides, expeditions to the linguistic relatives got a positive response in Estonian society as they were supporting Estonian identity independent from the Soviet regime.

Keywords: Estonia; ethnography/ethnology; Veps; fieldwork; Finno-Ugric studies; Soviet Union

Introduction

This article focuses on the revival of Finno-Ugric studies, an essential topic in Estonian ethnography,[1] after World War II, specifically in the 1960s. At that time, most expeditions outside of Estonia went to the Veps, although the interest in Finno-Ugric peoples was much broader. This paper aims to place the Finno-Ugric research of the then Estonian ethnographers into a broader context of Estonian cultural history and history of European ethnology in order to analyze aspects of its foundations and influences.

There are several questions I wish to address. Why would Estonian ethnography be concerned with peoples outside Estonia? What were the aims of the research trips to the Finno-Ugric peoples, and how did they relate to other studies of Estonian ethnographers? What were the work methodologies and results? What were the relations between Estonian ethnographers and the peoples they studied? How did these trips affect Estonian society and the peoples researched?

From 1960 to 1970, the material from 20 Finno-Ugric expeditions was placed in the Estonian National Museum (ENM).[2] Five of these trips (to the Valdai Karelians, Mokshas, Komi-Permyaks, Khanties, and Komi-Zyrians) could be called brief excursions not immediately followed by more thorough research and the academic results of which remained modest. The nearby Baltic Finnic peoples were the immediate fo-

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cus, with nine expeditions to the Veps, 4 to the Livs, and 2 to the Votians.

The article takes a closer look at the Estonian ethnographic research undertaken among the Veps from 1962 to 1970. The primary sources are academic and popular texts based on the expedition material, field diaries, and contemporary media coverage in Estonia. Interviews with people who took part in the trips were also analyzed (Evi Tihemets, Lembit Võime, Hugo Puss, Erika Pedak, Heiki Pärdi).

Cultural Background

The focus of the Estonian ethnographers has always been Estonians and Estonia. However, the Estonian language is one of the Finno-Ugric languages. Estonian cultural researchers (folklorists, ethnographers) were interested in other Finno-Ugric peoples ever since these disciplines came into being as branches of the Estonian studies.[3] The roots of this interest were intertwined with the national movement that initially swept over Finland in the nineteenth century and reached Estonia a little later. At the beginning of the twentieth century, an awareness of one's Finno-Ugric roots and linguistic kinship would spread to become a cornerstone of the ethnic identity of both Finns and Estonians. For the latter, language is the central defining feature of their ethnicity, and hence the idea of linguistic kinship is important to them. Some intellectuals extended linguistic kinship to cultural and even biological kinship. The Finno-Ugric peoples' movement (*hõimuliikumine*) was born on that ground. In the 1920s and 1930s, many Estonian students, scholars, and even politicians were involved. The closest contacts were kept with Finland and Hungary.

Until the end of the 1940s, the Estonian National Museum was the center of Estonian ethnographic research. The museum housed ethnographic collections, and from the 1920s onward, the teaching of ethnography at the University of Tartu was closely linked. Due to the shortage of local experts, Estonian ethnography in the 1920s had to rely on Finnish scholars, such as the archaeologist Aarne Michael Tallgren and the ethnographer Ilmari Manninen. They were also committed to the Finno-Ugric cause. In fact, this was one of the reasons they were invited to Estonia.

A. M. Tallgren, a member of the museum board at ENM, envisioned a Finno-Ugric department there. He wrote about the Finno-Ugric "tribes" who had not yet become a "cultured people" and about the academic "colony" ranging over the Ural Mountains and to the Arctic Sea (Tallgren 1923, 42; see also Tallgren 1921).

Likewise, Ilmari Manninen, who was Director of the Museum in 1922–1928, and the lecturer (associate professor) of ethnography at the University of Tartu in 1924–1928, viewed Finno-Ugric studies as a viable future endeavor for Estonian ethnography (Mannien 1924, 527–528).

1929 saw the publication of Manninen's comprehensive, textbook-like work, *Soome sugu rahvaste etnograafia* ("The Ethnography of Finno-Ugric Peoples"),[4] which drew upon the lectures delivered at Tartu University and focused on the material culture of Finno-Ugrians. For Manninen, ethnography primarily meant studying material culture, mainly that of peasants (Manninen 1924). This work remained a staple among ethnography scholars for some time, and the ethnographers who set out to the Veps'

villages in the 1960s were familiar with it. In the chapter on the Veps, Manninen quotes the Finnish linguist Lauri Kettunen who describes his arrival in the very traditional southern Veps village of Arskaht´ in the winter of 1917–1918: "I instantly realized that I had arrived in that proto-Finnish dream-world that I had so often dreamt of, if only for a moment, to visit." (Manninen 1929, 57). These lines reflect the evolutionist ideas of Finno-Ugric cultural cohesion, common among the Finnish humanitarians, studying their linguistic relatives in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Niiranen 1992, 28–33). They believed that the study of far less developed, yet kindred peoples could offer insight into the way one's people, who had advanced to the state of a "cultured people," had once lived in the past. It is likely that these lines also inspired the Estonian ethnographers of the 1960s.

Illustration 1. The Veps commemorate their dead on the graves. Peloo cemetery, Boksitogorsk rayon, Leningrad oblast. Photo by Ants Viires, 1965. ERM

Nevertheless, under Manninen's guidance, the primary research focus lay on Estonia and Estonians, with the adjoining areas and kindred peoples forming a backdrop. Finnish and Estonian scholars could study very few Eastern Finno-Ugrians at the time, as the relations with the Soviet Union on the one side and Estonia and Finland on the other side were strained, if not hostile. Only the Livonian coast in Latvia, Estonian Ingria, and Finnish Karelia were available for Estonian scholars. During World War II, they took some trips to the Votians in German-occupied Ingria (Leningrad Oblast). It was only from the 1960s that the grand research plans of Tallgren and Manninen became feasible for Estonian ethnographers.

In the wake of World War II, Estonia was annexed by the Soviet Union. The political border separating Estonian ethnographers from their eastern linguistic relatives disappeared, but this did not foster a Finno-Ugric research boom. From the 1930s, the government-supported pseudo-scientific "new teaching of language," or the Japhetic theory of Nikolay Marr, dominated the Soviet Union. This theory affected the related disciplines of archeology and ethnography (see Alymov 2014, 124–125). Marr and his followers denied the concept of linguistic families and language trees with proto-languages and language branches developed in the traditional comparative-historical linguistics. Consequently, there were no Finno-Ugric languages (nor peoples), and studying them was branded anti-Soviet by the establishment. At the same time, comparative-historical linguistics was viewed as a "bourgeois science." Paul Ariste[5], a renowned linguist, who worked as a Professor at the University of Tartu at the end of the 1940s, wrote in his memoirs: "Lectures *had to* be delivered in the vein of Marr's linguistic theory. […] It was downright dangerous to talk about linguistic kinship and proto-language" (Ariste 2008, 277).

Thus, the concept of Finno-Ugric linguistic kinship, which had influenced Estonian ethnography, was stigmatized as being bourgeois. One of Tallgren's students, the archeologist Harri Moora[6], sought to readjust ethnography to fit the new Soviet circumstances. Moora, likewise Ariste, was an Estonian patriot but felt compelled to criticize the excessive preoccupation of "bourgeois Estonian ethnography" with Finno-Ugric ties (Moora 1947, 33–34). In reality, Estonian ethnography of the 1920s and 1930s was hardly preoccupied with the Finno-Ugric relationship, and Moora was well aware of this. However, for the Estonian ethnography to survive in the conditions of Marr's overarching theory, one had to decry the previous "bourgeois" tradition. Such a distancing was essentially a rhetorical move (see Jääts 2019, 5).

It was impossible to advance Finno-Ugric studies while Marr's doctrine reigned, but the study of individual Finno-Ugric languages and peoples did continue. Despite comparative historical linguistics being officially condemned in the Soviet Union, it never entirely disappeared. In 1947, under the initiative of a renowned linguist Dmitri Bubrich, a Soviet-wide Finno-Ugric conference was held in Leningrad. Among other things, the scholars of Leningrad and Estonia divided the Baltic-Finnic languages between themselves. It was decided that Estonians would focus on the Estonian, Livonian and Votian languages. In the summer of the same year, Ariste set out with some students to visit the Votians (Ariste 2008, 277–278, 280). From that trip, he purchased an icon cloth to augment the ENM's Finno-Ugric collections (B 44:1, see ERM Peakataloog B2, pp. 23–24).

Finally, in the summer of 1950, Stalin withdrew his support of Marr's theory, and it was quickly discarded. It was again possible to talk freely about Finno-Ugric linguistic kinship. The department of Finno-Ugric languages at the University of Tartu headed by Ariste was rejuvenated, and it became a very influential research center in the Soviet Union and beyond (Ariste 2008, 290–295).

Ariste's energy would ultimately inspire ethnographers as well. Ariste, who was quickly gaining academic authority, maintained close contact with the Museum of

Ethnography. From 1953–1958 he was a member of the museum's research board. In addition to language, Ariste was also interested in traditional folk culture and brought many Finno-Ugric artifacts back from his expeditions. Other linguists followed suit. Their contributions were published in the museum's yearbooks.

The Recovery of Finno-Ugric Studies

The recovery of Finno-Ugric studies in Estonian ethnography took time. The Estonian National Museum went through some chaotic times after the war (see Astel 2009). There were no resources that would allow researchers to undertake fieldwork trips in Estonia, let alone other Finno-Ugric areas. In 1952, a small group of ethnographers was formed in Tallinn, within the archeology section of the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR. It was H. Moora´s initiative. This group became the center of excellence in ethnography for Soviet Estonia. For many years the group was headed by Ants Viires[7]. Tallinn's ethnographers played a vital role in the directing of ENM, as from 1946–1963, the museum was under the jurisdiction of the Academy of Sciences. However, Tallinn's ethnographers did not turn much attention to Finno-Ugric peoples in their research, and there were no collections of ethnographic objects in Tallinn. Thus, the revival of the Finno-Ugric studies remained a task of the Museum of Ethnography in Tartu. The process started at the end of the 1950s.

In January 1957, the ethnographers of the Academy of Sciences convened in Tartu. Harri Moora, and possibly, Ants Viires led the discussions. The subject revolved around the need to collect "rapidly vanishing ethnographic materials." Estonian ethnographers decided to work among the neighboring peoples too, including the Votians and Izhorians. The use of film to record the immediate environment and labor processes was also proposed (ETA 1/10/65, pp. 4–6). Academy's Presidium approved the decisions of the meeting in December 1957 (ETA 1/1/376, pp. 186, 190, 192). This created an opportunity to extend the ethnographic fieldwork to the eastern Baltic Finns.

The opening of the exhibition titled "Examples of Finno-Ugric Folk Art in the 19th Century" at the Museum of Ethnography in 1957 was the first sign of recovery of Finno-Ugric studies in Estonian ethnography. The exhibition was taken down only in 1960 after the museum's 50th-anniversary celebrations in 1959 (Linnus 1970b, 244; Konksi 2009, 350).

As far as we know, the first Finno-Ugric research trips of Estonian ethnographers after World War II were made to the Karelians, Votians, and Izhorians as a part of integrated complex expedition of the Baltic republics under the direction of Moscow (Viires 2011, 99–100, 104–105, 108). The academic results of these trips remained scarce.

The first researchers from the ENM were Aino Voolmaa and Kalju Konsin. The latter joined the Finno-Ugric languages students at the University of Tartu on their expedition to Valdai Karelians in 1962. Voolmaa accompanied the language students from the university when visiting northern Veps villages in 1962 and central Veps villages in 1963.

One of the factors facilitating the recovery of Finno-Ugric studies was the restoration of contacts between Finnish and Estonian ethnographers at the end of the 1950s

and early 1960s (see Luts 1999, 13–14, 34; Konksi 2009, 270). Finns were interested in Estonians as kindred people, and this interest extended to eastern language relatives. The visits of Finnish colleagues, such as Kustaa Vilkuna, Toivo Vuorela, Niilo Valonen, and others, were of crucial importance for Estonian ethnographers, virtually cut off from the "bourgeois" western world during the postwar decade. Having lost the war, Finland was a "bourgeois country" because it was capitalist, enjoyed extensive academic freedom, and had research contacts with the West. At the same time, the USSR controlled Finland and considered it a friendly country. That is why Finns were allowed to visit the Estonian SSR. Contacts with Finnish colleagues helped spread ideas and invigorate the professional self-confidence of Estonian ethnographers.

In March 1964, the Finnish President Urho Kaleva Kekkonen visited the Estonian SSR, including Tartu. The following summer, the ferry connection between Tallinn and Helsinki was restored. In August 1965, the Second International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies took place in Helsinki. For the first time, a large delegation from the Estonian SSR was able to participate (more of its importance below). Thus, the Iron Curtain lifted a bit, allowing some fresh air.

The Academic Framework of the Veps Expeditions

In the Soviet Union, ethnography was seen as a sub-discipline of history encompassing studies of peoples and their culture, specifically their material culture (livelihood, buildings, settlements, clothing, food, etc.). The theoretical foundation for this was historical materialism, which drew upon Lewis H. Morgan and Friedrich Engels' evolutionary ideas, according to which the impetus behind the development of human society is progress in the production of material goods. By the mid-1940s, when Estonian ethnography was merged with the Soviet one, the latter had been developed into a firmly controlled centralized system overseen by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow. One of the main themes in Soviet ethnography was ethnogenesis, or the formation and development of ethnic groups (tribes, peoples, nations), studied in cooperation with archeology, history, linguistics, folklore studies, and physical anthropology. Ethnogenesis became necessary because, in Stalin's view, peoples or ethnic groups were the primary subjects of history. The history of the Soviet Union was the total of the histories of the Soviet peoples and began with the origins and development of those peoples (Abashin 2014, 152–153). The role of ethnographers was to study in detail traditional folk culture in order to learn about the ethnic history of peoples and their cultural interactions with their neighbors. Estonian ethnographers were effective contributors to the research of ethnogenesis. Estonians' most outstanding achievement was a collection of articles edited by Harri Moora *Eesti rahva etnilisest ajaloost* ("On the Ethnic History of Estonian People,"1956). The volume was quickly translated into Russian[8] and became a model for other similar studies in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

In 1960, the first International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies was held in Budapest. Gyula Ortutay, the rector of the University of Budapest, highlighted the need to study the ethnogenesis of all Finno-Ugrians in his opening speech. He also pointed

to the Soviet (resp. Estonian) achievements in this regard. Paul Ariste and a couple of other Estonian linguists participated at the conference as members of the Soviet delegation. Estonian ethnographers were not present (Ahven 2007, 270; Congressus 1963, 11–19).

A new research trend in Soviet ethnography at the end of the 1940s focused on studying contemporary socio-cultural processes. Ethnographers were expected to positively reflect the socio-economic changes under Soviet rule (e.g., industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture) and to actively contribute to building a socialist society (e.g., participation in the atheistic struggle and the creation and implementation of new Soviet traditions). Estonian ethnographers sought to avoid dealing with this contemporary, socialist environment as much as possible, preferring to focus on a relatively apolitical past. Popular research eras were the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth (see Konksi 2004; Konksi 2009, 311–326; Jääts 2019, 8). This tendency reveals itself eloquently in the Estonians´ research of Finno-Ugric peoples, including the Veps.

According to the leading theorists of Soviet ethnography, the most notable contemporary ethnic process in the Soviet Union was the interethnic integration that manifested in the cultural approximation between peoples. In terms of material culture, this meant an abandonment of archaic, traditional, and primitive culture elements in favor of modern, standardized industrial production (Bromlei, Kozlov 1975, 535–536).

It meant that those interested in traditional peasant culture, for example, in the context of ethnogenesis studies, had to hurry. The old ways needed to be preserved for science as quickly as possible before they completely disappeared from the arena of history. The tradition of "rescue ethnography" dating back to the late nineteenth century proved vital in new circumstances. From the point of view of Estonians' ethnogenesis, this applied to the traditional culture of Estonians, neighboring areas and kindred peoples (Peterson 1969, 319; Peterson 1970a, 10–11; Peterson 1982, 6).

General Overview of the Veps Expeditions

In 1962–1963, the employees of the ENM participated in the linguistic expeditions of Tartu University. In 1965 ethnographers Ants Viires and Aleksei Peterson[9] joined an expedition organized by physical anthropologists of the Estonian Academy of Sciences. Viires did not return to the Veps, but this trip inspired Peterson, and he initiated a series of museum expeditions to the Veps villages lasting until the early 1980s.[10] Aleksei Peterson acted as the leader and the leading ethnographer of those research trips. Occasionally, some other scholars and students interested in ethnography also participated.

Thus, in 1962 a trip was made to the northern Veps (the Karelian ASSR), in 1963, to the central Veps, and in 1965, to the southern and central Veps (in the eastern part of Leningrad Oblast). Afterward, Estonian ethnographers kept returning to the remote and relatively isolated southern Veps villages that had preserved many archaic traits despite being organized into Soviet-style collective farms (kolkhozes, sovkhozes) already in the 1930s. In 1970, the museum extended its research area to include the cen-

tral Veps living along the western edge of Vologda Oblast. Another research team was working in parallel among the southern Veps.

The expedition staff of the trips arranged by the museum ranged from two to six people. In addition to a researcher or an ethnographer, there was always a photographer, who could also serve as a camera operator (or vice versa), and as a rule, an artist. Collective fieldwork was the norm for the then Soviet and Estonian ethnographers. Trips were made primarily in summer (Dragadze 1978, 66).

Table 1. Materials collected on Veps expeditions (1962–1970)

	1962	1963	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969[11]	1970[12]
objects	17	33	16	3	72	29	51	30
drawings	23 sheets	28 sheets	numbers unclear	–	83 sheets	50 sheets	123 sheets	79 sheets
ethnographic description	69 pp	139 pp	–	–	199 pp	–	–	196 pp
photos	59	108	332	274	351	284	245	236
film	–	–	–	900/1800 m	3000/4000 m	2500 m	numbers unclear	–

Veps and Estonians: Relations and Attitudes[13]

Northern Veps were quite used to strangers and welcomed the Estonians. This was also the case in central Veps villages where Estonians were known and trusted, as Voolmaa writes (EA 97, pp 128–129).

The same, however, could not be said of the remote southern Veps villages that Estonian ethnographers visited for the first time. In this area, they were often met with a great deal of distrust. Many Veps had been intimidated by the repressions at the end of the 1930s and were still wary of contacts the authorities might consider suspicious. The locals declined to be photographed; they hid in their houses, locked the doors, and demanded documents from the strangers. Often, the southern Veps could not immediately understand the point of the ethnographers' work and activities. Ethnographers had to explain (Tihemets 2015; see also Ants Viires, June 19, 1965).

Once the ice was broken, however, Estonians received a warm welcome. They were offered food, drink, and shelter and allowed to saunas. Veps and Estonian languages are pretty similar, and when the Veps discovered this, they took great pleasure in finding common words and bonding in the process. At times Estonians were even treated as "old relatives" (Tihemets 2015).

During holidays, the Veps drank for days on end, especially the menfolk. Compulsory labor days for the collective farms were carried out in advance to avoid problems (Pedak 2018). This habit dampened the ethnographers' work. It was impossible to obtain reliable data from drunk men, who kept offering vodka and homemade beer, begging to be photographed and talking rubbish.

By returning to the same places over the years, the ethnographers managed to build up good contacts and friendships. At Sodjärv (Sidorovo)[14], where the Estonian ethnographers had a "base camp" for many years, they were almost like locals. The researchers went to parties, visited people, and helped to mend radios and boat motors. There were also romantic liaisons between young Estonian men and the local girls.

The Ethnographers' Land of Fairy-Tale

Following their research themes (material side of traditional peasant culture, ethnogenesis) and general academic outlook, the Estonian ethnographers set out to Veps villages searching for old and archaic things. In her field diary from the central Veps village Järved (Ozera) on July 8, 1963, Aino Voolmaa wrote: "There is plenty of ethnographic material here. It is a fairy tale land. Such antiquities have been preserved here that we will never find in our own country anymore" (TAp 544; see also EA 97, p 129). Ants Viires admired the "ancient ways" of Rebagj (Rebov Konets, June 21, 1965) and noted with some disappointment that in Ijavad (Bakharevo), "one can sense a stronger impact of modern civilization than in the southern villages" (June 23, 1965).

Estonians saw Southern Veps village people as "a kind of ancient community" (Lepp et al., April 2, 1968). People ate from a common bowl, "according the old custom" (Lepp et al., April 5, 1968). The village offered some beautiful scenery "like in an old fairy tale" (August 31, 1969 TAp 575).

The researchers were impressed by slash-and-burn fields, harrows made from halved spruce tops, harvesting with sickles, sledges, sleighs that were also used in summer etc. Field diaries leave an impression that central and southern Veps villages served as a sort of living open-air museum for Estonian ethnographers, offering a glimpse into the past of not only the Veps but also the Estonians.

Thus, Estonian ethnographers had a somewhat idealizing view of the Veps villages. Simultaneously, as cultured urbanites, they saw the contemporary Veps area as a backward rural hinterland. Modern phenomena and more recent (socialist) achievements of the Veps did not interest the Estonian ethnographers. New large cattle farms and kolkhoz (or sovkhoz) houses were seldom photographed. The gradual Russification of the Veps was upsetting to the researchers. Voolmaa noted that young and middle-aged Veps preferred to interact in Russian and sometimes even were ashamed of using Veps. In some cases, the younger Veps marked "Russian" or "Karelian" as their ethnicity in their passport (EA 97, 59–60; Voolmaa 1967, 215). Erika Pedak also recalls southern Veps' voluntary changing of ethnicity in their passports; Estonians discussed it among themselves during fieldwork (2018).[15] Estonians, facing Soviet nationalities policy themselves, felt sorry for the Veps, who were in a much weaker position in the Soviet hierarchy of ethnic units. Estonian ethnographers did not welcome the assimilation of a close-kindred people and the disappearance of their language.

Illustration 2. Toivo Pedak recording a Veps woman. Krasnyi Bor, Boksitogorsk rayon, Leningrad oblast. Photograph by Aleksei Peterson (?), 1967. ERM Fk 1580:81

Work on the Field

Since Estonian ethnographers were primarily interested in the past, they used their ears rather than their eyes (see Dragadze 1978, 66). Participatory observation is of little use when examining the past. The present was of interest only insofar as it contained archaic traits. Thus, informants were picked from among older people who remembered as things were before. An ideal interviewee was a Veps, who was as old as possible, sober, intelligent, and talkative. The interviews could last for hours. Information of interest was written down, partly recorded. The conversation proceeded mainly in Russian, more seldom in Veps (Pärdi 2019). Erika Pedak recalls that Peterson knew

many Veps words and tried to use his rudimentary Veps, as it helped break the ice (2018).

One of the avenues through which the Veps language entered conversation was the Veps names of objects and details that fascinated the ethnographers (Võime 2017) because they were significant for the study of cultural contacts and ethnogenesis.

In 1962–1963, Aino Voolmaa sought to expand the virtually non-existent Veps collection for the ENM, although it was too difficult to transport more oversized items. Her main interest was in textiles and clothing, which were also easier to bring back.

During the 1965 and 1966 expeditions, the collection of objects was not the primary objective, but ethnographers brought back some artifacts of interest received as gifts or found in abandoned buildings. These were primarily tools and everyday items, and some clothes. In the ensuing years, the collecting of artifacts was prioritized and was relatively successful. Over half of the objects were received as gifts; the rest were bought. However, not every item that the ethnographers desired was readily given up, not even in exchange for money. These particular objects were instead drawn or photographed.

Ethnographers wrote down stories of the collected objects and packed them up. Most of them were sent to the museum by post. More oversized items (plows, wagons, sleighs) could not be collected at the time, for it would have been problematic to transport them to Estonia (see Lepp et al.1968, April 2). Furthermore, the museum lacked sufficient storage space. However, the long-term objective, which scholars pursued from the beginning, was to obtain a representative material overview of the traditional Veps folk culture (see Linnus 1970b, 245). Ethnographic objects were seen as research objects, analyzed and used to solve a particular research question. To be sure, these things also served an illustrative and popularizing function and could be displayed at future exhibitions.

The 1966–1969 southern Veps expeditions were noteworthy for recording old and supposedly rapidly vanishing work practices and habits with a camera.[16] Film recording during fieldwork had already been advised by the conference of the ethnographers of the Academy of Sciences in Tartu in January 1957. Although no provisions had been made for the Soviet museums to make films, it was not downright prohibited either.

The significance of ethnographic films was likewise discussed at the Fenno-Ugric congress in Helsinki in August 1965, which Peterson also attended. According to the Hungarian ethnographer, László Keszi-Kovács, the ethnographer's film was as crucial as tape for a linguist. He emphasized the importance of filming work practices and rituals and proposed the foundation of a central Finno-Ugric film archive in Helsinki or Budapest (Hallap, Tedre 1965, 700).

Estonian ethnographers started to use a film camera (35 mm Konvas) in the Veps area in 1966. The primary focus of the expedition was slash-and-burn agriculture. In subsequent years Peterson's crew filmed harvesting with a sickle, grain thrashing with a flail, haymaking, potato planting, letting out and bringing in the cattle, cooking, beer making, people whisking themselves with branches in a bread oven, the building of a dugout, washing laundry, making birch bark shoes, linen scutching and spinning with

a spindle. They also filmed a village celebration in Sodjärv and the Peloo (Pelushi) graveyard. In Soviet academia, spiritual life was a rule, the concern of folklorists and not ethnographers. However, in Veps villages (and subsequently in other Finno-Ugric areas), its aspects were recorded to some extent.

Two films, "The Making of Dugout Boats" (1980) and "Vepsians at the Beginning of the 20th Century," were subsequently put together using the materials filmed in the Veps villages in 1966–1969 (and later).[17]

Illustration 3. Darya Smirnova and Stepan Smirnov are demonstrating threshing. Toivo Pedak is filming. Laht, Boksitogorsk rayon, Leningrad oblast. Photograph by Aleksei Peterson, 1967. ERM Fk 1580:153

Academic Results of the Veps Expeditions

The first three expeditions discussed in this paper (1962, 1963, 1965) were somewhat accidental: the ethnographers simply seized the opportunity and joined the expeditions of linguists and physical anthropologists. There was an interest in linguistic relatives, but at the time, the ENM had no such research topic officially.

Estonian ethnographers, including A. Peterson, attended the Second International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies, held in Helsinki in August 1965. A. Voolmaa was also present. Trips abroad were coveted and perceived as a privilege in the Soviet Union of those times. To travel outside Soviet borders, especially to capitalist countries, Soviet citizens had to pass a thorough preliminary check. For example, A. Viires did not get permission to go to Helsinki this time. His article on land transportation of the Baltic Finns (incl. the Veps) was still published in the congress volume (Viires 1968). It is worth mentioning that Viires refers to the academic literature published in the 1950s and 1960s in West Germany, Austria, Norway, and Sweden there. It is exceptional in the Soviet Estonian ethnography of those decades. It turns out that he had some kind of access to the Western works, probably through the Academy of Sciences. Ethnographers working at the ENM were in a much worse position in this respect. ENM was transferred under the Ministry of Culture's auspices in 1963, and academic activity was not encouraged there anymore. It continued mainly on A. Peterson´s initiative.

Let us turn back to the congress in Helsinki. Other participants included Toivo Vuorela, Niilo Valonen, Kustaa Vilkuna, and of course, Harri Moora. Moora delivered one of the four plenary presentations, titled "Earlier Farming History of Estonians and the Neighboring Peoples." He discussed the development of agricultural technology in detail. Kustaa Vilkuna talked about Finnish plow types (Hallap, Tedre 1965, 698, 700–701). Without a doubt, Peterson listened carefully to these presentations. As for the next congress (Tallinn, 1970), he delved into the history of the fork plow based on his field experience in Veps villages (Peterson 1970b).

The international academic congress indeed served as an inspiration to Estonian scholars, including the ethnographers. They saw that Finno-Ugric peoples and languages were of interest to foreigners, mainly of course to the Finns and Hungarians. However, foreigners were generally not allowed to do fieldwork in the Soviet Union. Therefore, Estonians were at an advantage and made full use of this in subsequent decades. In a way, Estonian scholars could continue the fieldwork tradition of their Finnish and Hungarian predecessors of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

By and large, it was a common feature of Soviet ethnography that regional research institutions were concerned only with their particular region (SSR or ASSR), while the Moscow-based Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences enjoyed the privilege of conducting fieldwork throughout the entire Soviet Union as well as abroad. The trips that the Estonian ethnographers made to the Finno-Ugric peoples were an exception to this rule. It was tolerated, but later on, it became the source of tensions. What ultimately resolved the problem, and what was used later on, was a collaboration with the local, regional museums. Estonian ethnographers lacked such

a partner in the central and southern Veps villages, as the Veps did not have territorial autonomy nor the respective institutions, including a regional museum.

From 1966 onwards, research trips to the Veps area were initiated and arranged by the ENM. It was A. Peterson´s initiative. He has read a recent book by Soviet Russian ethnographer Vladimir Pimenov on the Veps ethnogenesis (*Vepsy: Ocherk etncheskoi istorii i genezisa kul´tury*. Moskva-Leningrad, 1965) and discovered that Pimenov´s arguments had been based mainly on the evidence of archaeology and folkloristics. The material side of the Veps peasant culture has remained almost unstudied, and Peterson saw his niche and mission there. On 21 October 1966, the museum's research

Illustration 4. Village people. Noidal, Boksitogorsk rayon, Leningrad oblast. Photograph by Vello Kutsar, 1968. ERM Fk 1581:510

board discussed the future work plan for 1967–1970. Director Peterson spoke about the increase in the role of Baltic-Finnic ethnography and underlined its international scope (ERM A 1/1/223, p 6). The plan was approved.

This new direction was inaugurated by Aino Voolmaa's article "Observations on Veps Clothing and Women's Craftwork" in the XXII Yearbook of the ENM (1967). Voolmaa's discussion of the Veps women's and men's clothes and the related handicrafts extends to modern times. Nevertheless, it seems that she was more interested in older layers of culture such as the "developmentally ancient" handicraft tools and methods (e.g., the carding bow preserved in places in central Veps villages and spindles used instead of spinning wheels) which were "valuable for solving research questions concerning several other peoples as well" (1967, 216, 236).

The Third International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies was held in Tallinn in August 1970. A significant event took years to prepare for and had a profound impact on Estonian ethnographers. For the Museum of Ethnography, 1970 turned out to be a banner year for Finno-Ugric studies. To mark the congress, the museum organized an exhibition of Estonian folk art in Tallinn's Art Hall. During their trip to Tartu, the congress participants became acquainted with the Museum's work and attended an exhibition on Finno-Ugric folk art, organized in connection with the congress (Ahven 2007, 501–502; ERM A 1/1/223, p 24).

The annual spring conference of the ENM was also dedicated to Finno-Ugric peoples that year. Peterson delivered a presentation on the Veps' primary grain drying methods, based on his recent fieldwork (Peterson 1970c, 9–10). Hugo Puss discussed some old and new things found in the households of southern Veps (Puss 1970).

The XXIV Yearbook of the ENM was also linked to the congress in Tallinn.[18] The volume mostly contained articles related to Estonia, which was fitting since Estonians are also Finno-Ugrians. However, Peterson's paper on Veps barn was primarily based upon the material collected on Veps villages' trips in 1965–1968 (Peterson 1969, 319).

The ENM also published a collection of articles for the occasion titled *Läänemere-soomlaste rahvakultuurist* ("On the Folk Culture of Baltic Finns"). The publication paid tribute to Ilmari Manninen, a man "who had established Estonian ethnography and who consistently emphasized the need to research Baltic-Finnic folk culture" (Linnus 1970a, 5; see also Linnus 1970b, 230–231). In Stalin's time, it would have been unthinkable to acknowledge a "bourgeois" ethnographer in such a way. Times had changed indeed—it had become possible to underscore the continuity of Estonian ethnography and its Finno-Ugric studies.

The collection also includes two articles by Peterson. The first was a programmatic opening piece, "The Tasks of Estonian Ethnographers in Researching Baltic Finns" (Peterson 1970a), while the second, "Supplements to the History of the Estonians' and Veps' Forked Plough," was primarily built upon the material collected during the 1966–1968 fieldwork among the central and southern Veps (Peterson 1970b, 41). As the author put it: "The idea to write this article came about while working with a forked plow on the slash-and-burn field during the southern Veps expedition" (ibid, 59). The history of agriculture and agricultural tools was an important research topic,

Illustration 5. Fedor Saponchikov and Aleksei Peterson (right) talking about agriculture. Arskaht', Boksitogorsk rayon, Leningrad oblast. Photograph by Vello Kutsar, 1969. ERM Fk 1581:41

and several influential academics, including Kustaa Vilkuna and Harri Moora, were dealing with it. Leading scholars shared the idea that the forked plow was a relatively recent borrowing from the eastern Slav or Baltic neighbors (the beginning of the 2nd millennium C.E.). Peterson claimed that this type of plow was closely linked to slash-and-burn farming and had been invented in mainland Estonia at the beginning of the 1st millennium C.E., from where it later spread to the Veps. In particular, he highlighted the substantial similarity between the southern Veps and southeastern Estonian forked plows (Peterson 1970b).

At the congress, Peterson presented ethnic traditions in the Baltic Finnic buildings, including the Veps' material (Peterson 1970d).

Thus, the Third Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies was a success and doubtless inspired Estonian researchers to continue their Finno-Ugric themes. In the next yearbook of the Museum (XXV, 1971), Peterson published his article, "Southern Veps Flax Production," which, again, primarily drew upon the material collected on the 1968–1969 trips to southern Veps villages. Peterson regarded flax cultivation among the Baltic Finns as an ancient phenomenon closely intertwined with slash-and-burn agriculture (Peterson 1971).

Peterson liked to emphasize the antiquity and local provenance of the phenomena examined. He tended to defend Baltic-Finnic creativity against the theories of Slavonic and Baltic cultural borrowings. Perhaps he expressed his Estonian patriotism, and his sympathy to the Baltic Finns in this way.

Conclusion

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Estonian ethnographers have had a permanent interest in Finno-Ugric peoples. After World War II the border, separating Estonians from their eastern language relatives was opened, but Finno-Ugric studies could not flourish due to Nikolay Marr's ideas, which predominated until 1950. The shortage of personnel and the internal confusion within the Estonian ethnography inhibited the revival of Finno-Ugric studies. In the 1960s, the ENM in Tartu, headed by Aleksei Peterson, emerged as the center for Finno-Ugrian ethnography in Estonia. Research trips to eastern language relatives were first undertaken under the initiative and support of linguists (predominantly Paul Ariste) but continued independently.

This article sought to examine Estonian ethnographers' expeditions to Veps villages in 1962–1970. The preferred destination of Estonian researchers was the isolated southern Veps area. It was there that much of the archaisms that fascinated ethnographers (e.g., slash-and-burn agriculture, carving of dugouts, sauna whisking in the bread oven) had been preserved or only recently lost. For Estonian scholars focusing then on ethnogenesis, the Veps villages offered, as it were, a window into the past. These villages' material culture had not been widely researched, and Peterson saw both an opportunity and mission. Old things were disappearing with modernization. Ethnographers had to act quickly to save what they could for science. Thus, they filmed and photographed as much of the Veps traditional peasant culture as they could. They also conducted ethnographic interviews, made drawings, and diligently collected artifacts.

The fieldwork material rapidly reached the academic arena, papers were delivered at international, regional, and domestic conferences, and scholarly articles were published in different languages (primarily Estonian, Russian, and German). The expeditions received vivid coverage in the Estonian media. Newspapers printed shorter and longer stories on the ethnographers' work in Veps villages, and it was discussed on TV too, at least once. There must have been some interest among the audience. The study of linguistic relatives received a positive response in Estonian society because it was associated with the national identity.

The overall impact of those and subsequent expeditions on the Veps themselves is difficult to assess. It is most likely that the visits of the Estonian researchers bolstered their ethnic self-esteem. If the neighboring Russians tended to look down upon the Veps and their language, the Estonian ethnographers studied the Veps for what they were, thereby acknowledging and elevating everything Vepsian, from their ancient peasant culture to the language. Estonians perceived the Veps villages as a sort of Baltic-Finnic fairy tale land, and the participants enjoyed going on expeditions there. They felt that they were doing the right thing, promoting the Estonian cause in a way.

An entire cultural movement sprung up from Finno-Ugric studies in Estonia in the 1970s, including Lennart Meri (President of Estonia in 1992–2001) and his ethnographic documentaries, Veljo Tormis, and his choir music as well as Kaljo Põllu and his graphic art. The highlighting of the Finno-Ugric connections of Estonians offered an opportunity to express one's Estonian identity independent from the Soviet regime (Eesti ajalugu, 2005, 345–350; Kuutma 2005, 57). The expeditions to Veps villages discussed herein, their results, and their responses formed an essential part of the first stage of this Finno-Ugric current in Estonian cultural history.

Estonian ethnography had been an indubitable part of European ethnology in the 1920s-1930s. Links were closer with Finland, Sweden, and Germany. After World War II, Estonian ethnography was made a part of Marxist-Leninist Soviet ethnography, and its contacts with "bourgeois" European ethnology remained very restricted for political reasons, primarily until the late 1950s. Estonian ethnographers had quite intensive, partly forced contacts with colleagues in Moscow and Leningrad and Soviet Baltic republics. International academic cooperation on Finno-Ugric studies, revived in the 1960s, was essential for the Estonian ethnographers (and other humanitarians) as almost the only way to the world outside the Soviet camp. Besides Soviet scholars themselves, most participants came from Soviet-controlled Finland and Hungary, but they had contacts with their western colleagues and could mediate ideas and literature. Occasionally, academicians from the western countries also took part, including some Estonian scholars in exile. It was probably interesting to talk, despite possible initial distrust. "Sovietness" of Estonian ethnographers was often relatively superficial. Estonian ethnography tended to draw people who valued national roots, traditions, and identity. There was quite a lot of continuity in Soviet Estonian ethnography, including its Finno-Ugric branch.

Notes

1 In Estonia, the discipline concerned mainly with the material aspect of traditional peasant culture was called "ethnography" until the 1990s. Its counterpart in Russia and the Soviet Union, with a somewhat broader focus, was also labelled "ethnography." I use the term of the era instead of the present term "ethnology."

2 Estonian National Museum (ENM), founded in 1909 in Tartu, was named the Museum of Ethnography of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences from 1952–1963; and the State Museum of Ethnography of the Estonian SSR from 1963–1988. Initial name was restored then. For sake of simplicity, the abbreviation ENM is used throughout the article.

3 Estonian ethnographers' disciplinary identity has not included Baltic German and Russian scholars´ episodic research on Estonians in the nineteenth century as a rule. Ilmari Manninen (1924, 527), the founding father of Estonian ethnography, has stressed that ethnography was actually a new science in Estonia, created as an academic discipline only in the 1920s. From Estonian perspective, the Finno-Ugric studies mean research of Finno-Ugric peoples other than Estonians. From international (and Soviet) point of view, the Estonian studies form a part of Finno-Ugric studies. (Most Estonians taking part in Finno-Ugric congresses and conferences made their presentations on Estonian topics.) I depart from the Estonian perspective in this article.
4 The book came out also in Finnish (1929) and in German (1932).
5 Paul Ariste (1905–1990), Estonian linguist, a Professor at the Tartu University (since 1949), member of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR (since 1954), Scientist of Merit of the Estonian SSR (1965).
6 Harri Moora (1900–1968) was an Estonian archeologist, a Professor at Tartu University (from 1938–1950), a member of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR (since 1957), a Scientist of Merit of the Estonian SSR (1957). Professor Moora's central role in shaping ethnography in the post-World War II Estonian SSR was due to the fact that all prominent ethnographers had perished or escaped to the West. It should come as no surprise that an archaeologist would deal with ethnography in the Soviet context, for both archeology and ethnography were seen as auxiliaries of history, the task of which was to study the material culture of pre-capitalist societies.
7 Ants Viires (1918–2015) was an Estonian ethnographer/ethnologist. His academic career was hampered by his short service in the German Army in 1944 for a long time (see Viires 2011, 102).
8 *"Вопросы этнической истории эстонского народа"* (Tallinn, 1956).
9 Aleksei Peterson (1931–2017) was an Estonian ethnographer/ethnologist, director of ENM in 1958–1992. Member of the Communist Party in 1957–1990.
10 For the full account of ENM´s research trips to the Finno-Ugrians, see Karm, Nõmmela, Koosa 2008.
11 Including Karelian and Russian villages.
12 Data added from two expeditions made in parallel.
13 The following excerpts until "Academic results of the Veps expeditions" are primarily based on field diaries (TAp 534, 544, 565, 573, 574, 575, 595 and Viires 1965).
14 I prefer to use the Veps place names. Official Russian names are given in brackets.
15 See Jääts 2017 for more on registration of the Veps' identity in the late Soviet Union.
16 For more on film in ENM, see Niglas, Toulouze 2010; Peterson 1975 and 1983.
17 The films were re-issued on DVD by ENM (*The Estonian Ethnographic Film III. Vepsians*, 2015)
18 The publication year in the book is 1969, but in reality, it came out in the summer of 1970, just before the congress.

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Folklore "Outside" the Academe: Tracking and Critically Reassessing Folklore Knowledge in Turkey 1950s–1980s

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Abstract
Keeping a distinct focus on the 1950s-1980s, I critically evaluate the development of "doing folklore" outside the universities in Turkey. Considering two case-studies in detail, I scrutinize the trajectories of folklore knowledge, its functions, and formats in non-academic settings. I argue that the 1950s brought unprecedented changes to the practice of folklore in Turkey. Because of escalating racial/nationalist discourses, folklore at the academe went into an era of silence but bloomed outside university settings. The concentration shifted from "science" to "knowledge," which distinctively emphasized collection, display, staging, showcasing, consumption, and commercialization of folklore genres. All these activities contributed to different folklore milieus yet remained within the indissoluble contours of the nationalist state ideology in Turkey.

Keywords: Folklore knowledge; tracking and tracing folklore knowledge; historical methodologies; development of folklore in Turkey; public and academic folklore

Introduction

In this paper, I will frame my analysis within the social, economic, and political transformations between the 1950s–1980s globally and in Turkey and examine the trajectories of folklore knowledge, its functions, and formats in non-academic settings.[1] First, I will present the precursory activities among the Ottoman-Turkish literati to offer a context to understand folklore's ensuing developments. The Ottoman perspective on folklore presents us with the nationalistic endeavors of a certain cultural elite, who considered folklore activities their national responsibility. These concerns later became in tune with the official ideology of the Turkish State, when in 1914, a distinct group of national ideologues, who understood folklore as collecting and display of national genres, founded the Folklore and Ethnography Department at Istanbul University, which functioned until 1918, until the end of World War I.

I endeavor to demonstrate that after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and with the foundation of the new Turkish State, folklore continued to be an affair of the Turkish Republic, as the activities of several folklore associations strengthened the state's national aims, which continued in the following decades. The academic year 1947–48 was the culmination of the racial/nationalist discourses that impeded the activities of the newly founded *Türk Halk Edebiyatı ve Folkloru Kürsüsü* (Department of Turkish Folk Literature and Folklore) at Ankara University. Along with Pertev Naili Boratav,

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several scholars were accused of propagating communism. Ungrounded claims have resulted in court trials. Boratav was acquitted but the Turkish State cut the department's funding. As a result, its professors and assistants had to leave their jobs.

Interestingly, there was no "coming to terms" with these traumas, but semi-professionals, a certain cultural elite, and bureaucrats presented new claims on folklore knowledge outside the university. Since the 1950s, actors, sites, and sources became more multi-faceted and were constantly re-defined, which gave way to ruptures, endings, and new beginnings.[2] I interpret these developments as the dissolution of more significant claims for accessing cultural resources spearheaded by the new political elite. As a result, folklore became a concern of a heterogeneous group of experts and bloomed outside the academe. Nonetheless, it remained within the indissoluble contours of state ideology, whereby knowledge milieus of "academic" versus "non-academic" after the 1950s became even more blurred.

One can see the new directions in folklore in the post-1950s in diverse knowledge tracks, sites, and formats, which developed in tune with the political processes of the era. To substantiate my claims, I will concentrate on two cases: one institution as a knowledge site; and the other journal as a knowledge format, both of which worked in collaboration with each other and with the political organs of the Turkish State. Certainly, these cases can be multiplied. Among others, one can consider folk dancing, festivalization, and material culture forms that served for tourists and tourism, or attend to a variety of folklore associations and scholarly and semi-scholarly publications to prove similar points. The first case study will treat *Milli Folklor Enstitüsü* (National Folklore Institute), which was set up in 1966, as a state-supported institute and became affiliated with government authorities. It achieved a type of knowledge transfer by outreaching and reorganizing folklore knowledge through collaboration, education, collection, and archival activities. In doing so, social actors involved in its organization also challenged an established folklore canon. The second case will focus on the *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* (Turkish Folklore Research), published between 1949-1980, to which the new cultural elite contributed. As a scholarly journal, it eased knowledge transfer by educating lay and expert folklorists, and, in a way, it "disciplined" applied folklore. Like *Milli Folklor Enstitüsü*, it rejuvenated the folklore canon by publishing field-collected materials and introducing new folklore genres in folk narrative and material culture, as they took important roles in various folklore activities.

By attending to these cases, I aim to show the complex connections of folklore knowledge to the long-standing themes of cultural brokerage, to the fluctuating roles of intellectuals in society. The mediality of specific folklore genres supports close ties to the economy (production), politics (representation and presentation), and society (reception). I am specifically interested in how folklore scholars formed this "new" folklore knowledge, as well as in how it functioned, which genres it represented, and which formats and perspectives it employed. While seeking answers to these questions, I will turn to the role of specific social, cultural, and political milieus in Turkey, which played critical roles in the creation, presentation, and dissemination of folklore knowledge. With various exciting tracks, folklore's development in Turkey, in the post-*Volkskunde* context, is an excellent case to learn from.

Mediation, Formats, Political and Social Contexts of Folklore Knowledge

As the following pages illustrate, political, social, and economic contexts play significant roles in producing folklore knowledge (Aplenc 2010, Slavec-Gradišnik 2010). In the past two decades, folklore scholars in Germany have proven this claim in several studies. They tackled the various aspects of folklore knowledge such as its formats and knowledge milieus (Boie et al. 2009, Franka 2009). For example, they focused on encyclopedias (Fenske and Bendix 2009; Davidovic-Walther, Fenske, and Keller-Drescher 2009) and local monographs as specific knowledge formats (Davidovic-Walther and Welz 2009, 2010; Fenske and Davidovic-Walther 2010; Fenske, 2010, 2011). They aptly explicated the embeddedness of folklore's mediality with the development of knowledge milieus by focusing on the interactions between the actors and sites of knowledge and their impacts on the presentation and learning processes (Keller-Drescher 2017; Boie 2013, Boie et al 2009).

In a similar vein, Sabine Eggmann offered analyses on knowledge as a new discursive plane for disciplinary history writing in Switzerland (Eggmann 2005, 2009b, 2013b). Eggmann and Oehme-Jüngling (2013) also brought together studies by various scholars that explored the relationship between folklore and the greater society. Konrad Kuhn's plea to think about *Wissensgeschichte* (history of knowledge) shed new light on the development of folklore in the post-*Volkskunde* in Switzerland (Kuhn 2016, 2018b). Furthermore, Schürch, Eggmann, and Risi (2010) showed the complexities of folklore knowledge beyond university settings, specifically, in the example of *SGV Sektion Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* (The Basel Section of Swiss Folklore Association). Along similar lines, Bagus discussed the case of *Hessische Vereinigung für Volkskunde* (Hessian Association for Folklore) (2005), whereas Brinkel concentrated on the production of folklore knowledge in former East Germany (2008, 2012), demonstrating that intricate political and historical processes lay in the production of folklore knowledge.[3]

Besides, I find the discussions on public folklore in German and North American folklore traditions prolific, as both scholarships offer constructive ideas applicable to folklore in Turkey. Diverse folklore scholars, on both sides of the Atlantic, have already discussed and problematized the role of folklore, folk culture, and folklorists in modern societies (Bausinger 1990 [1961]; Kaschuba 1988, 2000; Cash 2011; Feinberg 2018; Bendix 1998) in various historical, political, and performative standpoints. Particularly since the 1960s, folklorists in Germany scrutinized the dubious engagement of folklorists in public folklore and criticized harmonizing effects of folklore studies with the regime's ideology during the Third Reich. The political involvement of folklorists embraced critical, self-reflexive viewpoints that successfully countered the arguments on usages of folklore during the Nazi-Era (Bausinger 1999, 145). More importantly, folklorists in German-speaking folklore studies effectively problematized what public, lay, and the expert can be and how these different but interrelated groups communicated their ideas (Bendix & Welz 2002, 1999a, b). Contemporary post-*Volkskunde* scholars in Germany particularly treated, for example, emergent concepts in folklore

studies focusing on "boundary work," "trading zone," and "cultural brokerage," and expounded the complexity and ambivalence of the field (Dietzsch, Kaschuba & Scholze-Irrlitz 2009; Eggmann 2008, 2009a; Burckhardt-Seebass & Bendix 1999).

Folklore practiced in different domains, both inside and outside academe, created heated debates about "applied," "academic," "public," "public-sector," and "state-sector" cross-sections in the US folklore studies. These terms may have different connotations in diverse folklore traditions, in terms of audiences, purposes, and even writing styles (Abrahams 1992a, 1992b, 1999; Atkinson Wells 2006; Bulger 2003; Briggs 1999; Hansen 2019; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988). Discussing various domains of folklore concerning knowledge is essential, as folklore will influence not only what people offer as folklore knowledge but also how, why, and for whom they present a specific knowledge type and format.

If we want to grasp the complex configurations of folklore knowledge in contemporary societies, we need to attend to the issue of "expert knowledge," whereby we can conceptualize folklore's engagement in non-academic contexts as well. The commonly held notion that applied folklore advocates change through the use of folklore materials in social, economic, and political spheres and that public folklore involves the presentation and application of folk traditions *beyond* the communities they originated cannot be accepted at face value as the borders between the two became more porous in the past decades. Numerous scholars directed our attention to issues of representation, ideology, and practice, which remain at the center of our discipline and blur these presumed boundaries (Montell 1983; Bronner 1991; Abrahams 1999; Bronner 2016, 2019; Baron & Spitzer 1992; Baron 1992, 1999; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 2000). One can interpret these differences as divisive lines. They could also impose blurring effects as issues revolve, for example, systematic cultural intervention (Whisnant 1983, 1988) and ideas about the characteristics and the value of folklore (Hansen & Belanus 2020). Folklore scholars in Europe (especially in Germany) and North American tackled these conceptual issues very productively. This framework will help understand the complexities and the ambivalences of the out-of-academic track of folklore knowledge in Turkey.

Pretexts: Folklore in the Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic

The development of folklore in the Ottoman Era and the Turkish Republic should unriddle the development of folklore, first outside the academe, and secondly, within the academe, which is a story of two cesuras. The well-known story tells that, like its counterparts in the global ecumene, folklore in Turkey supported an indissoluble relationship with Turkish nationalism (Başgöz 1972; Öztürkmen 1992, 2005; Birkalan 1995, 2001). An interest in philological and literary sources among the Ottomans appeared in *Tanzimat* (Reformation) Era (1839–1876), at a time when the Ottoman Empire was in decline and seeds of the new republic were being sawn. In this period, various literati discussed many ideologies to save the empire from falling. Turkish nationalism became the new cement for the new Turkish state, signaling an effective para-

digm change from the "Ottoman" to "Turkish." The intelligentsia formed a repertoire by culling examples from folk philosophy and folktales and framed them within a romantic vision of the folk (Birkalan 2000). Some scholars (Tevfik 1914) linked the idea of folklore to proverbs and popular sayings; positioning the ordinary people as the essential transmitters of folk philosophy (Başgöz 1972; Eberhard & Boratav 1952; Birkalan 1995, 2001). The Turkish peasant, *köylü* became the romantic subject of folklore materials. Nationalism envisioned the folk as the quintessence of both the Turkish *peasant* and the Turkish *nation*, aiming to exalt the term "Turk" from its derogative implications (Birkalan 1995, 2001, emphasis is mine). Precisely in those years, the term folklore was introduced as a new "science" under several terms such as *halkiyât* (folklore), "folk-lore" (Köprülü 1914), or *halk medeniyeti* (folk civilization) (Gökalp 1913a, b). These different terminologies also signaled the differences in the scope, usage, and meaning of folklore as a new scientific activity, in a knowledge milieu where bureaucrats, intelligentsia, literary scholars, and national ideologues interacted.[4]

While the non-university settings had been the conventional knowledge site for folklore in Turkey, there is a short-lived history of folklore at the academe, coinciding at a moment of the fall of the Ottoman Empire. After the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, which toppled the ruling Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II, nationalist ideologues, who were also political leaders and scholars, took active roles. An example of their systematized efforts was the professionalization of Turkology and folklore by inviting foreign scholars to Turkey (Birkalan-Gedik 2018). Prof. Gyula Mészáros, a Hungarian ethnographer, Orientalist, and Turkologist, received an invitation to teach ethnography at *the Dârülfünûn* (after 1933, Istanbul University).[5] He became the chair of the Hungarian Language and Literature and taught courses at the *Folklor ve Etnografya Kürsüsü* (Department of Folklore and Ethnography) under *Edebiyat Fakültesi* (Faculty of Letters) between 1915–1918.[6] This period marks World War I when many institutions faced severe difficulties. Thus, several professors went back to their homelands at the beginning of the 1918-1919 academic year (İhsanoğlu 1993, 524). During his service, Mészáros not only taught t folklore on the Turkish and the Turkic peoples (Namal 2014, 622) but also became the leading figure in establishing the Ethnography Museum in Ankara, an institution that presented the materiality of the Anatolian-Turkish culture and set the tone of "national ethnographic research" for the future decades in Turkey (Birkalan-Gedik 2018, 2019a, b).[7]

Here, I can offer a more detailed explanation of the Turkish folklore terms as I will be dealing with the terminology and its effects on knowledge formats in the following sections. Folklore vocabulary developed exponentially: The term *halkbilgisi* can mean the knowledge *of* and *about* the folk, while the compound *halkbilim* means, in mirror translation, "folk(lore) (as) science," which conveys the name of our discipline. Alternatively, various scholars employed the term *halkiyât* but abandoned it because of its Arabic roots. With the westernization processes of the Turkish Republic, the term *folklor* became preferred over the Arabic *halkiyât* (for an interesting study on these terminologies, see Ekici 2000). This gravitation is observable in the first BA thesis on folklore in Turkey, which belongs to a woman, namely Raife Hakkı (Kesirli). She wrote her

BA thesis titled *Folklorun Mahiyeti* (The Content of Folklore) at *Dârulfünûn*-Turkology Institute in 1927 under the directorship of literary critic Fuad Köprülü. Raife Hakkı used *folklor*, the English cognate in her title, not the Arabic *halkiyât,* and dwelled on the contemporary sources of the time that appeared in English, French, and German.

On the one hand, the Turkish state facilitated the development of folklore knowledge under its institutions. In 1920 The Turkish Great National Assembly founded the *Hars Dairesi* (The Bureau of Culture) under the Ministry of Education. The first head of the Bureau, Hamid Zübeyr Koşay (1897–1984) collected folklore materials with schoolteachers and students. Furthermore, *Hars Dairesi* organized archeological excavations, whereby researchers displayed archeological findings along with ethnographic material at the Ethnography Museum (Artun 2017). Folklorists collecting folklore materials from the field was done in the spirit of salvage ethnography. In the end, they communicated folklore knowledge for a larger, diverse audience through their publications and displays they organized at the Ethnography Museum. Hamid Zübeyr Koşay became active again in the post-1950s folklore scene.

Folklore knowledge in this era also flourished in folklore associations and learned societies. In 1927, several nationalist intellectuals joined the *Anadolu Folklor Derneği* (Anatolian Folklore Society), which was founded by sociologist Ziyaeddin Fahri (Fındıkoğlu). The association led many field trips in Anatolia and collected folklore, this time, under the name *Türk Halk Bilgisi Derneği* (Turkish Folklore Society) in 1928 (Birkalan 1995). Its journal *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri* (Folklore News) published, since 1929, a total of 124 issues presenting field-collected folklore materials. Working with the Eminönü *Halk Evi* (in the singular, *Halk Evi*; plural, *Halk Evleri* (People's Houses), the cultural organs of the ruling party in the single-party regime, they aimed to put folklore research into a methodological track (Turan-Karabulut 2013). More importantly, coming from literature, philosophy, and sociology, contributing authors wrote opinion pieces on the definition and meaning of folklore that continued to shape the cultural background of Turkish nationalism. The *Türk Dili Derneği* (Turkish Language Association) shows the embeddedness of knowledge milieus and the interaction between the state institutions and learned societies. The nationalist ideologues, linguists, and historians (Kasımoğlu 2018, 29) collaborated for research and teaching, produced folklore knowledge, and extended their networks and activities to other associations.[8] Furthermore, several other learned societies, particularly the *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearths), which opened in 1912, became the centers of nationalism, using Turkish culture to promote its aims (Üstel 2004).

The Turkish State continued to take active roles in folklore research in the 1930s-1940s as it promoted the *Halk Evleri* and *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes) as centers to generate and disseminate practical knowledge for the peasants. The *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi/CHP* (Republican People's Party / RPP), critical of the Ottomans neglecting the ordinary people, opened *Halk Evleri* as their semi-official cultural organs in 1932 and the *Köy Enstitüleri* in 1940 although experimental studies started in 1937. The elite wanted "to modernize the social relations, to bring an end to poverty and ignorance among the peasants, to create peasant intellectuals, to increase agricultural productiv-

ity, and to help spread the Kemalist Revolution in the countryside” (Karaömerlioğlu 1998, 47). The *Halk Evleri* took important roles to achieve this aim. Similar to the *Narodny Dom*/*Народный дом* (People’s Houses) in Russia that also became popular in Britain in the nineteenthth century, *Halk Evleri* offered a wide-spread, practical adult education in 14 cities with 478 specialization units. They offered courses on language, history, village studies, and technique (Karpat 1963). As such, the *Halk Evleri* was central to folklore research: between 1938-1947, Pertev Naili Boratav and his assistants at the Ankara University collaborated with *Halk Evleri* for collecting folklore. While I interpret this collaboration to have blurring effects on academic and non-academic boundaries, Boratav identified it as “meaningful activities for folklore research” (Boratav 1991 [1939]; op cit. in Birkalan 1995).

An Important Turn in the Production of Folklore Knowledge: Pertev Naili Boratav and Academization of Folklore

Although the disciplinary history does not often narrate the academizing story of folklore and ethnography at the Dârulfunûn, folklore’s career at Ankara University is well-known, at least by now (Birkalan 1995, 2001; Çetik 1998, 2019; Öztürkmen 2005). After many years of collecting and teaching folklore classes within the contours of oral literature, Pertev Naili Boratav finally established the *Türk Halk Edebiyatı ve Folkloru Kürsüsü* (The Department of Turkish Folk Literature and Folklore) at *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi*/*DTCF* (Faculty of Language and History-Geography) Ankara University in 1947 (Birkalan 1995, 2001; Boratav 1982, 88).

In the 1930s and the 1940s, the globally peaking nationalist paradigm also accelerated in Turkey and took strong footholds at the university. Several scholars at the DTCF became victims of escalating racist and nationalist ideologies and endured long trials. Among others, folklorist Pertev Naili Boratav became a target of communist hysteria, which interrupted folklore’s career at the academe, which started and ended in 1947–48 academic-year.

As the Turkish state cut department funding, Boratav left Turkey. He continued his work in folklore from France and liaised his scholarship to an international audience. İlhan Başgöz, Boratav’s assistant at the time, first started to work as a high-school teacher after he left the department. After two years, he was dismissed from this job and had to spend two years in prison. However, after spending eight months in jail, he became free in 1953. In 1960, with a Ford Scholarship, he moved to the USA. Teaching at Indiana University, he became one of the most important authorities of Turkish folklore.

With the departure of these scholars, academic folklore knowledge experienced an essential brain-drain and went into a long silence. Following the closing of the department, folklore became a part of curricula between different departments. Metin And and Özdemir Nutku at the Department of Theater at Ankara University offered courses on folk theater and other performative folklore genres. In the following years, others wanted that folklore finds a suitable home at this university. Folklore’s swing between Turkish literature and ethnology created academic and personal mis-

understandings and led to disciplinary chaos in the following years (Gedik, Özmen, and Birkalan-Gedik 2020). The Department of Ethnology at the Ankara University became a new home of folklore with courses on folk games, folk religion, and folk belief (Erdentuğ, A. 1998, Erdentuğ N. 1982; Birkalan-Gedik 2018, 2019a, b). This constellation is likened to the disciplinary formation of ethnology in German-speaking countries. Sedat Veyis Örnek, an offspring of the *DTCF*, returned with a doctorate in religious studies at the *Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen* (University of Tübingen). He (re)joined the Ethnology Department in 1961 (Erdentuğ N. 1982) and taught folklore courses. Nonetheless, folklore had to wait until 1980, when it cherished a short autonomy under the leadership of Örnek, who passed away, sadly, shortly after the re-launching of the department.

At Ankara University, Boratav and his team published meticulously collected field material with a grounded analysis. Deposited to a folklore archive at the department (Boratav 1942), this type of academic, scientific folklore knowledge formed the core of folklore research in Turkey in the 1930s and 1940s. Boratav's view of folklore went beyond the national impulses, as he approached folklore from a more humanist angle. Boratav offered thorough theoretical perspectives for analysis for the first time, even before some of the theoretical frameworks, for example, the performance approach, became well-known in European and US folklore traditions.[9] I would also argue that Boratav said farewell to folklore canon and canonical explanations that dominated the folklore studies up to this period (Birkalan 2001, 1995). As we have seen, these efforts meant salvaging specific genres before they disappeared and presented a rudimentary, philological understanding of folklore.

Boratav's understanding of folklore was collaborative and encompassed several dimensions, likening to what Marleen Metslaid characterizes as the "co-production" of knowledge in the 1920s and 1930s Estonia (2018). Working with his students and assistants, Boratav stood as an exception in the history of folklore in Turkey: collecting folklore materials with solid methodology, followed by a thorough, critical analysis and vital theoretical perspectives. Thus, folklore knowledge *alla* Boratav presented a novel approach, anthropological and progressive versus philological rudimentary. In a way, it created a disciplinary tension that not only put the earlier work on folklore into question but also the folklore research and publication that appeared in the years to follow.[10] This was a *modus novum* for folklore practice—an effective combination of folklore as knowledge and folklore as science.

After folklore ceased to exist at the university, the Turkish state took charge of folklore research. In addition to the foundation of a national folklore archive, which I will attend in the following pages, several folk-dance groups and culture-tourism-related associations came into existence. Scholars came together and published different folklore journals. Numerous bureaucrats, folklorists, and other intellectuals (not necessarily folklorists) kept a strong network among each other. Throughout time translations and collection-related publications appeared in a variety of knowledge formats. Besides, student folklore associations at the universities represented new knowledge formats for a general folklore audience. These activities blurred the inside-outside aca-

deme categories even more. From the perspective of the history of knowledge, I argue that folklore scholars shifted attention from "studying" folklore to "performing" or "show-casing" it.

Correspondingly, these developments irradiate that folklore knowledge in Turkey carried different notions on folk, folklore, and folk culture under different social and political contexts. In the single-party era, roughly from the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923, until the multi-party period that started with the 1950 elections, the folk symbolized the nation and people, or better, the villagers, *köylü* (Birkalan 2001). The 1950s understanding of folklore knowledge, which exhibited close ties to the economic and political contexts of the time, had a different twist on the term folk to serve the populist aims of the new party. The "folk" became anybody. As a colleague jokingly said, "by opening folklore to the public, folklore was opened to anybody." In the new folklore milieu, folk was not necessarily the producers of folklore. Folk was an integral part of the audience for whom they show-cased the folklore knowledge. Tourists, folk-dancers, those who were involved in the folklore collection activities in the field formed different parts of the concept of the "folk."

Political Contexts and Knowledge Milieus in Turkey: The 1950s-1980s

The political contexts of the time can shed light on the direction that folklore knowledge took in the 1950s. The Turkish State had a single party rule until 1946 when Democrat Party emerged from the Republican People's Party. By the 1960s, the ubiquitous state folklore scholarship created, what I would call, a "consumer-oriented" folklore milieu amid neo-liberal policies. Primarily, nationalism's effects on folklore never faded away. Moreover, the "Left-Wing" revolutionists and "Right-Wing" nationalists, especially in the 1970s, debated and even fought the meanings and popular usages of folklore in everyday life. Both sides equally claimed the term "national culture," but under different vocabularies, and sided with the folk in their unique ways.

Within the larger framework of the Cold-War in global politics, the 1950s in Turkey mark the transition to the multi-party regime. This meant an intense criticism for the Republican People's Party and its cultural organs, *Halk Evleri* and *Köy Enstitütüleri* from the populist *Demokrat Parti* (Democrat Party), which was established in 1946 and came to power in the 1950 elections, illustrates the changing political and economic paradigms under liberalism. Democrat Party, strongly and relentlessly attacking, closed the *Köy Enstitütüleri* in 1947 (Karaömerlioğlu 1998, 68). The Democrat Party continued to criticize the *Halk Evleri* and argued that they and their associates publicized communist ideas. Interestingly, it was, more or less the same discourse that was used against Boratav and his colleagues. Both *Köy Enstitütüleri* and *Halk Evleri* were the two critical cultural-economic institutions of the single-party rule. As Karaömerlioğlu wrote, most leftist-oriented Kemalists considered the *Köy Enstitütüleri* as the embodiment of Kemalist peasantism. On the other hand, the right-wing politicians and intellectuals condemned the *Köy Enstitütüleri* and used them for their political ambitions and to promote an anti-communist hysteria (1998, 48). When all efforts to close the People Houses failed, the Democrat Party found a "solution" to end the activities of

the People's Houses. They confiscated all the buildings that belonged to the *Halk Evleri*. Their properties were handed over to the Democrat Party. In this way, the ruling party put an obstacle to the functioning of *Halk Evleri* without having to close them down in 1951 (Akyol 1996).

These arguments are important to position the folk according to two different discourses. The politicians who founded the Democrat Party employed populist approaches to the long-debated group folk and wanted to claim it as a useful tool for political leverage. More than most, the party leaders felt threatened by the *Köy Enstitütüleri* because "the big landowners until recently occupied a very powerful place in the ruling bloc" (Karaömerlioğlu 1998, 69). The competing ideologies between the above political parties illustrate that the concept of folk always remained central to the idea of the nation in the new Republic, whether it was seen as a means for promoting the ideologies of the "Left" or the "Right."

As we have seen, Boratav and his students collaboratively worked and collected folklore materials with the cadres at the *Halk Evleri*. What was different, then, about that folklore knowledge? The answer might the changing ideological and political perspectives. The 1950s brought about a consolidation of claims on folklore, mostly by the right-wing who emphasized populistic, market-oriented, and liberal politics and catered their understanding of folklore to a heterogeneous group of people. In the following pages, I will detail my argument through two cases: Case of the *Milli Folklor Enstitüsü* (National Folklore Institute) and *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* (Turkish Folklore Research).

A New Site of Folklore Knowledge: Milli Folklor Enstitüsü (The National Folklore Institute)

Whether at the university or outside, folklore knowledge is formed and mediated concerning a society. The folklore associations are good examples of this anchoring (Schürch, Eggmann & Risi 2010; Eggmann 2013a, c). After the closing of the Folklore and Folk Literature Department at Ankara University in 1948, *Halk Evleri* in 1951, and the Village Institutes in 1954, folklore research and teaching became extremely limited. I had asked the question as to why folklorists in Turkey did not correctly react to the case of Boratav (and other professors at the Ankara University). I had also asked about the reasons why the scholars remaining at the universities did not restore folklore at the academe but chose to take folklore outside the university whereby folklore associations and journals continued, albeit in different formats, produced folklore knowledge. This stays not only as a disciplinary but also ethical question.

Certain scholars at the *Türk Halk Bilgisi Derneği* (Turkish Folklore Society) was active in the first years of the Republic in folklore activities, enthusiastically supported the establishment of the *Milli Folklor Enstitüsü*. A group of folklore scholars, who became critical personages, in cultural politics in the country, revived *Türk Halk Bilgisi Derneği* in 1946. As Öztürkmen underlined, even though the association could not be as active as in its first period (1927–1932), it was a center where folklore was not *staged* but *researched* (Öztürkmen 2006, 195, the emphasis is mine). The *Türk Halk Bilgisi*

Derneği organized a meeting in 1955 and agreed to set up a national folklore institute (Baykurt 1976; Karagülle 1999). This group called itself *Yüksek Tahsil Gençliği Türk Folklor Enstitüsü Kurma Derneği* (Higher Education Youth Association for Establishing Turkish Folklore Institute).[11] The members published articles on the necessity of the establishment of a folklore institute under the state in 1964 (Tan 2016, 230). The networking activities of the association gave way to the establishment of *Milli Folklor Enstitüsü* in 1966 to reconsolidate folklore knowledge under the auspices of the Turkish State’s Ministry of Education. Notably, the Undersecretary of Ministry of Education Adnan Ötüken and the head of the *Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü* (General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums) Mehmet Önder became influential in the establishment of the Institute, which also included some academic folklorists, who took dual roles outside the academe.

The institute members were ambitious. For example, they aimed to bring the Turkish and Turkic world together under the popular cartographic praxis of folklore atlases. They concentrated on publishing through other knowledge formats as well. These included folklore handbooks, encyclopedias, monographs, bibliographies, sound discs, and films. Some of the publication and presentation formats were already in use in various folklore traditions yet not in folklore scholarship in Turkey. For instance, broadly speaking, folklore atlases correspond to this category as they materialized and visualized the historic-geographic method. The new knowledge process also envisioned an array of mediality of knowledge: organizing national and international conferences; collecting folklore in the field (the first field trip taking place in 1967); setting up open-air museums for displaying the material forms of culture, establishing a national folklore library, and publishing an academic, international folklore journal. Furthermore, scholars wanted to propagate folklore knowledge to the high schools and higher institutes and the teacher’s schools for supporting national education; and provide scholarship for the study of folklore (Tan 2016, 231–232).

The Institute’s agenda construed that the new folklore scholars wanted to remain contemporaneous in the international arena of folklore scholarship as they aimed to put already circulated ideas in dialogue with the folklore scholarship in Turkey. In that respect, the organization envisioned itself as a sole expert organ to control folklore knowledge. The scholars hoped to be safeguarding an assumed authenticity of folklore materials when they are staged or displayed. These developments are not surprising at all, as several parallels, such as the formation of national folklore institutes in international folklore scholarship already existed. While folklore atlases have fashioned themselves at the turn of the twentieth century as a means to “measuring culture” (Schmoll 2009), the ideas of creating such atlases were just making their way into Turkey in the 1950s and 1960s.

Karagülle details how the *Milli Folklor Enstitüsü* appeared (1999, 24–25). She underlines that a large, heterogeneous group of scholars, including critics of Turkish literature Cahit Öztelli and material culture specialist Mehmet Önder, requested the establishment of a national folklore institute incessantly. Both scholars, who also held their roles as cultural elites, urged the state bureaucrats to centralize and methodize

folklore activities. They discussed these demands in 1955, at the *İstişari Folklor Kongresi* (Advisory Folklore Congress) among a large group of scholars and intellectuals who were active both in the cultural and political scene (Karagülle 1999). These events lead to the establishment of the institute which took place after negotiations.

After the institute became annexed to the Ministry of Culture (currently called Ministry of Culture and Tourism), it functioned under the name of *Milli Folklor Araştırma Dairesi/MİFAD* (The Bureau of National Folklore Research) (1973), *Halk Kültürü Araştırma Dairesi* (Bureau of Folk Culture Research) (1989), and *Halk Kültürlerini Araştırma ve Geliştirme Genel Müdürlüğü/HAGEM* (The General Directorate of Researching and Developing Folk Cultures) (1991) (Kasımoğlu 2018, 34). These name changes, on the one hand, signaled how scholars involved reckoned the scope of folklore. On the other hand, positioning the Institute under different units and with statuses meant to overcome bureaucratic difficulties related to state-funding. After the 1970s, folklore became a topic for academic study, particularly at Ankara University. In this period, the Institute maintained tighter relations and facilitated more academic collaborations and was handed over to the Ministry of Culture, which was established in 1971 (Tan 2016, 234).

With this name change, scholars favored the term "folk culture" as they thought it conveyed what they would have otherwise called folklore. By using the term "folk culture" and only evoking "folklore," they kept a distance from "folk- dancing," a term which was used by folk-dance groups, thus, narrowing the scope of folklore only to a specific genre. As Öztürkmen already showed (1997, 2003), the term folklore had limited usage. Starting with the 1950s, it referred to "dancing folklore" (*folklor oynamak*) among the emergent folk-dance associations and groups. Nail Tan, one of the former directors of the National Folklore Institute, also mentions that *folklor* meant folk-dancing, and this made the job of the institute a little difficult (Tan 2016, 233). Interestingly, among the laypeople, when pronounced as "*folklör*" it meant folk-dancing; pronunciation as "*folklor*" (mind the /-ö/ versus /-o/) meant the name of our discipline. Besides, by opting for folk culture instead of folklore, the founders privileged folk culture, a term that also included ethnography. Konrad Kuhn speaks of a similar case in a Swiss example, whereby folklore scholars saw "folk culture" as a "resource" between scientific and public implications (Kuhn 2016). For the Turkish case, "folk culture" referred to a larger corpus of genres other than folk-dancing. It also spoke to the aims of the group of folklorists, who wanted to research the living aspects of folklore and connected it with the term "ethnography." At the same time, the cohort of experts at the association distinguished themselves from folk-dance groups, who were amateur folklorists. Otherwise, earlier, "folklore" in the title meant for a focus on the oral or intangible aspects of the "national culture" while "ethnography" referred to material culture.

In my view, resurrecting folklore studies in academia could have been another and equally effective possibility for the future of folklore. We do not have much-published research on the dynamics between the remaining folklorists at the academe and those who introduced non-academic tracks. But these scholars approaching the state illus-

trates not only the new scope and function of folklore, whereby they envisioned a new public to which they can cater the new folklore knowledge, but also how they endowed folklore with economic and political power. "Catering folklore" here meant out-reaching, marketization, popularization, and exhibiting cultures. The term public may have different connotations in different political, cultural-historical settings, as the public engagement of professional folklorists and amateur researchers may display different national and political implications. Folklore's public in Turkey included teachers, folklorists, literary critics, and material culture specialists, expanding the porosities among different publics even more.

The linguistic and political implications can complicate these terms and their boundaries. The difficulty can be partly due to the meanings that "public" folklore takes in different national contexts. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett reminded, one cannot translate "public folklore" as "*öffentliche Folklore*" in German because it sounds awkward (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2000, 1–2). She communicates that a wide variety of social and cultural concerns and commercial popularization of folklore might be at stake. Particularly, she is concerned about how the Nazi ideology exploited folklore for its cultural-political aspirations—a *völkisch* past.

Similarly, we cannot translate "public folklore" as "*kamusal folklor*" in Turkish because it sounds awkward, too. The word for the public is *kamu* in Turkish, and, interestingly, the establishment of the National Folklore Institute developed under public administration, which we can broadly define as the public-sector. The political relations, not necessarily the ones Kirshenblatt-Gimblett alludes to, are also at stake. Like what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett observes (2000), the Turkish language presents no terms that would adequately translate "public folklore." Folklorists in Turkey do not speak of "*kamusal folklore*"–what would have been the mirror translation of "public folklore." Instead, there is a growing interest in "applied folklore" among folklorists in Turkey, whereby the term "*uygulamalı halkbilim*" (applied folklore) emerged as a part of the ongoing discourse in cultural heritage since the 2000s, when books on the topic started to appear (Oğuz et al. 2014, 2019).[12] The term "*uygulamalı folklor*" (applied folklore), can blur the distinction of aims and ends between public and applied variants. Besides, although folklorists have been in the public for a long time in Turkey, "*uygulamalı folklor*" became a part of folkloristic vocabulary only by the 2000s, due to the involvement of folklorists and ethnologists in the field of intangible heritage.

The term "*devlet folklorcuları*" (state folklorists) may refer to folklorists who work under the Turkish state, for instance, taking jobs at the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and in their sub-organs. They serve to folklore research either in the collecting, presentation, or preservation activities. In that sense, the term "state folklorist" comes closer to the generally accepted notion of a "public sector folklorist" in the context of US folklore who may work at the local, state, or national governments (Hansen 2020). But the state folklore in Turkey is different from "public folklore," in the USA. Furthermore, while in the USA, funding from the public sector will limit the scope of what a folklorist can accomplish; this may not be the case for Turkey, as the folklorists working in state folklore institutions act as contractors of the state's vision of what folklore and folklore knowledge is. This type of work serves the aims of the state, who takes political economy as a basis for folklore and folk culture.

A New Format of Folklore Knowledge: Türk Folklor Araştırmaları (Turkish Folklore Research)

Folklore experts can take important roles in communicating a specific type of folklore knowledge to the public through different knowledge formats. Folklore journals, encyclopedias, and handbooks particularly stand out culturally and politically mediated formats (Fenske 2011, 2010 (Fenske and Bendix 2009; Green 2010, Dreischner, 2009). The texts and para-texts are trackable in the case of folklore journals in Turkey, which started publishing after the 1950s, as the Turkish State landed generous support for folklore publications.

For example, in 1956, during the Museum Week on 6–14 October, the *Türk Etnografya Dergisi* (Turkish Journal of Ethnography) published its first issue, under the support of the *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü* (Ministry of Education the Office of Antiquities and Directorate of Museums) which played a vital role in the establishment of the National Folklore Institute.[13] Other comparable journals in folklore research include *Türk Kültürü* (Turkish Culture), the journal of *Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü* (Turkish Culture Research Institute), starting its publication in 1962. Other journals that lasted a landmark in folklore publishing is the *Folklor Postası* (Folklore Post), which Kemal Akça and İhsan Hınçer published between 1944–1946. Folklorist İbrahim Aslanoğlu started a journal in 1973 in Sivas, *Sivas Folkloru* (Folklore of Sivas), which published only three issues. Aslanoğlu continued its publication in Istanbul between 1979–1987 in 7 volumes as a yearbook called *Türk Folkloru* (Turkish Folklore).

In addition to the regional journals which presented folklore materials from different regions, another journal that affords comparison is Boğaziçi University's journal *Folklora Doğru* (Towards Folklore). In 1969, *Türk Folklor Kulübü Basın-Yayın Komisyonu* (Turkish Folklore Club Press Release Commission) of the Robert College started publishing the and motivated other university publications on folklore. In 1973 *OTDÜ Halkbilimi Topluluğu* (Middle East Technical University Folklore Association started its journal.[14] However, unlike the protagonists of *Folklora Doğru*, who formed a homogenous group, the protagonists of the *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* came from diverse backgrounds:

Not only folklorists but intelligentsia, who were broadly interested in folklore, contributed to the journal. The cadre included authors with formal or informal training in Turkish literature and folklorists and ethnomusicologist with connections to the People's House and their journals, or with earlier publication experiences. Among the contributors were historians and linguists and award-winning novelists, short story writers, ethnologists, Turkish literature teachers, and pedagogues. The readers of the journal came from broader areas such as schoolteachers and local literati and bureaucrats. Some authors published methods for collecting folklore in the field for the teachers (Ataman 1949), making this "new" folklore format available to, for example, the schoolteachers for pedagogical purposes. It was the kernel cadre at this journal who communicated folklore to the state organizations and plead for help for setting up a national institute.

Especially a young generation of scholars worked on folklore journals that appeared in Turkey in the post-1950s (Çevik 2015; Alıç 2016; Albayrak 2012; Atmaca 2015). These studies, however, remain very descriptive and do not necessarily analyze journals' relation to folklore knowledge and knowledge formats. On the other hand, Regina Bendix reminds us that since the eighteenth century, journals have spread new social, political, and scholarly ideas and that by the nineteenth century, increasingly differentiated between audiences (Bendix 1998 98). She further renunciates that "folklore, linked to emergent nationalism and questions of heritage and preservation, appealed to the specialist as well as to the broader public." (Bendix 1998, 99). The *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, too, brought together specialists and the broader public and blurred the borders between its audience and contributors. The journal appealed to the specialists, high school teachers, and even novelists as well as to the broader public to enlarge the scope of folklore and present the collections of folklore enthusiasts from different regions in Turkey. Articles in the journal mostly considered the collection and presentation of the material without a thorough analysis but aimed to highlight that certain folklore materials exist in Turkish folklore. Bringing several folklorists under one roof, the Journal was launched to coordinate folklore research activities and to "professionalize" folklore outside the academe. Founders argued that there was no methodologically sound folklore research besides what has been presented in the *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri Mecmuası* (The Journal of Folklore News), *Ülkü* (Ideal) published by the *Halk Evleri,* and *Folklor Postası* (Folklore Post) (Hınçer 1949). Interestingly, other journals also claimed to "organize folklore research under one roof" or "methodize folklore research through publications" to remain in the publication business.

İhsan Hınçer worked as the founding editor of the *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, who published this journal monthly between 1949–1980. The journal sustained itself through some limited subsidization from the Turkish State and the advertisements that it accepted from private firms. Already in the second issue, the editor underlined that it is the publication of *Türk Folklor Derneği* (Turkish Folklore Association) (Albayrak 2012), an association that led to the establishment of folklore research under the Turkish State's organization.

Published through three decades, *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* followed a particular form and program of defining, arranging, and standing for folklore knowledge. It became a great depository for a broad collection of folklore genres that went beyond the folklore canon of the time. Also important was that the *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* maintained a "newsletter" section that informed its readers under *Ayın Olayları* (Monthly Events). It communicated important announcements on folklore symposia, seminars, meetings, festivals, and folk-dance contests. Throughout the years, a section on the book reviews and very few translations appeared.

Nail Tan thought that the *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* "founded a folklore school on its own" (Tan 1995, 69; my translation). Mostly, it textualized and described folklore forms and offered them for lay and semi-academic, and throughout the years, academic audiences. The publication period of the journal *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* covered three decades when there was no folklore department in Turkey, but folklore classes

were taught mostly in the Turkish Literature Departments or at the Department of Theater at the Ankara University. In that respect, in the first years, the journal had a readily available cadre related to the *Türk Halk Bilgisi Derneği* or relied on the expert knowledge that came from these departments. Besides, at least in the earlier years, scholars who wrote at the journals of People's Houses (1932–1951) also contributed to the *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*.

A critical discourse analysis of and meta-texts that the journal published reveals the dynamics of knowledge production in folklore when formally there was no folklore department in Turkey. Published before the "impact factor era," its editorial board worked selflessly. It presented folklore knowledge parallel to the demand of its audience, who also formed a significant part of its authors. In the end, it popularized and centralized folklore knowledge and folklore genres for a broader audience, changing the direction of folklore from folklore as a scientific endeavor to a popularized understanding of the term.

Having perused a considerable number of articles in the journal, I argue that the scholars treated folklore theory as a concern of academia. The scholarly writing styles of the published articles were reminiscent of essay-writing with minimized footnotes and no bibliographies. In that sense, it is plausible to argue that the *journal* had contributed to documenting "regional" folklore and presented genres that folklorist previously did not consider in scholarship. The regions from which scholars collected field-materials, included Konya (as the founding editor was from the city), as well as Istanbul, the Taurus Mountains; folk groups included nomads and villagers in Anatolia and those in the Balkans, Central Asia, and Cyprus, also aligning itself with the political conjuncture. The journal also claimed a wholistic view of folklore, expanding its generic scope and making claims on the "Turkish heritage and tradition" (see Gündoğan 2018 for an index of articles).

The *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* maintained strong ties to the establishment of the *Association for Establishing Turkish Folklore Institute* in 1964 (initiated by a handful of university students) and the publication of the journal *Folklor* (Folklore), and the subsequent establishment of the National Folklore Institute in 1966 under the auspices of Ministry of Education under the leadership of Cahit Öztelli. While in three decades, contributing authors to the journal changed, most of them supported close relations to the bureaucrats and politicians took decisive roles similar to cultural brokers as intermittent between society and the state and interfered how folklore is to be communicated to the larger public, making use cultural and economy-politics of the state and governments.

The *Milli Folklor Enstitüsü* and the *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* worked towards expanding the generic scope of folklore, as they introduced non-canonized, material culture genres such as folk costumes and folk art and architecture in their programs. A critical characteristic of the *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* was how it employed folklore knowledge concerning genre. Folklore was taken in the broadest sense and referred to as "folk culture"–embracing verbal and material and genres from dance to folk theater. Another turning point was that folk dance and folk music, which had

importance in the Turkish Republic's earlier years (see Ekici 2003; Öztürkmen 2003), came to the folklore picture again. It is important to note that folk dance became a strong competitor for the already recognized, canonical genres, such as *hikâye*, the folk romance. Likewise, Türk Folklor Araştırmaları showed and encouraged an interest toward other, "minor" folklore genres. The genres presented in the journal included but were not limited to, the canonic, to the so-called major *hikâye* (epic/romance) and *masal* (folktale) genres as well as non-canonic "minor" genres, e.g. folk songs, lullabies, folk sports, folk sayings and the like.

Moreover, *Milli Folklor Enstitüsü* took active roles in the folklore publishing industry and published new knowledge formats, such as bibliographies and annotated bibliographies, and other essential folklore references for researchers. As such, this period not only signaled a shifting focus on folklore genres against the backdrop of discussing what folklore includes but also and what it does. Folklore scholars collected, studied, and presented folklore for diverse publics, such as state-supported festivals and museum organizations. The post-1950s folklore "under the state" became a version of "applied" folklore. I am aware of the connotations of "applied" and "state" folklore in different national settings. Let me suffice to say that the Turkish version of applied folklore is a stumbling block between real politics and disciplinary responsibilities.

Conclusion

The social and political changes after the 1980s brought insurmountable challenges for finding frameworks for studying and meaningfully analyzing folklore forms. Particularly the military coup affected the study of folklore both inside and outside the academe, as the nationalist paradigm in all disciplines become more intact. The *Yükseköğretim Kurulu*/YÖK (The Higher Education Council), became the central body to oversee the university affairs. It also framed and safeguarded the national(ist) principles especially in the humanities and social sciences. Since the 1980s, some of the few folklore programs, mostly under Turkish Literature, limited themselves to the study of folk literature. They widely understood it as folklore and followed the footprints of nationalistic literary critics. More importantly, scholars, who became active in the non-university folklore activities, supported networks with universities and paved the way for the re-academization of folklore in various university departments in Anatolia. In this way, the academic folklore knowledge counted on the former widespread knowledge of folklore.

Starting with the 1990s, a handful of young researchers with diverse academic backgrounds and research agendas joined the folklore programs in the US. They saw the framework of the US-folklore studies as both novel and desired to understand the complexity of cultures in Turkey and engaged themselves with more modern, emergent forms and performances of "traditional" folklore genres. Returning to Turkey in the late 1990s, they started jobs in history, anthropology, political science, and cultural studies, whereby they actively contributed to "interdisciplining" and "internationalizing" folklore. The 1990s presented further social and political transformations, which

became challenges for these folklore scholars. Visual and digital media rose. The state lifted the monopoly on media and allowed the broadcasting of private radio and TV channels. The long state-supported despotic secularism clashed with the hegemonic, state represented Islamic fundamentalism. Fervent debates on feminism, ethnicity, and human rights also presented new possibilities for the study of folklore. The newly established folklore departments at the Turkish universities, on the other hand, for the most part, continued to follow the "nativist" approaches of certain folklorists and took the advantage of 30-years-long out-of-academia folklore knowledge for academic folklore studies.[15]

I have vivid memories of the 1996 American Folklore Society Meeting in Pittsburgh, PA. I participated as a seasoned graduate student at the Indiana University Folklore Institute. I saw the heated debates on folklore's name and other suggested terminologies. Ilana Harlow in her plenary "What's in a Name?" questioned the usability of the term folklore within the framework of folklore's assumed crisis. Regina Bendix called attention to the expanded scope of the discipline and underlined that "Folklore will not do justice to this enlarged task, no matter how many modifiers we add to it" (Bendix 1998, 235). I discussed the case of North American folkloristics with my mentor Henry Glassie. We compared it with the case of folklore studies in Turkey. I remember telling him: "What could be a more useful term than folklore in Turkey? You can play it, dance to it, teach it, and sell it!" alluding to the "performed," "commercialized," "marketed" trajectories of folklore knowledge. Now, please read my words more than a *Witz*. True, folklore in Turkey became useful outside the university. It received high visibility and usability from all kinds of public—tourists and tour leaders, festival organizers, and brokers alike. But precisely because of this reason, folklore scholars faced great challenges teaching folklore at the universities (Çobanoğlu 2001). While folklore studies in the USA experienced a different type of crisis, the 1990s folklore scholarship in Turkey tried to overcome the under-representation of academic folklore and reductionist ideas about folklore being all about folk dances. This was possible via what I would call a "time fuse." Here I mean a specific type of internationalization, which I can characterize by folklorists turning their eyes to the North American folklore studies. Interestingly, both liberal and conservative folklorists used internationalization strategies effectively.

I do not mean to undermine the activities involved in the folklore scholarship in Turkey. On the other hand, folklorists in Turkey already offered the development of folklore in different historical frameworks and paradigms (Yıldırım 1994, 1985; Çobanoğlu 2001). Celebrating the 100th year of the first article on folklore in Turkey in 2015, articles appeared in journals *Milli Folklore* (National Folklore), *Folklor/Edebiyat* (Folklore/Literature) on this occasion. Scholars evoked again the years-long companionship of nationalism and folklore (Ersoy 2013) that dominated the framework of evaluation of folklore studies. Others dealt with prominent issues such as cultural politics (Ekici 2015), or the problems folklore face in Turkey (Tan 2013, 2014). Besides, the younger generation of folklore students and scholars became attuned to the institutional developments (Tepeköylü 2017) and folklore publishing (Çevik 2015), or

practice of folklore in different institutional settings (Çek 2017). Some of them even predicted a destiny for folklore’s future in Turkey (Durmaz 2018). Indeed, the future trajectories of folklore in Turkey can follow different courses as a part of a dynamic society and politics. But these treatments can mean, at best, a celebration of “localist” terms, to borrow the term from Michael Herzfeld (2003).

My paper aimed to situate itself within the global and local political/disciplinary contexts of folklore knowledge. The state-nationalism appeared as the central, non-circumventable framework that folklore historiography in the country exhausted the most. However, contrary to the expectations, the post-1950s folkloristics did not deal with coming to terms with a nationalist past. The folklore knowledge grew ad hoc in academic and non-academic settings, owing to a great deal to their entangled histories at Ankara University. While nationalism has been the primary framework that framed folklore studies, we need a perspective change to make sense of the developments after the 1950s in Turkey. In my paper, I tried to examine various aspects of folklore knowledge, which proved itself as a promising effort. A thorough discussion on folklore in Turkey should address knowledge sites, formats, and milieus in the past. My first plea is that folklorists in Turkey move away from the already exhausted frameworks and attempt to consider the multifaceted aspects of folklore knowledge and its diverse publics, which can open new perspectives. Wolfgang Kaschuba (2013) reminds us that folklore knowledge is bounded with “turns” and “tunes,” referring to the historical character of folklore knowledge. A perspective that treats folklore knowledge in Turkey in its historicity is both desired and necessary. Such de-centering will be a stepstone in the history of folklore scholarship in Turkey.

Notes

1 I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Konrad Kuhn and Magdalena Puchberger for organizing the panel at the SIEF 14th Congress in Santiago de Compostela, Spain, in 2019 and for taking the initiative for publishing our papers. I also thank two anonymous reviewers and the Cultural Analysis editorial team for their thoughtful comments and efforts towards improving my manuscript.

2 The case of folklore in Turkey in the post-1950s needs to be situated in a greater, comparative, and international frameworks that would, for example, include the impact of the Cold War, the new right-wing, UNESCO, neo-liberalism, and the Bologna process that left, and continues to leave long-lasting imprints on ethnological disciplines in the world. Aware of the impact of these and other landmarking events and initiatives, I could only discuss them selectively.

3 The way that certain folklorists handled notion of “history of knowledge” creates an important nuance in these works that goes along with the criticism that German cultural anthropologist Stefan Beck offered on the “older” style of thought. Beck argued that it is as responsible for the scientific vision of the discipline as for the partial blindness towards the social phenomena that seemingly ignored the theories of knowledge and sociology of knowledge (Beck 1997).

4 Literary folklorist Fuad Köprülü, besides being a political leader, bureaucrat, and cultural

broker, was a member of the Turkology Institute of the Istanbul University, which was opened in 1924. Köprülü became an authority, especially in folk literature and a leading nationalist in the 1930s. Ziya Gökalp, a Kurd himself from Diyarbakır, came to be known as the "father of Turkish nationalism." Gökalp also wrote many articles on methods of collecting folktales, but also more on theoretical side of folklore, for example, tackling with concepts such as folk, culture, and civilization.

5 *Dârülfünûn*, the older name for Istanbul University, means "the house of sciences." It was an important institution in the Ottoman Empire. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Atatürk implemented a university reform in 1933. Important to note is that German and Jewish scholars who fled from the Nazi regime found refuge in Turkey and started teaching at the Istanbul University. With the establishment of the Faculty of Language and History-Geography in Ankara, German and Jewish scholars, overall, contributed to the boosting of academic and scientific knowledge in Turkey.

6 Having received his education in Turkish literature at Istanbul University, Gyula Mészáros returned to Hungary and studied with Ármin Vámbery. He came back to Istanbul and became the head of the Hungarian Language and Literature Department. He kept warm relations with the Turkish nationalist of that time, forming sympathetic ideologies towards Turanism. As a pseudo-historical ideology, it assumed a common origin of all Turkic peoples, namely, Finno-Ugrians, Mongols and Manchu-Tungus, Turanism affected Turkish nationalists at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was prominent among certain Turkologist, to whom Mészáros also belonged (see Namal 2014 for more on Mészáros).

7 After his death in 1938, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's body was mummified and temporarily kept in this museum. Fifteen years later, it was transported to the newly built mausoleum of Anıtkabir in Ankara.

8 The nationalist ideologues and intellectual elite, who published articles on nationalism, Turkish literature, and folklore, established the Turkish Language Association during the Second Constitutional Period (1908) These scholars included, among others, Yusuf Akçura, Necip Asım (Yazıksız), Veled Çelebi (İzbudak), Rıza Tevfik (Bölükbaşı), and Agop Boyacıyan who made a reputation in folklore studies.

9 As I write this part about Boratav, I recall my visit to his home in Ivry-sur-Seine in 1994. Pertev Hoca, at that time, told me in detail how he collected minstrel tales, especially from Sabit Müdamî (1914–1968), a well-known folk poet in the Anatolian narrative tradition. Boratav conveyed that during his military service in Kars, a city in eastern Turkey, he had invited Müdamî to tell stories, "in a friendly manner," as they sipped their tea together. Müdamî told stories, as Boratav wrote Müdamî's stories in Ottoman-Turkish, which functioned like short-hand because of its Arabic orthography. This was prior to stenographic inventions. Boratav's *Halk Hikâyeleri and Halk Hikâyeciliği* (1946) deals with the *hikâye* tradition in Turkey. The theoretical framework of this work is based on the performance theory, long before the theory came to the US folkloristics.

10 Currently, I am working on a revision on Boratav's case in the folklore studies in Turkey. More information can will be available in my forthcoming article that revisits the case of Pertev Naili Boratav.

11 Changing its name to *Milli Folklor Araştırmaları* (National Folklore Research) in 1965, and to *Folklor Kurumu* (Folklore Institution) in 1972, it conducted activities until 1972, when the General assembly of the association opted for *Folklor Araştırmaları Kurumu* (Folklore Research Institution) for its name.

12 It is interesting that the discussion on public and applied folklore came to the folklore landscape in Turkey only in the past few decades, although folklore scholars engaged with the

public, at least, since at the end of the Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic. Folklorists collaborated with laymen, villagers, and literati, thus blurred, what we call today expert and lay knowledge. Unfortunately, the first work cited here brings together translation of several articles that formed the public folklore debate in the US, without any critical comments on different national contexts. The second book deals with the role of folklore in the larger contexts of globalization but does not problematize the case of public or applied folklore terminologies and their applicability for the Turkish context, either.

13 Between 1956–1997, this journal published, albeit irregularly, twenty issues in the fields of ethnology, folklore, and ethnography under the directorate of Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Education, and the Prime Ministry’s Culture Office.

14 The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (American Board) founded Robert College, an English-teaching higher education institution which became Boğaziçi University in 1971. In this year, the name of the folklore club was changed to *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Folklor Kulübü*/BÜFK (Boğaziçi University Folklore Club), which published the journal *Folklora Doğru*. The first 24 issues were published monthly, while the issues between 25–44 were published bi-monthly and the issues between 45–58, tri-monthly. The journal published two issues per year (issues between 59–63). Issues afterwards were published irregularly (see Atmaca 2015).

15 The 2008 American Folklore Society Meeting in Louisville, Kentucky became an effective platform to discuss our individual experiences of studying folklore in the US and its impact in our studies as we returned to Turkey. Our panel, “Between European Ethnology and American Folkloristics: Rethinking New Directions in Turkish Folklore, organized in two sessions, brought valuable experiences of fellow colleagues.

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Against the "Aversion to Theory": Tracking "Theory" in Postwar Slovenian Ethnology

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Abstract
As elsewhere in Europe, disciplinary transformations of ethnology and folklore studies in Slovenia were embedded in the changing political and social map after the Second World War. In the postwar years, sporadic reflections on the discipline's academic and social position anticipated the search for a new disciplinary identity. The first attempts to reconceptualize "folk culture" as a building block of ethnological research and the use of the name "ethnology" instead of "ethnography/Volkskunde" in the 1950s also reflected the approaching of "small national ethnology" to "European ethnology." Only in the 1960s and 1970s, radical epistemological and methodological criticism anticipated the transformation of the disciplinary landscape. The article tracks paradigmatic shifts in the field of tension between empirically oriented and theoretically grounded research. The former regarded "theorizing" as superfluous or the opposite of "practice." It more or less reproduced the "salvage project" and the positivist model of cultural-historical and philologically oriented research. The new agenda proposed a dialectical genetic-structural orientation that advocated for a "critical scholarship." It insisted on the correspondence between the discipline's subject and the empirical reality that reflects the sociohistorical dynamics inherent to culture and everyday life. It introduced "way of life" (everyday life, everyday culture) as a core subject of research that expanded research topics, called for new methodological tools, revised affiliations to related disciplines, recognized discipline's applied aspects, and addressed the re-reading of disciplinary legacy.

Keywords: ethnology; history of ethnology; theory; methodology; Slovenia

Introduction

I began my studies of ethnology in the mid-1970s at a relatively small ethnology department in Ljubljana. A seemingly clichéd saying of the older of the two professors Vilko Novak (1909–2003) was "you get to know the discipline best by studying its history." At the beginning of a new course, he spent a few weeks familiarizing students with scholars involved in research on prominent ethnological topics and their work; we ended up memorizing long lists of authors and titles in almost all European languages. The younger of the two professors, Slavko Kremenšek (1931), later my mentor and supervisor, was the initiator of something my generation experienced as a disciplinary revolution that began in the early 1960s. He started most of his lectures in media res: he would present a specific topic or problem by critically discussing it in terms of epistemological and methodological controversies. Thus, I was challenged by

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two differing and competing (but coexisting) styles of thought, teaching, and practice in ethnology: a more traditional and a contemporary one. Both had their merits and shortcomings. I accepted them without knowing some of the essential tools available at the time, such as the analytical distinction between the otherwise consistent historicist and presentist approaches (Stocking 1968). Moreover, I did not reflect more deeply on the fact that they represented not only two styles of conceptualizing the history of the discipline but also differing models of knowledge transfer—i.e., teaching and communication with students, styles of discussion—as well as a different academic and personal habitus. They delineated, above all, different visions of the discipline.

These experiences were the formative background of my interest in studying developments in Slovenian ethnology. Today, I find the terms changes, transformations, and shifts more apt than development. Namely, research on the history of science and the individual disciplines reveals different perspectives on how scientific knowledge unfolds. Is it characterized by linear progression or a change of paradigms (in terms of Thomas Kuhn's scientific revolutions), by evolutionary stages, or by epistemological breaks that separate the pre-scientific (ideological) from the scientific (Bachelard, Althusser)? Or, are its paths more complex and crisscrossed and identified with innovations, but also with standstills, dead ends, obstacles, and detours? It is distinctive for the humanities and social sciences that new theoretical frameworks, concepts, and interpretations summarize and illuminate the knowledge already acquired. Above all, they open new avenues for understanding and reflecting on new problems arising from the complexity of the human world. Metaphorically speaking, theories are "a coral reef, where the living corals literally build upon the achievements of their deceased predecessors" (Eriksen 2017, 60). In this sense, knowledge production is a cumulative process, although the "rhetoric of discontinuity" (Darnell 2001, xvii) often dominates its interpretations. Furthermore, in postmodernity, the pluralism of concepts and methods shapes the topography of knowledge. It is implausible to imagine that a single research model or research program can dominate the entire disciplinary field.

My research on changes in Slovenian ethnology started in the late 1980s and was influenced by current debates on the relationship between ethnology and anthropology. This entanglement was not novel, as it raised new issues, postulated new agendas, and agitated our scholarly community in much the same way as the debates in the 1960s. My research aimed to examine the disciplinary landscape in the twentieth century from the perspective of knowledge production in a "small national ethnology," and it was informed by comparative European perspectives and the newly introduced anthropological orientations. It also reflected on diverse disciplinary legacies, their practitioners, the institutional building and institutional agendas, ties with related disciplines, delimitations of the research subject and research methods, and the delineation of ethnology's scope and aims (Slavec Gradišnik 2000). Furthermore, this perspective acknowledged the common constructivist understanding of disciplinary history as a field of continuous re-writing, re-positioning, and re-evaluation of past knowledge, as an ongoing dialogue between the discipline's present and past, and the future as well.

A Comment on the Title

The term *theory* may sound pretentious because its meaning in the humanities does not overlap with the strictly scientific definition of the term. Instead, it involves the formulation of generalizing statements that "describe and explain" individual cases or a "general idea that can be applied to many specific instances or particular cases" (Salzman 2001, 1; cited in Muršič 2011, 163). The theory is needed to addressing problems in a discipline and dictates its methodological orientations; it frames researchers' perspectives, shows them suitable research lines, and provides them with instruments for empirical studies (Muršič 2011, 163–164). In this respect, theories are building blocks because facts become meaningful when defined and organized within a theory as a coherent set of conceptual and pragmatic principles that provide a general context for the research field.

In this article's context, one can also refer to the original meaning of the word *theory*: observation—typical of the essential research practice of ethnological fieldwork, including a broader sense of observation (Sera-Shriar 2016, 1–20). The latter primarily comprises desk-research practices, such as studying reference literature, collecting other sources, and various analytical methods (e.g., classifications, comparisons). Observation in the narrower and broader sense depends on *what* the researcher is interested in (the research question(s)) and *how* (the methods) she or he intends to present and explain the research problem. Observation is the core of humanist epistemology, constituted by the specific interest in human matters and the unique relationship between the researcher and the researched, which depends mainly on the observation point. No eternal principles and laws govern "human matters": Aristotle already noted that things in this sphere might be seen from many angles. The human world is not a homogenous field, and therefore, according to Giambattista Vico, the topical (old, "humanist") method is best suited for it. In addition to a homogenous field, the principle (or law) of non-contradiction and consistency with evidence is crucial in science. In contrast, in the humanities, "facts" are contested, relative, and depend on the interpretation schemes that are not necessarily evident (Močnik 1990, 227–230).

Following this line of argumentation, ethnology is not a highly formalized and structured, conceptually precise, and methodologically rigorous discipline. Its scope may be represented by what in ethnology and folklore studies is referred to as "middle-range" (Wiegelmann 1991) or "meso-level theorising" (Macdonald 2013, 7). Dorothy Noyes (2008, 2016) proposed the term "humble theory" that "informs and is informed by ethnography and practice. It addresses how- rather than why-questions: the middle ground between lived experience and putative transcendent laws" (Noyes 2008, 37).[1] Accordingly, the term *theory*, in short, stands for the quest for new concepts and methods or self-reflexive knowledge production: "[H]umble theory recognizes that all our work is essay, in the etymological sense: a trying-out of interpretation, a provisional framing to see how it looks" (Noyes 2008, 40).

It is not only about the distinction between the "scientific" and "interpretative" approaches, the nomothetic and ideographic methods, or the strict application of deductive versus inductive procedures, which are intended to distinguish the "proper"

sciences from the humanities and, to some extent, the social sciences, but also about the development of science as a whole and of individual disciplines. From this perspective, theoretical and methodological reflection in European national ethnologies only took on a more explicit and delimited form in the decades after the Second World War. The shifts can be traced back to several factors, particularly to the disciplines' academic and social position and their disciplinary legacies. Besides, international links between national ethnologies in Europe and the more intensive dialogues with social and cultural anthropology played a significant role. Not least because of the diversity of national professional traditions and changes on the political map, these general processes took place in a localized manner.[2] Also current was the assumption that historically and philologically oriented national ethnologies ('ethnography' or German *Volkskunde*) in Europe, as well as folklore studies, understood as a specialist field,[3] contributed only a few theoretical concepts (Hultkrantz 1967; Haring 1998; Noyes 2008)[4] and lacked a comparative scope (Kuper 1996, 192).

If we relate this fact to a highly generalized ideological characterization with virtually no basis in evidence and context, Slovenian ethnology may also be labeled a "small national ethnology." This characterization suggests "a central and east-European provenance," where national ethnologies "are nothing other than an expression of romantic national movements and small-nation statism" and are held

> to be predetermined to exhaust themselves in inventing (if not forging) a national culture, codifying its corpuses, sublimating dialects into literary languages, determining the boundaries of ethnic territories, etc. For this reason, they are not scientific. At times, it is also presumed that ethnologists from that part of Europe lack any theoretical background, belong to no intellectual traditions; they may be imagined as sheer anti-intellectual populists. It is further presumed that they are interested only in their own gemeinschaft, therefore indifferent to any other culture. (Baskar 2008, 65)

From a theoretical and methodological perspective, Slovenian ethnology in the first half of the twentieth century distinctly relied on the methodologies used in other disciplines, especially the study of languages, literature, art, history, archaeology, and geography (Novak 1956; cf. Slavec Gradišnik 2010a, 2013, 2019). This practice was rooted in a two-layered understanding of the concept of culture (i.e., high vs. low culture). At the beginning of the twentieth century, academic specialization contributed to the academic institutionalization of the disciplines, notably at the university: literary studies dissolved into a study of *belle-lettres* or literature in the narrower sense on the one hand and oral literature on the other; the former was appropriated by literary history, the latter was reserved for folklore studies.[5] Even before the Second World War, folklore studies began to draw closer to ethnology and, in particular, its cultural-historical school founded on diffusionism,[6] which also dominated studies of material and social culture. Locally specific was the academic marginality of ethnography (Sln. *narodopisje*);[7] the late institutionalization of ethnology at the University of Ljubljana bears witness;[8] there, professional education only began after the Second World War.

The fragmented field of ethnological knowledge was one of the first challenges

immediately after the war: it required institutional consolidation and self-reflection on the part of researchers, which took place in parallel. The world of folk culture—the subject that distinguished ethnography from other disciplines—dissolved before the researchers' eyes.[9] Reflection on this process was also differentiated, taking into account the discipline's past and science policy (cf. Balaš 2018). Researchers' personal trajectories and their different academic habitus—immediately after the war, the sparse professional core in Slovenia consisted of researchers with a limited ethnological educational background—can explain why, despite the new political system and ideology, there was no sudden radical change in ethnography.[10]

In the following decades, views on the discipline were the subject of broad and intense discussions. The first and far-reaching step was transforming the disciplinary landscape, which manifested itself in disciplinary self-reflexivity and created a vibrant interinstitutional and intergenerational culture of discussion. From today's perspective, this may be more important than the criticism that "(especially Slovenian) ethnology (as it seems) has neither its own (albeit 'adopted') theoretical corpus nor (perhaps) thoroughly clarified methodological premises" (Muršič 1994, 12).

This article debates researchers' views on the discipline, especially from the 1960s to the 1980s, when discussions on "theory and practice" were most intensive.[11] It observes the disciplinary landscape in terms of the attitudes that researchers expressed through their understanding of theoretical and methodological problems. These are, of course, only one cognitive dimension of the broader "structure" of the discipline.[12] The argumentation of Alan Barnard in the study of anthropological theories is very similar:

> I have toyed with arguments for regarding anthropological theory in terms of the history of ideas, the development of national traditions and schools of thought, and the impact of individuals and the new perspectives they have introduced to the discipline. I have ended up with what I believe is a unique but eclectic approach, and the one which makes best sense of anthropological theory in all its variety.
>
> My goal is to present the development of anthropological ideas against a background of the converging and diverging interests of its practitioners, each with their own assumption and questions. (Barnard 2000, ix)

The terms *theory*, *theoretical orientation*, *theoretical perspectives*, *theoretical dimensions*, used in this article refer to a coherent and reflective view of the discipline composed of questions, assumptions, methods, and evidence (Barnard 2000, 5).

In keeping with the focus on "fear of theory," the material used in this article are texts that explicitly address theoretical questions in the form of comprehensive outlines of crucial disciplinary cornerstones. These texts are of central importance in shedding light on the well-founded critique that aims at an imperative transformation of research practice. This choice in material does not imply that other writing genres or other sources that can confirm disciplinary transformations (articles and books on various topics, personal communication, diaries, letters, etc.) are not relevant. Their theoretical focus, however, is in some way in the background, implicit or hidden, i.e.,

they are less explicit in the discussion of "what" and "how" a group of professionals does or should engage in (Slavec Gradišnik 2000, 19–22).

The term *aversion* points to the reluctant attitude towards theoretical issues expressed by the majority of Slovenian scholars from the 1940s to the 1970s, who prioritized concrete research tasks without explicitly backing them up with theoretical and methodological statements—or only sporadically.[13] They considered "theorizing" as something superfluous, or even more: as the opposite of practice or something that hindered them or squandered time when it was still possible to capture in the field what, in their opinion, was relevant material.

Positivist Ethnography: What and Where is Theory?

The attitude of Slovenian ethnologists towards theory and somewhat less towards methodology (in the sense of a set of methods) was expressed almost symptomatically by not using the term *theory*. The Slovenian ethnographic bibliography for the years 1945–1950 (Novak 1951) did not even contain a "theory" section (it could be located under "General publications"), nor did the bibliography for 1951 (with a supplement for 1945–1950; Jagodic 1954). On the other hand, it would have been very unusual for researchers not to have a framework or corpus of premises to study, explain, and present their research field. The "absence of theory" had more to do with empirically conceived research primacy: priority was given to a positivist approach to empirical data.

This sort of emphasis was by no means a unique Slovenian feature, but a characteristic of ethnography and folklore studies in general, which are predominantly[14] the study of cultural phenomena in the context of local or national cultures. The ethnographic paradigm, with its emphasis on ethnicity[15] (or the 'national'), was a rescue mission to salvage what was disappearing against the backdrop of modernization. Working with ethnic meanings (encapsulated in a people and/or a nation) as well as structures of permanence and the elemental brought stability to a changing world with its friendly coloring and a tendency towards social, cultural, and ultimately ideological homogenization, achieved through the nationalization of culture (Köstlin 1994; Löfgren 1989, 1990). For this political and ideological project, the relatively loose concept of cultural history, in which assumptions of evolutionism and diffusionism overlapped, and the positivist methodology of historical-geographically oriented comparative studies seemed sufficient. Scholars uncovered the origin, evolution, and distribution of individual cultural phenomena and their typologies (e.g., of vernacular architecture, folk art, oral literature) using the comparative method to varying degrees. The emphasis on the social context was relatively exceptional.

The combination of external factors mentioned above (weak institutional background, lack of a critical mass of researchers, and personal continuity) and characteristics of the discipline itself (ethnography as a historical discipline; the predominant romantic ideological basis; the main subject—folk culture—defined in terms of a two-layered cultural typology and based on distinctions between high and low culture or civilization, urban and rural areas; the descriptive definition of folk culture; and the

positivist method) also reveal aspects of a "spontaneous philosophy of scientists" (Althusser 1985) located in the burning controversies between science and ideology.

In the interwar period, the first comprehensive review of Slovenian ethnography appeared (Ložar 1944a),[16] confirming and problematizing the practice, which did not require a systematic and continued self-reflection but relied on generally accepted findings. The editor's essay, titled "Ethnography, Its Essence, Tasks, and Relevance" (Ložar 1944b), and the first historical review of Slovenian ethnography (Kotnik 1944) framed detailed chapters on individual cultural elements.[17] Ložar's preface was received both positively and negatively, both at the time of the book's publication and later.[18] The first reviewer observed that the author "clarified many terms that were not always clear even to ethnographers themselves" (Bohinec 1944, 119). A few decades later, subsequent reviewers noted that the work represented "the first theoretical examination of the tasks and methods in Slovenian ethnological research" (Novak 1985, 197). They considered that the thoughts of the author's predecessors were "either unconnected or without any theoretical depth, which in Ložar's case was at the level expected of Central European ethnology at the time" (ibid.), and that was "already from the outset a systematically conceived contribution to the theory of Slovenian ethnology" (Stanonik 1988, 59).

The above is only conditionally valid, for from the text we can only deduce how Ložar saw the "theory".[19] He defined *narodopisje* ('*Volkskunde*, ethnography') as a discipline that studies the people[20] and the forms of its culture. However, for ethnography, it is not the people who create a high culture that is relevant, but an "ethnographic people" or "folk" that produces a specific—folk culture. "The man whom ethnography explores and who is its main subject creates almost the same cultural values as a man of high culture, just differently" (Ložar 1944b, 8).[21] Differently, because the folk lives in communities (*Gemeinschaften*) that follow the principles of tradition; folk's spiritual life is connected with nature, and the folk is not familiar with the problems of civilized people: "In short, […] a man of the folk [is] a man of *nature* and a man of the nation is a man of *culture*" (Ložar 1944b, 9). In the modern world, *rural folk* (peasants), "who are the only ones that have preserved the prehistoric ethnological character of the former bearers of culture, while in other social strata it has already completely disappeared" (Ložar 1944b, 11), best preserve these characteristics. Ložar relied on the three-layered structure of culture introduced by Wilhelm Schmidt;[22] the lowest stratum "from the pre-literacy historical period of the people" is the most important for ethnography" (Ložar 1944b, 10). Ethnography studies the folk based on its "external image" or "cultural forms." Ložar analytically classified these forms into material, social, and spiritual culture (Ložar 1944b, 13), referring only to those cultural strata that are still connected with prehistory and are characterized by "irrational creativity," "typical beliefs," and a solid attachment to community and tradition. Due to the influences of civilization, all this is most subject to disintegration. In turn, the urban population and its culture have not developed organically, but are a product of the "mechanical and civilizational laws" of modern life and are therefore of no interest to ethnography. Ložar attributed "social and national goals" to ethnography: ethnogra-

phy shows social, ethical, biological, and cultural values that are the driving forces in the life of folk or nation, and brings back the "organic culture of the old folk world" to "modern humanity" (i.e., "a mass of modern cities and metropolises", Ložar 1944b, 20).

From Ložar's antiquarian perspective, ethnography was a historical discipline – in line with the understanding of the term prevalent among historians and archeologists. He saw the most significant dilemmas in deciding whether to prioritize studying a folk or its cultural forms (i.e., folk culture).[23] The recommended method was founded on a systematic and exhaustive collection of sources (if there were no sources, they would need to be reconstructed), and their interpretation had to be consistent with the facts. He understood "interpretation" as "giving meaning," which locates facts into "logical and genetic relations," and as being capable of "understanding folk psyche" and analyzing form and content—i.e., typologically (Ložar 1944b, 15). Among the essential methods are comparisons with neighboring areas and cultures based on accurate chronological and spatial data. Finally, the synthesis depends on the "character, meaning, and goal set by the ethnographer" (Ložar 1944b, 15).[24]

Ložar, of course, must be credited with ambitious efforts to consolidate the subject and define its methods and goals. However, in many respects, the ethnographic practice has already outstripped Ložar's conception,[25] even though *narodopisje* retained the characteristics of "peasantology" ("peasant studies", Germ. *Bauernkunde*).[26] Above all, Ložar's conceptualization had nothing in common with the postwar reality of life. It did not correspond to the newly propagated Marxist scientific goals of contributing to "building our homeland" (Orel 1948a, 5). Thus, academic rhetoric had to change, albeit more in words than in deeds: political ideology required a reflection on how "ethnography and folklore" can also benefit society as "a science that explores the cultural formations of our folk in their laws of development" (Orel 1948a, 6). Therefore, ethnographers highlighted their contribution to "political and cultural reeducation […] of the folk" and "general cultural progress" (Orel 1948a, 5), as well as the need to make up for "missed ethnographic and folkloristic works" and to replace their random character of research with systematically planned organization and thoroughness.

This shift in rhetoric was evident, for example, in activities plans of the Ethnographic Museum (Orel 1948b) and the Commission for Slovenian Ethnography established in 1947 (Kuret 1972), the practice of monument conservation (Orel 1948c), and the safeguarding of material in Slovenian museums. The main points to be deduced from these plans are: ethnographers failed to revise the concept of folk culture; methodological tools and procedures underpinned scientific standards;[27] methods substituted theory, following the generally accepted opinion that ethnography is a distinctly empirical discipline. The director of the Ethnographic Museum, Boris Orel, argued that "complete material collected in the field is already half of the success." To reach "objective scientific conclusions," he recommended that "the correct scientific method" be used to study "all characteristics of folklife"—"one must master the method of dialectical materialism" (Orel 1948a, 8). He saw this method—or rather, methodology—as a tool for achieving the goals of "ethnography and folklore as a historical dis-

cipline," which should reveal "the laws of the material essence of society and explain its spiritual life based on an understanding of its material development" (Orel 1948a, 8). However, his reference to dialectical materialism did not express a comprehensive reflection of scientific ideology or the Marxist understanding of science. He referred to the widespread declarations of the new society's goals, to the orientation of concrete social practices, and, as far as the research itself was concerned, above all to its applied and systematic facets.[28] Even with frequent mentions of the method used, ethnographers essentially did not distinguish between the methods of material collecting and the methods of explanation; priority was given almost exclusively to the former, without considering that "creating collections is not an innocent form of representation" (Anttonen 2005, 52). It was the pattern of a "collecting science"[29] and at the same time the design of traditional science. One of its features was that whoever sufficiently grapples with the particularities and details of any subject (subject area) also arrives—more in a kind of intuitive insight than by formal inductive reasoning—at structural connections that can then be formulated from established principles; that is, that such a leap is born with sufficient experience.

Given the need for disciplinary reflection, such a practice was only problematized in the 1950s. The philologist and ethnologist Vilko Novak, an assistant professor at the university, addressed the two-headed character of the discipline.

> In both the Slovenian and the other Yugoslav specialist literature, too little attention is paid to theoretical questions about the essence, tasks, and methods of ethnography. […] Although the work itself is most important, without clear bases the work is not possible and cannot be correctly oriented. It is the lack of theoretical debate that is responsible for so many incorrect views on ethnography. (Novak 1956, 7)

Novak's thoughts arose from university education's needs and his familiarity with contemporary European ethnology (for more on this, see Slavec Gradišnik 2019, 43–48). He discussed questions and answers on this topic in his article "On the Essence of Ethnography and Its Method" (Novak 1956). Because of the terminological confusion with the Slovenian and international names of the discipline, he proposed the uniform term *ethnology*,[30] taking his clue from international debates. The intention underpinning this uniform designation was to blur the discipline's descriptive ("ethnographic") and generalizing aspects as well as the epistemologically flawed separation between the study on folk cultures in Europe and "primitive" cultures outside Europe: "[K]nowledge of ethnological theory and systematics, as well as knowledge of primitive cultures [is] an inevitable complement in the complex study of European or regional ethnology" (Novak 1956, 9). Studies on 'primitive' and European cultures also share the same object of research: "a man as a cultural being and the content and form of his culture" (Novak 1956, 9) or, in a somewhat broader definition: "The task of ethnology is to analyze and conduct genetical-comparative research on the cultures of primitive peoples and the folk culture of civilized nations, on the basis of which it can determine the general principles of the development of human culture" (Novak 1958, 3).

From today's perspective, this definition reads anthropologically—that is, as a comparative study of cultures, emphasizing the origin and development of a particular culture and the contacts between different cultures in the past and present (cf. Slavec Gradišnik 2000; Muršič 2010). Novak's legacy also includes the understanding of the concept of the *folk* in a social and psychological sense; the emphasis on the functionalist method, which highlights the relationship between people as carriers of culture and their culture, and the interdependence of individual phenomena within the cultural structure; and the expansion of the subject of ethnology to modern cultural phenomena and processes.

Contours of a Theory in Practice

Novak's reflections belonged to a period when the ethnographic paradigm had served its time, or, to put it another way: "Whenever ethnological thinking moved away from fundamental social issues, it fell into crisis" (Kremenšek 1980, 17). Embedded in the new epistemological and methodological framework was precisely the need for correspondence between the subject of the discipline and the empirical reality to which it refers. From Ložar's perspective on folk culture, this correspondence was minimal. After Ložar, ethnologists did not deconstruct the folk culture concept; however, they conceived it in less antiquarian terms—preserved rural culture and not just a sum of prehistoric relics. After Novak's intervention, it was no longer possible to substantiate its specific features solely by the systematic study of folk culture as a sum of cultural elements, without considering people as the bearers—or, in today's parlance, as producers and consumers—of culture.

In the 1950s and 1960s, many European ethnologists were critical of how folk culture was conceived and studied. Clear evidence of this criticism is the watershed book *Folk Culture in the World of Technology* by Hermann Bausinger (original in German 1961, English translation 1990), which also proposed a different historicity concept. In Slovenia, discussions along these lines paved the way for a different delimitation of ethnology. Slavko Kremenšek[31] addressed two levels of historicity: that of the subject itself and that of methodology. The main question was whether folk culture was merely a phenomenon of the past or also of the present. The predicament expressed itself in the simplified dilemma of whether ethnology is a historical discipline (i.e., a discipline that studies the past) or (also) one that explores the present. Folk culture was thus the crucial epistemological obstacle in Bachelard's sense.

Kremenšek provided a new reflection on the concept of folk culture. He argued that ethnology's predominant line of questioning is ahistorical and wrapped in a vague image of community and tradition (Kremenšek 1960a, 13); folk culture is an antiquarian concept, essentialized in principle and reified in practice. In his article on ethnography and historiography, Kremenšek highlighted the following points: 1) the successful development of any scientific discipline, including ethnography[32] as social science, depends on inductive research and the degree which theoretical thought has reached; 2) research must follow scientifically reliable "conceptual and methodological principles"; and 3) the refinement of scientific theory results from concrete research,

which is in turn inevitably connected to the development of theoretical premises—a dialectical and non-hierarchical relationship exists between the two (Kremenšek 1960b, 7). Theoretical treatises should be supported by historical evidence, because each discipline "depends on the current state of social development and solves the questions posed by life" (Kremenšek 1960b, 7); therefore, their epistemological goals and research orientations change. This line of thinking resonates with the idea that "knowing what and how we know is a practical, not just a theoretical, problem" (Fabian 2012, 439).

In ethnology, it is impossible to tear folk culture out of the socio-historical context (Kremenšek 1960a, 13; 1960b, 9). In this context, criticism pointed at the cultural-historical and psychological conception of culture, which blurs its social foundations. According to Kremenšek (1960b, 11), ethnography explores "historical developments among the broadest folk strata within an ethnic unit," including "material living conditions, relationships, and a wide range of forms of social consciousness typical of broad sections of the population." A research field defined this way complements historiography[33] by exploring "human society in all its manifestations." From an epistemic perspective, studying the present is part of a continuous socio-historical process that undoubtedly makes the entire ethnological undertaking historical. From a historical-materialist perspective, it is impossible to advocate any particular ethnology of the present. However, it is necessary to include in the ethnological horizon all the social groups and milieus that previously did not form parts of it, such as workers' culture and culture in cities and industrial settlements (Kremenšek 1961, 8).

In defining ethnology, Kremenšek avoided folk culture[34] or controversial views on it, ranging from the outdated strata-based definition[35] to equating it with the mass culture of the present.

> Ethnology is […] a specialized discipline of a historiographic character that focuses on everyday, customary, or typical cultural forms and contents of the everyday life of those social strata and groups that give a specific character to an ethnic or national unit. (Kremenšek 1961, 7)

Historically—epistemologically and methodologically—oriented ethnology does not risk losing its object of research.[36] At all times and adapting to economic, political, and social circumstances, people try to make ends meet; they live somewhere, dress, eat in a certain way; they are actors in the social fabric, have their faith and their fun. Kremenšek was genuinely interested in the correspondence between the broader historical and social process and the micro-level of everyday life or the chronologically and spatially informed complexity of different population groups' lifestyles.[37] Following Novak, he spoke about ethnic and national groups in general: this provided space for comparative and not only regional interests and a dialog with general ethnology. His arguments were theoretically firmly anchored in international debates (Kremenšek 1962, 1963, 1964b, 1966, 1968a).[38] From this perspective, ethnology in Slovenia was explicitly internationally oriented and informed, while field research concentrated on Slovenia. Research "at home," familiar with international debates, was a general fea-

ture of national ethnologies in Europe (cf. Čapo 2019) that was later often equated with methodological nationalism (this was one of the reproaches by the advocates of the anthropological shift almost three decades later). From Kremenšek's viewpoint, however, lifestyle or way of life and culture were defined by a material basis and social structure rather than ethnic affiliations. In Slovenian ethnology, it was necessary to examine these processes and characteristics first in the local and national context.

When discussing contemporary ethnological theory trends (1962), Kremenšek blamed European ethnography for being an assemblage of positivist, often nationalistic, and even politically biased ethnographic traditions. The way out of crisis pointed at diverse routes, just as there were unique tracks of development in different countries: they differed in their methodological orientation and their extra-professional motives (i.e., in terms of political and ideological bigotries).[39] He observed a commonality in the tendency for a unified study of European and non-European peoples' culture. Still, the fusion into a single discipline did not yet resolve divergent ideas about its subject matter. In this respect, socio-cultural anthropology had no problem since it did not deal with folk culture and folk character (cf. Bendix 1997). Kremenšek outlined the definitions and studies of folk culture that moved from the paradigm of *vulgus in populo* or the search for primordial culture and its relics, to a more socially or psychologically conceived folk character, thus expanding the field of research to all social strata of the population, including the present.[40] Epistemologically decisive in this context was the shift from cultural elements to people who enact their lifestyles in specific relationships to cultural phenomena. For the newly defined subject of ethnology, he proposed a genetic-structural methodology, which he considered the most appropriate for studying the entanglements and interdependences of all socio-cultural phenomena in any historical period (Kremenšek 1961, 7).

In his dissertation (Kremenšek 1964a), he pursued these questions even more thoroughly: his study of daily life in the suburban workers' settlement of Ljubljana (see also Kremenšek 1968b, 1970) was a pioneering ethnological urban research in Slovenian and Yugoslav ethnology and comparable to studies of worker and (sub)urban culture carried out abroad.[41] Kremenšek pointed at the conceptual inadequacy of folk character, community, and tradition, and at intolerable polarities urban vs. rural, past vs. present. His study expanded the subject of ethnology, placed the individual as the "bearer" of culture in the foreground by using the concept of lifestyle at the level of everyday life, and opposed the focus on individual cultural elements detached from their historical and social context. Without this frame, it is impossible to understand (folk) culture: it has to be seen as a process in the perspective of functionally and structurally intertwined cultural phenomena. In other words, folk culture is not an autonomous cultural structure, but a specific and dynamic structure in a *longue durée* socio-historical process; it has coexisted and interpenetrated with the culture of the nobility and the bourgeoisie since feudalism and has contributed to the existence of "high culture," above all through economic exchange between the rural and urban settlements. For this reason, and ultimately because of the extensive disciplinary practice and expert discussions[42] triggered by the new theoretical and methodological orienta-

tions, Kremenšek (1973, 123–124) later reintroduced folk culture into his definition of ethnology, using both concepts—"way of life and folk culture" (Kremenšek 1983).

The first Slovenian textbook on general ethnology (Kremenšek 1973) was also essential for ethnological theory. The work offered students a general theoretical framework for understanding regional ethnology (i.e., in Europe and elsewhere) and an in-depth presentation of ethnology as a scholarly discipline. It included an introduction of the "the basic concepts and premises"[43]; chapters on the history of ethnology from Classical Antiquity to contemporary trends in European ethnology and US (up to neo-evolutionism), British and French anthropology, and Soviet ethnography; contemporary theoretical principles; the systematization of cultural development; cultural elements and lifestyles; and ethnological sources and methods. This handbook was excellent reading material for students for many years. It demanded a uniform understanding of regional and general ethnology and encouraged students to study both Slovenian and international literature on the one hand and conduct their research on the other.[44]

Challenges of the New Research Program

The new research program—to use Imre Lakatos' term—was distinctively historical (Muršič 1995). However, not everyone understood it in the same way as its proponent. Older folklore specialists, in particular, believed that the redefinition of the research subject represented a complete turn to the ethnology of the present, labeling it "ethnosociology." It was a profound misunderstanding. Opponents denounced superfluous theorizing and argued that it "paralyzes research," "that our discipline will sink in quicksand," "that it is just easier to theorize than do strenuous fieldwork" (Kuret 1966), that theorizing is detrimental to the urgent study of folk culture, which disappears before the researchers' eyes. It was undeniable that certain specialists in "traditional" ethnological subjects (e.g., narrative and musical folklore, festivals, and rituals) did not feel the need to revise the well-established practice of documenting and analyzing traditional culture. Their detailed thematic research succeeded in preserving a research niche and coexisting with the reformed concept of ethnology. Their scholarly value has been recognized in favorable assessments, especially in recent decades when interest in cultural heritage research has increased significantly.

The "new" ethnology confronted research practice with more questions and dilemmas than immediate answers. The fact that research and its self-reflexivity are parallel processes became apparent in the steady search for answers to several questions: it was still necessary to problematize positivism; to provide arguments for the ethnological study of the present; to reflect on what the elements of culture–traditional and new–reveal about people; to assess the methodological particularities between ethnology and folklore studies; to critically review and re-read the history of the discipline; to consolidate the status of ethnology in museums and monument protection institutes[45] as well as among similar fields in the humanities and social sciences, and ultimately to address the relevance of ethnological knowledge for society in general.[46]

Kremenšek's vision outlined new themes and locations: local (urban, suburban,

rural) culture, workers' culture, the everyday life of various territorial, occupational, social, and other groups, migrations, and ethnic issues. In the 1970s, two major research projects were launched, involving many professional ethnologists and enabling students to gain professional experience: the "Ethnological Topography of Slovenian Ethnic Territory" and "The Way of Life in the 20th Century." Project researchers prepared ten sets of questionnaires for thematic and methodological orientation. They included presentations of "old" and "new" topics, topical references, and questions to aid fieldwork.[47] This formed the basis for many books and eighteen topographical studies dealing with the processes of cultural change in Slovenian municipalities.

Conclusion: Theory in Slovenian Ethnology in Retrospect

In the decades before the Second World War, the theoretical basis of ethnographic research was poorly articulated, but this does not mean that researchers could do without theory. It was adopted from other disciplines and from cultural-historical ethnology, and it was suitable for investigating the origins, development, distribution, continuity, and disintegration of cultural elements in ethnic and comparative terms. In the first postwar years, when the discipline was compelled to adapt to new living and academic conditions, its systematic research program across all Slovenian territory aspired to fill blank fields of previous research. Moreover, its descriptive character and positivist methodology resulted from a firm recourse to the disciplinary legacy and the absence of novel approaches. "Do not theorize, do research" was the leading and persistent motto. It is possible to identify an innovative aspect in more systematic and organized practice and more diversified research methods. Ethnographers accepted methods rather than theory (cf. Grand Theory 2008). However, at that time, ethnography was "traditional" or "positivist" in the sense of a "spontaneous philosophy of scientists." In addition to its extra-scientific element,[48] scholarly common-sense depends on three hypotheses that are intrinsic to science: 1) the belief in real, external, and material existence of the *subject* of scientific research; 2) the belief in the existence and *objectivity of scientific findings* on this subject; and 3) the belief in the accuracy and effectiveness of scientific research procedures or the scientific *method*, which is capable of producing scientific findings (Althusser 1985, 92–93).

The turning point agenda introduced in the 1960s and 1970s was based on a thorough deconstruction of the discipline's subject (which is dynamic, variable, and dependent on the specific interests of researchers in different periods); it took into account the researchers' worldview bias and recommended the use of the dialectical method. The objective of the key protagonist, Slavko Kremenšek—to study past and present ways of life through which individuals and groups deal daily with large-scale processes––was grounded in his personal experience, solid historiographic knowledge, criticism of ethnographic legacy in Slovenia, contemporary ethnological and anthropological theory, and international research. His assessments were often expounded from an explicitly presentist stance to elucidate better the differences between the "old" and "new" thinking and doing ethnology. Presentism also had a recursive effect: a paradigm's establishment of a new, different perspective on what and how is being studied

results in a different evaluation of the discipline's past. By deconstructing the concept of folk culture, providing arguments for research into everyday ways of life, and furthering interdisciplinary comparisons and comparative studies of intellectual legacies in Europe, Kremenšek also outlined a different history of the discipline[49] by assimilating the discipline's past into its present. He drew not only on sources that had previously not been considered ethnologically relevant but also on "new" concepts that provided a framework for a better insight into the relevance of institutional histories, the trajectories and intellectual biographies of researchers, and the role of followers and opponents. All this creates specific knowledge production networks in academic centers or on their margins, which always reflect the general interests of a particular time and society (cf. Gerndt 2015, 16). In the interplay of all these actants, knowledge production is an intellectual and social practice; its driving force is theoretical reflection. The permanent self-reflexivity or confrontation with questions of theory and interpretation was the basis on which ethnology in Slovenia, too, was transformed in the following decades into an open and diversified humanistic discipline.

Notes

1 Alan Barnard (2000, 1) shares a similar view concerning theory in anthropology: "Anthropology is a subject in which theory is of great importance. It is also a subject in which theory is closely bound up with practice."

2 In Europe, the most striking was the difference between the communist East and the rest of the continent (notably between East and West Germany; cf. Jacobeit, Lixfeld, and Bockhorn 1994; Moser, Götz, and Ege 2015), but dissimilarities were also tangible between countries within these blocs. The extensive literature on European ethnology and the history of national ethnologies in Europe, including their relation to sociocultural anthropology, attests to this (cf. Hofer 1968; Stocking, Jr. 1984; Bendix 1997, 2004; Godina 2002; Köstlin, Niedermüller, and Nikitsch 2002; Kaschuba 2006; Hann, Sárkány, and Skalník 2005; Kürti 2008; Kiliánová 2012; Čapo 2014, 2019). Studies of the history of anthropological theories also observe divergencies between various national traditions (e.g., Darnell 1977; Barnard 2000; Barth et al. 2005), taking up the issue of knowledge production from the perspective of power relations between marginalized local traditions and postulated knowledge-production centers.

3 In Slovenia, a distinction was made between ethnographers or ethnologists as explorers of the material and social aspects of culture on the one hand and folklore scholars, who focused on oral poetic tradition, folk art, and mythology, on the other. Elsewhere in Europe, where the two disciplines were usually institutionally separated, folklore may have been conceived differently.

4 This view demands special consideration of strong or weak disciplinary autonomy and the social position of ethnology in Europe before the Second World War, and on diverse theoretical frameworks. Some of them had an impact only or primarily in the local academic community and were not included in the international circulation of knowledge, with some of them became inspirational or reassessed only decades later.

5 Something similar happened with language: linguists studied the standard language, while dialectologists and ethnographers explored its vernacular versions; fine arts were

studied by art historians and folk art by ethnographers.

6 For example, the literary historian Ivan Grafenauer described his decades-long search for a suitable approach to the study of folk poetry and mythology as follows: "The cultural-historical direction in the ethnology of primitive cultures has shown me a new path. […] By studying primitive cultures, I applied this cultural-historical method to the study of the ethnography of Slovenian high culture, and combined it with the comparative method of literary history. This cultural-historical method and comparative-literature method, which has not yet been applied in world ethnography, has produced quite good results in the study of Slovenian folk songs" (Grafenauer 1951, 431).

7 *Narodopisje* is a Slovenian term introduced on the Czech model (*národopis*) and semantically corresponds to German *Volkskunde*, or 'ethnography'—meaning regional ethnology. In this article it is translated as 'ethnography,' though this does not correspond to its present meaning in English.

8 This happened as late as 1940, when the 'Chair for Ethnology with Ethnography' was established at the University of Ljubljana (founded in 1919). Ethnology was based in the Ethnographic Museum (established in 1923). In 1934, the research Institute for Slovenian music folklore or the Folklore Institute was established and centered around one man, France Marolt. However, it should be noted that the first professor of ethnology, Niko Zupanič, designed his syllabus in a very broad and comparative way (Muršič and Hudelja 2009).

9 What is primarily meant here are the dynamic changes in the demographic, social, and occupational structure associated with the industrialization of Slovenia; the parallel processes were accelerated urbanization and depopulation of the countryside, which ethnographers regarded as the home of folk culture.

10 Until 1991, Slovenia was a republic of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. For more on the relationship between political ideology and ethnology, see Fikfak 2011; Slavec Gradišnik 2013.

11 On disciplinary innovations during the 1950s, see, for example, Slavec Gradišnik 2013, 2019. Towards the end of the 1980s and later, discussions focused mainly on the relationship between ethnology and (cultural) anthropology; this relationship is a significant topic that sheds light on earlier debates of theoretical character.

12 In addition to disciplinary theories and methods, the discipline's structure includes research programs and academic curricula, teaching conventions, and immanent traditions of the disciplinary subjects' content that are passed on from one generation to the next (Kump 1994, 83), and this structure depends on the broader ideological and political contexts. Fredrik Barth (2002, 1) summarized it as follows: "[K]nowledge always has three faces: a substantive corpus of assertions, a range of media of representation, and a social organization."

13 This means that they are hidden or scattered across smaller genres (e.g., book reviews and reports), and were presented at numerous conferences (the most important being documented in journals), or they circulated informally. According to the classification of Alex Golub (2018) into curricular, disciplinary, and scholarly history, the discipline's oral history could be placed in the second category. It circulates informally and refers to narratives that convey the personal experiences of practitioners.

14 This article deliberately omits the reflections of a handful of individuals who, even before the war, perceived ethnography beyond the scope described. They were different, marginal, and overlooked, and it was only decades later that they were reassessed from fresh perspectives and with diverse interests invested in the re-reading of diciplinary legacy.

15 The term "ethnic" was not in general use in Slovenian ethnology until the second half of the twentieth century: researchers spoke or wrote about the culture of peoples or nations, folk culture, and civilized and primitive nations or people. In the absence of any particular theorizing, the term "ethnic" was used as an attribute for regional cultural differentiation (in the Slovenian case, for the Alpine, Mediterranean, Pannonian and Central-Slovenian cultural areas), i.e., for ethnographically uniform units formed by geographical features and historical processes as well as the proximity and cultural influences of neighboring areas (Novak 1958). From the perspective of general ethnology we speak about cultures of ethnic groups which are, however, internally socially or in some other way differentiated and subject to change (Kremenšek 1973, 13).

16 *Narodopisje Slovencev* (Ethnography of Slovenians) was published in two volumes: the first, edited by Rajko Ložar, appeared in 1944, the second, edited by Ivan Grafenauer and Boris Orel, was published only in 1952. Ložar (1904–1985) was an archaeologist and art historian. He first worked as a curator at the National Museum, and from 1940 to 1945 he was director of the Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana (Slavec Gradišnik and Ložar - Podlogar 2005).

17 In the first volume (352 pages with illustrations): Settlement and Land, Rural Homes and Farmhouses, Food Production and the Economy, Traditional Food, Outline of Legal Ethnography, Slovenian Folk Customs; in the second volume (267 pages with illustrations, a list of illustrations, indexes of subjects, places, and names): Vernacular Language, Folk Poetry, Slovenian Folk Writers, Poets, and Singers, Religious Folk Drama, Slovenian Folk Customs (a continuation of the chapter in volume one), Slovenian Folk Dress. Contemporary reviewers missed syntheses on specific topics already well-studied, such as folk music, folk dance, folk arts and crafts, and criticized the edition in general for its overall descriptive character.

18 Later, this reception was associated above all with ideological and methodological criticism (Kremenšek 1978).

19 The word *theory* is placed in quotation marks because Ložar used it very sparingly, although he was referring to Eduard Hoffmann-Kreyer, John Meier, Eugen Fehrle, Adolf Spamer, Michael Haberlandt, Wilhelm Schmidt, and Arthur Haberlandt. Only in reference Justus Möser's claim that the peasant is the foundation of a nation, he wrote that "some consider it the first ethnographic *theoretical hypothesis*" and, in reference to Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, that "according to his *theory*, a nation is built of various strata and classes" (Ložar 1944b, 11).

20 Ložar uses the Slovenian term *'narod'*, meaning 'folk' and 'nation' in the Slovenian language.

21 Ethnography is not concerned with standard language, but with dialects and the unique features of colloquial language, not with literature, but with folk songs, stories, and sayings, not with painting and sculpture, but with self-taught art.

22 "Die moderne Ethnologie." *Anthropos* no. 1, 1906; *Handbuch der Methode der kulturhistorischen Ethnologie*. Münster, 1937.

23 He also presented the main highlights of research on folk culture with the dilemma of whether it is the social and spiritual culture that to be studied, or material culture as well; his further dilemma of studying the folk was the distinction between individual and collective spirituality and a question of folk's inherent creativity.

24 If a research focus is on folk, the researcher must use the findings of psychology and sociology, and, if the focus is on culture, he must draw on prehistory (archaeology); ancient and contemporary history; linguistics; literary, art, music, legal, and economic history; geogra-

phy; and anthropogeography (Ložar 1944b, 15–19).

25 In *Narodopisje Slovencev,* the chapters on individual cultural elements did not merely explore the relics or remains of the postulated primordial cultural forms; even Ložar himself surpassed his postulates in examinations of settlements and land structure, rural architecture, economic activities, and traditional food.

26 The main criticism pointed at this orientation was not that researchers insisted on exploring rural culture, but that they studied it disembedded from its social contexts and based on vague or contestable criteria (e.g., age, authenticity, and aesthetic value).

27 In practice, this meant: a systematic collection of material covering *the entire* Slovenian countryside, carried out by "properly assembled field teams," and thorough research of *everything* belonging to folk culture (Orel 1948b, 7). The core consisted of researchers from the Ethnographic Museum and a few scholars from other institutions, who were extensively instructed in various documentation techniques and the appropriate communication with local people.

28 In Slovenia, more comprehensive articles on Marxist-oriented science appeared somewhat later (from the 1950s; for more, see Slavec Gradišnik 2010b, 2013). A brief explanation can only be found in the following statement: "From a dialectical perspective, the whole world is a lawful process that needs to be examined in terms of its constant movement, change, transformation, and development or, in other words, historically" (Orel 1948a: 8).

29 To illustrate: "The historical branch of the discipline and the situation […] demanded not only the collection, but also a real rescue of 'old' material. The disappearing tradition had to be preserved in archives" (Kuret 1973: 24).

30 He highlighted the past and present differences in the distinction often made in Europe between *ethnography* and *ethnology* (Germ. *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde*), between regional and general aspects, and between description and generalization. In Slovenia, the term *etnologija* (ethnology) became established in the name of the university department in the second half of the 1950s. In 1975, the Slovene Ethnographic Society was renamed to Slovene Ethnological Society, while other institutions (e.g., the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, the Institute of Slovenian Ethnography (in Eng. Institute of Slovenian Ethnology), and the Institute for Musical Folklore (in Eng. Institute of Ethnomusicology) have kept their original names until today.

31 Slavko Kremenšek (1931) entered ethnology as a historian, first as Vilko Novak's assistant for ethnology. He taught at the Department of Ethnology in Ljubljana until his retirement in the mid-1990s. His bachelor's thesis *Ethnological Issues of Slovenian Towns* (1959) and especially his doctoral dissertation *The Ljubljana Neighborhood of Zelena Jama as an Ethnological Problem* (1964), which for many was not an ethnological study, already indicated a radical research shift. He remained a versatile and actively engaged teacher, advisor, and organizer of research and professional work throughout his career.

32 In this article, Kremenšek still referred to the discipline this way, even though he discussed ethnology in the sense Novak outlined before him.

33 This emphasis should also be understood in the context of the fact that at that time Slovenian historians were (still) mostly concerned with political history.

34 This only means that it was not specifically addressed, but it is clear that it was not excluded from "everyday cultural forms."

35 Folk culture constitutes the medium cultural stratum, which, according to Wilhelm Schmidt, draws from the simplest lower stratum and adopts elements from the higher one (Baš 1960, 1963).

36 This was the conviction of some researchers who focused on the devolutionary paradigm

of folk culture or who had in mind the utopian image of a uniform "socialist culture"—that is, a culture without differences. Thus, Angelos Baš (1968, 274) later defined ethnology as a discipline "about the history of the way of life."

37 In this sense, he came closest to the concept of everyday life developed by Henri Lefebvre his *Critique of Everyday Life* (1947, 1961), even though Kremenšek did not refer to it. When he later focused on the concept of way of life, he drew attention to several levels of research: empirical studies of the everyday life of different generations, local, professional, and other social groups, embedded in generalizations about national, European, or even globally characteristic lifestyles (Kremenšek 1985, 1987).

38 Interestingly, in an interview with Kremenšek in 2010, he explained that his theoretical background can ultimately be traced back to his life experience and historiographical background, and that literature only served to confirm his observations. During the academic year 1960/1961, he studied in Moscow, where he not only became familiar with Soviet ethnography, but also read about American anthropology and European ethnological studies in the well-stocked library, and his mentor Sergei Aleksandrovich Tokarev gave him a completely free hand (Slavec Gradišnik 2010b, 2013).

39 Kremenšek was explicitly concerned with the ideological and political entanglements of ethnology and the views of individual researchers and orientations when he later examined in detail the development of ethnological thought (Kremenšek 1978) and relations with other disciplines (historiography, sociology, geography, philology). In this way, he paved the way for and strenghthened reflections on complex relations between science, ideology, and politics in Slovenian ethnology.

40 For example, he mentioned Leopold Schmidt, Hanns Koren, Richard Weiss, Karl Meisen, Wilhelm Brehpohl, Josef Dünninger, Sigurd Erixon, Swedish ethnology, Soviet ethnography, and research conducted in the communist countries and the US.

41 The relevance of this study was confirmed by a later publication of an abridged and adapted version in the US (Kremenšek 1979).

42 Since the beginning of the 1960s, these discussions took place under the aegis of the Slovene Ethnographic Society, whose members were the majority of professional ethnologists and folklore specialists at various institutes, students and amateurs. In the following three decades, the Society offered a venue for intensive discussions on vital disciplinary issues, brought together specific expert and institutional interests in the form of working groups, and promoted joint research projects. Thus, it was a place where different, even very contradictory, scholarly and ideological views were circulated (cf. Kuhn 2010 on the Swiss Society for Folklore Studies). Kremenšek was among the leading promoters and inspirers of these activities.

43 Here various definitions of ethnology are collected and compared; attention is drawn to the distinctively comparative character of the discipline; definitions of ethnos, peoples, nation, ethnic group, culture, and civilization, as well as ethnography, (cultural and social) anthropology, *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde*, folklore, and folklore studies. The names of the authors cited indicates that the work was very current: John Beattie, David Bidney, Paul Bohannan, Jean Poirier, Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, Walter Hirschberg, Åke Hultkrantz, Felix M. Keesing, Alfred Kroeber, Clyde Kluckhohn, Ralph Linton, Robert Lowie, Lucy Mair, Ondrej Meliherčík, Kazimierz Moszyński, George P. Murdock, Sergei Aleksandrovich Tokarev, and Charles Winick; the historical overview cites authors such as Ugo Bianchi, Alfred Cort Haddon, Marvin Harris, and Thomas Kenneth Penniman, and the following chapters also refer to Hermann Bausinger, Rudolf Braun, Wilhelm Brepohl, Hanns Koren, Robert Redfield, Catherine Lutz, Richard Weiss, Renato Biasutti, Joel Halp-

ern, Georg Buschan, Marshall Sahlins, Elman R. Service, Eric R. Wolf, and many others, including researchers from Slovenia, Yugoslavia, and other communist countries.

44 From the very beginning, Kremenšek encouraged his students to engage in research that followed the expanded horizons of the "new" ethnology. The bibliographies published from the 1970s onward clearly show the commitment and, above all, the later work of the students who graduated under him.

45 These were the institutions where most ethnologists worked and sought to introduce new perspectives to museology and conservation practice.

46 For a detailed analysis, see Slavec Gradišnik (2000, 379–508).

47 In this regard, it may be significant for the ethnological academic community that Kremenšek succeeded in attracting most specialists in particular topics to participate in these projects, despite considerable methodological differences between them.

48 According to Althusser (1985: 93), "the reflection of philosophical hypotheses about scientific practice" is of non-scientific-origin; it subjects a discipline to uncritical service of goals arising from practical ideologies.

49 Thus, for example, he found the origins of current ethnological interest in the Enlightenment, problematizing its Romantic origins; he saw "the Romatic motives" primarily as a pre-scientific stage of folklore studies. These issues were critically examined by Jurij Fikfak (1999).

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The Power of the Individual and the Power of the System: A Response

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It is no coincidence that only researchers from countries in which ethnology could not always develop freely in the twentieth century contributed to this particular issue. In these countries, it is now time for a truly critical reassessment of the recent history of the field. The results should be incorporated into our knowledge about the development of the ethnological paradigm in Europe. In the "laboratory" of Central and Eastern Europe, new theoretical approaches and types of sources have emerged that in recent years have somewhat escaped otherwise far more advanced research, for example, in German-speaking countries (Eggmann, Johler, Kuhn & Puchberger 2019).

The six texts of this special issue, which deal with the history of the field in Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Slovenia, and Turkey, seem to me to be strongly influenced by the approach—quite beneficial in research on the history of ethnology in Western Europe (Kuhn 2015)—that emphasizes the contribution of prominent personalities to the thematic and theoretical-methodological formation of ethnology. This power of personalities, I believe, can lead to the neglect, or rather an underestimation, of other circumstances. Therefore, we must ask whether these exceptional individuals really influenced the research mainstream or whether in their time they created only marginal niches of research freedom (Luft 1994), a fact that we can identify and appreciate only after a considerable time lag. Moreover, in the context of oppressive regimes, more than elsewhere, we must look for how these individuals and their works were situated in a complex web of scientific as well as purely non-scientific interests and competencies. Were they really that unique, or rather did they only make use of the temporary and often hidden favors of the regimes in which they lived and worked? Furthermore, how far could the power of these regimes reach? For example, could it include researchers working in exile? Do we not overestimate the exceptional personalities operating in totalitarian and semi-totalitarian regimes and their "power" over the development of the field at the expense of recognizing the precise limits on their work set by political structures? It is, of course, possible that the same people would have asserted themselves in a free science environment, and in addition to Hermann Bausinger and others, we would be talking today in a pan-European context about their contributions to changes in the field. However, I am afraid we will never again be able to test that premise.

The situation in the states of Central and Eastern Europe could have been even more complicated, for the greatest darkness of totalitarian power could be hidden in the shadow of exceptional individuals. Further research will certainly reveal this, and it may turn out that it does not apply to Aleksei Peterson, Karlis Strauberg, Matti Kuusi, Eduard Laugaste, or Slavko Kremenšek. However, it surely applies to many others, including entire institutions

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and research specializations. If something like this happened in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s, there is no reason to doubt a similar hitherto hidden connection between state power and scientific research in Turkey, Finland, the former Yugoslavia, the Baltic states that were incorporated into the Soviet empire, and elsewhere.

Katherine Verdery has recently discussed the extreme surveillance of ethnological/anthropological research in Eastern Europe, based on her own experience (Verdery 2014, Verdery 2018). Simultaneously, she drew attention to the fact that the very nature of the work of an ethnologist/anthropologist in the field often appeared to the security forces to be the work of a "spy." Moreover, let us be honest, even if we follow all the ethical rules, we often are such spies trying to reveal the hidden: we are trained to do this, we are equipped to do it, and we simply know how to do it. Therefore, switching parties can be tempting, and this may not be the case with non-democratic states.

Following on this, let me point out that important texts by David H. Price (Price 2007a, 2007b) and especially his monograph *Cold War Anthropology* (Price 2016) have only recently fully revealed the connection between American anthropology and CIA intelligence activities in the global south during the Cold War. A complete uncovering of the connection between the work of anthropologists and espionage is, in the "West," still hampered by the unavailability of some archival sources. However, it must lead us to the question of whether something similar could have happened on the other side of the Iron Curtain, where the archives of other power institutions besides Soviet (Russian) ones are open to researchers. Thus, nothing is stopping the study of the relationship between ethnology and (secret) state power.

This brings us directly to the story about the remarkable development of Czech (Czechoslovak) anthropology in the 1960s. If we would build this story on the idea of the power of individuals and use only the archives of research institutions, focusing on published texts and possibly personal memories, we would have a classic narrative about the abilities of several individuals, especially Ladislav Holý and Milan Stuchlík, who prevailed despite the existing regime. Unfortunately, this is what happened in the Czech Republic, and shortly after the Velvet Revolution, a myth was created (Skalník 2002) about enlightened individuals who in the late 1950s and 1960s refreshed the "stale" environment of Central European nationalist ethnography with British social anthropology and initiated remarkable research in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. After the Soviet occupation in 1968, they were either wholly silenced or emigrated.

However, the complete opening of the archives of the Communist Party and especially of the secret police and intelligence services in the Czech Republic after the year 2000 revealed a completely different background to the rise and fall of Czech anthropology, in which "the power of system" plays a role (Olšáková 2016). The whole story was started in 1960 by a letter from the leading person in Soviet ethnography, Sergei Pavlovich Tolstov, addressed to the leadership of the Communist Party, which advocated, among other things, for the development of research in non-European areas. This research was to legitimize a strengthening of the role of

Czechoslovakia (and, by analogy, other states within the Soviet sphere of influence) in International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) and to de facto take control of the entire organization. As documented by a large number of archival documents, the key motivation of the whole event was scientific and, at the same time, ideological and economic expansion into the newly decolonized regions of the global south. The older research tradition, economic ties, and good reputation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in the so-called third world, as well as the spontaneous and until then repressed interest of some researchers in working on non-European terrain, were used for this purpose.

Furthermore, the results were not long in coming: anthropological research outside Europe inspired by "Western" scientific approaches became a vital part of the state's research plans of 1964 and 1967, new university curricula (e.g., African and Ibero-American studies) were quickly built from the ground up, a vast amount of anthropological literature of "Western" provenance was imported, and generously funded research began, especially in Africa. The openly declared goal was "to find a way to social progress" by understanding the cultural specifics of native ethnic groups. This new research specialization established and supervised from Moscow quickly became an excellent opportunity for many scientists (although their own political beliefs may have been different). However, that is not the end of the story. As the archives of the Czechoslovak intelligence services show, all ethnographers working abroad were under the supervision of Czechoslovak intelligence and the KGB, research reports served as (unconscious) sources of data for the secret services, and last, but not least, several researchers were most likely paid spies (Petráňová 2017).

The whole chapter in the history of Czech ethnology and anthropology, which was a clear product not of the power of individuals but the power of the oppressive system, ended in the 1970s as a result of a change in USSR science and power policy (Vít 2003). The assessment of "anthropological espionage" as less effective than espionage camouflaged by trade and diplomacy should also be noted.

What lessons can be learned from the whole story that has been outlined here? In further research on the history of ethnology in Central and Eastern Europe, I believe, we must take into much more substantial account not only the power of individuals but also the socio-political contexts and "the power of the system." This may be a banal statement, but if we systematically ignore the (often disgusting and certainly not always credible) archival sources arising from the activities of secret services and similar organizations, our picture of the history of the discipline cannot be complete. I doubt that the remarkable Latvian exile activity described by Rita Grīnvalde would escape the attention of the KGB; I doubt that the foreign expeditions of Estonian ethnographers presented by Indrek Jääts would not attract the attention of the secret services. Furthermore, I would find it extremely interesting to look at the influence of the Soviet and Finnish secret services on the development of Finnish folklore studies, so remarkably described by Eija Stark, and I would not rule out "intelligence games" around Turkish folklore research and its popularization interest-

ingly presented by Hande Birkalan-Gedik. No, this is not paranoia, looking for spies behind every ethnological research project; this is a call to expand the sources we draw upon in our study of the history of ethnology, which is in many ways still in its infancy.

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Nation-Thinking, the State, and the "Fruitbearing Field" of Folklore

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The essays in this volume communicate various concerns that are appropriate to professionals immersed in folkloristic work, such as the status of folklore studies in universities, the role of archives and organizations in centering and advancing folklore studies, and paradigmatic shifts in folkloristic theory and method. Nevertheless, as I read through the essays about the historical contexts of various countries, including Estonia, Turkey, Finland, Latvia, and Slovenia, I note that all these issues emanate from the concept, or problem, of nationalism. The folkloric connection to nationhood might appear at first glance to be a preoccupation of countries recently emerging from the yoke of domination by an imperial larger power, but upon reflection, the themes that the authors raise speak to an underlying current of folkloristic work globally. That is not to say, however, that nationalism and the state's role in promoting, informing, suppressing, and directing folklore work are widely recognized. One blinder that folklorists and ethnologists frequently apply is folkloristics as a scientific enterprise that transcends politics. Another is that it is a humanistic endeavor that does not answer to artificially imposed borders. Moreover, there is the ubiquitous belief that nationalism is a function of authoritarian regimes, and in democratic societies, scholars are free to pursue their studies unimpeded. However, as I tried to show for the United States, folklore became a critical politicized resource to define nationhood out of composite regional-ethnic cultures throughout the country's history (Bronner 1987, 2002).

My first compliment for these essayists is that they expose the continued need to analyze nationalism and the state both among tradition bearers and professional scholars. The authors point out limitations of the conventional narratives of the discipline, starting with the Grimms as a comparative endeavor and spreading with literary and anthropological contexts. Although they are not scolding in their essays, they imply that folklorists, whether out of training or personality, have had a historiographical blind spot when considering nationalism and the state. The opening line of Eija Stark**'s** essay summarizes well the limitations of discourses of nationalism in folkloristic and other disciplinary circles: "We often tend to think that the study of folklore represents a political tool that once belonged to either Romantic nationalism in the nineteenth century or to the ideologies of Nazism and Socialism in the twentieth." The collective "we," I presume, refers to folklorists in the post-World-War-II period, particularly those from North America and Europe. The situation is far more complicated than an impression that nationalist uses of folklore arose during specific troubled periods of the anti-monarchical unrest of the 1840s, the Nationalist Socialist period of the 1930s and 1940s, and the Cold War of the 1950s through the 1980s. Currents that need attention beyond the national histories

presented in the volume are the many diasporic ethnic-linguistic groups that confronted their ancient legacies within changing forms of political organization swirling about them throughout many centuries into the new millennium. Even setting aside the complexities of Asia, the Middle East, Pacific Islands, Africa, and South America for the moment, the scattered trajectories of the material conceptualized as folklore and the approaches to it in Europe and North America blow apart the neat pigeonhole into which folklore as nationalist propaganda and state ideology sits in historiography and theoretical folkloristics.

One might look to the critical Paris Peace Conference of 1919 for an ethnographic moment when issues of cultural nationalism were literally on the international table. Victors after World War I were adamant that new states of East-Central Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia), those that had increased their territory (Romania and Greece), and those that had been defeated (Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria) should sign agreements granting rights and cultural recognition to their minority groups (Fink 1995). Questions arose, however, whether these rights included autonomous regions and nations of their own and the measures by which cultural integrity would be maintained. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia appeared to be consolidations of different ethnic-linguistic regions, and border cultures between Hungary and Romania and Bulgaria and Macedonia were problematic. Since many of the minority groups had been marked by their folkloric legacies, the issue of balancing state power based upon national majorities and including minorities in emerging national identities resonated for years to come. Rather than using the power of the state to validate minority cultures, Bulgaria more than others initiated state-sponsored collection and teaching of folklore to promote "national spirit." The Bulgarian government moved in this direction out of concern about cultural unity in the face of Macedonian, Turkish, Romani, and Jewish cultural legacies in the region (Minkov 1989; for the influence of the Bulgarian program on the first state folklore program in the United States, see Bronner 1996, 59-62).

Perhaps most perplexing to the victors was the situation of Jews spread across most of Eastern Europe and treated as a separate oppressed "race" and a national group without a nation. In 1897, Bavarian-born immigrant to the United States Moritz Ellinger commented that publicly exhibiting a history of the Jewish minority as occurred in the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887 (see Bronner 2014a, 9-12) framed an awareness of a dual identity of ethnic and national peoplehood within a country but it did not go far enough. He asserted that to fight defamation and make a case for "life of a nationality," the group needed "careful collections toward the *preservation of folklore*" (Ellinger 1897, 147; emphasis added). He declared the sympathy of Jews to other groups threatened by modernization. He wrote, "Nothing enhances the value of a treasure more than the danger of losing it. Such a danger threatens today *every nationality* in the ratio as its peculiarity falls victim to the all-leveling culture of modern times" (Ellinger 1897, 147; emphasis added). He recognized that a challenge would be to change the perception of folklore as a sign of backwardness into

what he called a "treasure." He advocated for "the task of science to confer life and to preserve it [folklore]," as a "fruitbearing field" (Ellinger 1897, 147).

The fruit it bears, he concluded, would be a respect for the group from the majority and within the minority a "revival" of ethnic traditions. A critical turn was redefining Jews from a race (*Rasse*) to a folk (*Volk* or people) based on the space it occupied and the customs they shared in common. This sentiment, or Hamburg (Germany) movement as Ellinger termed it of Max Grunwald and others (Schrire 2017), influenced the ambitious ethnographic expeditions led by S. An-Sky to the Yiddish-speaking Pale of Settlement in Czarist Russia before World War I to comprehensively document shtetl life, lore, and traditions (Bronner 2021, 146–70; Deutsch 2016). For Grunwald, it was essential to organize a society and journal for *Jüdische Volkskunde* (established in 1897) and later form the Hamburg Jewish Museum as institutional bases for a scientific niche of study and public education. During the early Soviet period, the An-Sky collections became lodged in a Jewish section of the State Museum of Ethnography in Leningrad. Further research was encouraged but the Stalinist regime later suppressed the material as state policies of anti-Semitism increased (Slotnick 1976; Yalen 2018; see also Gottesman 2003). The An-Sky collections resurfaced in the post-Soviet period at which time they sparked debates about the impact of shtetl life in imagination and reality on the state of Israel. In the early years of the Jewish state, Israeli educational policy stigmatized the East European Yiddish cultural memory. Meanwhile, in Eastern Europe post-Soviet cultural organizations posted efforts to revive traditional Jewish life in post-socialist nations decimated by the Holocaust and mass out-migration of survivors.

Why do I raise this ethnic-linguistic example if the essays primarily deal with majority cultures? My point is that scholars often narrowly conceive nationalism as a political movement that is separate from the social-psychological process of nation-building or nation-thinking. This process is based upon the expressive cultural connection within a spatial frame that folklore provides. The movement and process are linked much as *traditum* or the item of tradition is to *traditio* or the process (Bronner 2019, 43–47). Toward the theorizing of the latter, which is more difficult to grasp, the authors provide several intriguing examples of nation-building as social and even cognitive action, in the sense of extrapolating from folklore the idea of cultural connection for people, a *Volk,* from often disparate forms—and their consecutiveness in place. This processual approach offers a different perspective on nationalism from the categorization of misuse, misappropriation, and manipulation of folklore as historical artifacts (see Oinas 1976). Rather than judged as a success or failure of political maneuvering at the moment in time, nation-thinking results in traditionalized daily actions and socially influenced responses.

In the United States, for example, the rhetorical response of "It's a free country, isn't it?" to characterize a choice that someone makes is arguably nationalist and folkloric at the grassroots that are different from the reading of the Declaration of Independence on July 4 at Independence Hall in Philadelphia. In those

situations, I might not be fully aware of the implications for nation-thinking as an insider. As an outsider, I was sensitive to nation-building as a daily practice when I was introduced to the Latvian Song and Dance Festival as a scholar-in-residence at the Latvian Academy of Culture in Riga. I imagine that many folklorists would dismiss the event as an organized, staged spectacle of questionable authenticity. However, what I saw was a process that invoked tradition for a suppressed *Volk* and ritualized participation in an emerging Latvian nation that needed to declare its separation from neighboring Russia symbolically. In the year-round cycles of preparation for the final performance, it immersed youth and many adults in daily thinking about nation and people-hood (Bronner 2018). I still have questions about the ways that this process subsumes and excludes minorities in favor of creating a "national spirit." Ethnographers have opportunities to analyze the negotiations that occur between the goal of cultural unity on the one hand and the representation of a varied Latvian culture on the other. The nationalist need to achieve cultural unity for a recently independent nation is not just an Eastern European issue, as I discovered in the nationally declared "Year of Folklore" in the Netherlands when I taught cultural and ethnic studies at Leiden University. At a time of tension between nationally perceived Dutchness and a socially perpetuated value placed on ethnic tolerance, which was tested with the influx of immigrant workers from North Africa and the Middle East, the Year of Folklore emphasized legacy traditions from a perceived Golden Age of national power (Bronner 2019, 238–54).

Hande Birkalan-Gedik**'s** reference to the "indissoluble" relationship with nationalism that state-sponsored institutes established raises questions about how the material that is produced and the thinking in presenting academic studies of folklore as "knowledge" rather than detached science have a bearing on national self-awareness. Science implies a "low-context" environment in which folklore can appear rare and needs explication by authorities. Knowledge suggests a "high-context" framing of daily communication widely understood by participants in the culture (Hall 1976). Questions for analyzing *traditio* is whether this shift was encoded, directed, and naturalized by the state, individuals, or movements and how it was encoded and re-interpreted by recipients of the knowledge. Similarly, Rita Grīnvalde refers to tradition-bearers as "actors of knowledge" that suggests that tradition is active and consecutive rather than as relics provided by "informants." The project of compiling massive volumes of Latvian folklore by ex-patriates might be viewed as decoding that provides resistance to state organization by presenting tradition as extensive and immersive within a space that is not visible inside the state. She also questions the rhetoric of scholarly production as part of the process of nation-thinking since ethnology suggests a division by groups and communities, whereas folklore can be presented in national and regional frameworks. Ethnology also implies the integration of environments—material and social—that remains intact despite urbanization and modernization. The Latvian National Archives, for example, has separate collections for Jewish communities that are connected to their linguistic us-

age of Yiddish. "Folklore" can more easily be treated as a literary resource that might not be separable by the community. Archival resources framed by being housed in a "National Library" become more significant as a treasure house for the nation to be mined for creative and political purposes. With attention to documentation and entextualization, the archives are significant because they encode folklore as the collective cultural memory of a nation in forms that can be accumulated and compared. In situ actors of knowledge convey folklore with reference to a past that exists in the present, and relate cultural expressions to the frame or situation in which it is communicated (Bronner 2010). Although Grīnvalde looks to American folkloristics for guidance on situated analysis, I should point out a serious problem of many American approaches to performance that limit and trivialize folklore as a fleeting artistic urge in a modern setting. I see advantages to the European ethnological attention in Latvia and other nearby differentiated countries to folklore as a social action or *practice*. The ethnological approach has the advantage of opening up the study of folklore as a purposeful part of daily life along with considerations of the cognitive sources that generate traditions.

Indrek Jääts'**s** essay poses languages' relationship to culture—and nationalist movements in alliance with one another. The approach that he identifies in Estonia runs counter to Bronislaw Malinowski's stream of global ethnography that ignited the American performance paradigm and influenced an aversion to cognitive and psychological analysis. Malinowksi asserted that language is not a countersign of thought; it is socially functional in the "context of situation" (Malinowski 1923). The image that I recall from moving through the Estonian National Museum is different. Upon entrance, one is awed by an entire wall electronically illuminated with a geographic rendering of the massive extent of Finno-Ugric speaking peoples. As visitors move through the museum, they take in the encoded implication of a cultural mindset suggested by the diffusion and differentiation of Finno-Ugric languages. The challenge of explaining how nearby Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland can manage such different languages and therefore cultures, while Hungary is connected to the Finno-Ugric diffusion explains the significance of expeditions that were perceived variously by Estonian nationalists and Soviet authorities. Kaisa Langer provides nuance to Sovietization and notes that it was not successful in Estonia. To her creidt, she brings out the need to analyze folklore in terms of nation-thinking as representing overlapping and sometimes conflicting levels of region and nation.

Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik**'s** essay returns to what she calls "the topography of knowledge" and the relation of institutions to the organization of that knowledge. She thus raises important, often unasked questions of the conflicting authority of the state and academy. Gradišnik contemplates the attraction to "ethnology" as a sociological consideration of living traditions. In tracing a displacement of history with "how" rather than "why" questions in interpretive "middle-range" studies, she implies a retreat from explanation in a rush to be less ideological and authoritarian, partly in response to a perception of the negative nationalism of the pre-World-War-II period. However,

concerning my reflection that the volume suggests a direction toward viewing nation, region, and locality as different overlapping forms of knowledge-formation or thinking, one has to wonder about the absence of psychology or cognitive exploration Malinowski portended. The Boasian stream of ethnography and folklore allowed for more psychological considerations (Boas 1910; Bronner 2014b; Dundes 2015). A sign of this absence is the girding of the binary between theory and practice, although the largely European-based construction of "practice theory" suggests that this is a false dichotomy. The result of the binary is the positivist emphasis that Gradišnik finds in earlier Slovenian ethnography. She makes a pronouncement that "it is impossible to tear folk culture out of the socio-historical context," but I would argue that the national ethnology mired in "interpretation" cannot get to the "why" and explanation of tradition without moving into psychology and cognition as the basis of social action.

As I began these remarks with Eija Stark**'s** indisputable citation of the "political burden" of European folklore studies, I conclude with affirmation of her clarion call beyond Europe that "nation-states continue to exist and boundaries between ethnic culture continue to be maintained as well as created." Regarding my pointing out of viewing the nation-state as a composite of minority cultures, many of which thrive in urban and modern contexts, she acknowledges the Finnish tendency after World War II to orient study to the "one-culture in the nation-state" that was challenged by the post-Cold-War view of "cultural communication by a group of any kind." That does not take away from the analysis of nationhood but instead suggests a view of it as an outlook invoked at various times and in certain situations. I hope that folklorists will be brave enough to engage nation-thinking rather than pretend it goes against the folkloristic spirit, reconcile the perceived differences between folkloristics and ethnology, and finally, figure out the psychology of nation-building, and institution forming, societies around the globe.

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Different but Somehow Congruent: The Crisscrossed Paths of Transformation of Folklore Studies in Europe

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In May 2021, the Ludwig Uhland Institute in Tübingen celebrated the 50th anniversary of renaming itself from Folklore Studies/Volkskunde to Empirische Kulturwissenschaft[1]. It was the first of the German university institutes to separate itself from the term "Volk" in its name. The initiative for the renaming came from students, assistants, and professor Hermann Bausinger, who had critically examined the National Socialist past of the subject in advance. The German student movement and the reading of Critical Theory also influenced the discussion of the "farewell to folk life," (Abschied vom Volksleben 1970) as it was proclaimed in an anthology published in Tübingen in 1970. The call for critical reflection on the history of the subject has been anchored our habitus ever since. Today the numerous written and auditory documents of this period of upheaval again offer the possibility of a critical rereading of the same (cf. Bürkert & Johler 2021).

Anniversaries make it seem like you can pinpoint a change to a specific day. They cover up the process of transformation with its conflicts and setbacks. This is why I do not like to use Thomas S. Kuhns term "paradigm shift," as he describes it as a "revolution" or "evolution" of "conceptualization, observation, and apparatus" (Kuhn 1962, 57) to capture the changes in our discipline that were ongoing around 1971. Rather I would like to speak of a nonlinear transformation process whose "latency period" (Bürkert 2015) goes back to the 1950s and continues in part until today. I agree with Ingrid Slavec Gradisnik (Slovenia) in this issue when she prefers the term transformation to the term development, which implies linearity and purposefulness. In contrast, the process of transformation in our discipline is characterized more as "complex and crisscrossed, and identified with innovations, but also with standstills, dead ends, obstacles, and detours" (Slavec Gradisnik, p. 131).

Such complex and crisscrossed transformation periods are described in this issue about folklore studies in Latvia, Estonia, Slovenia, Finland, and Turkey. Moreover, it is precisely these winding paths described here that makes reading these histories of knowledge so worthwhile. The studies are able to trace these detours because they follow actors and practices (cf. Davidovic-Walther et al. 2009), rather than the sequences of theoretical and methodological paradigms often narrated linearly in textbooks. It is analytical categories such as milieu of knowledge, formats of knowledge, and the specific knowledge practices in folklore studies/ethnology (cf. Kaschuba et al. 2009) addressed here from a microlevel-perspective. For example, Rita Grīnvalde's (Latvia) contribution provides insight into the genesis of two folkloristic publication projects that were pro-

duced in a similar environment in exile, but nevertheless had very different levels of outcome and conflict. It becomes very clear here that knowledge production is dependent on the different interests of the actors involved and the political and structural conditions that significantly shape the work and its output.

The articles here provide rare insights into the everyday life of knowledge production, which for a long time remained hidden behind the Iron Curtain for the Western scientific community. They provide concrete examples to show how the discipline was politically promoted, and how the ideological constraints that this promotion entailed were dealt with in teaching and research. Of particular interest here is Kaisa Langer's (Estonia) contribution, which vividly shows how students have dealt with censorship and the pressure to address certain politically desired research topics. There have been far too few such glimpses into classrooms as central sites for the formation and transmission of knowledge stocks and knowledge practices (cf. Bürkert 2016). Sources such as seminar syllabi or even minutes of seminar discussions do not fall into the currently lively discussion about preserving and managing research data. Most university archives are not interested in these sources either. Here, it is often the archives of the individual institutes that collect—often unsystematically—these sources that provide valuable insights into everyday teaching practices and, thus, into the negotiation of political contexts in the classroom and students' research papers. What is astonishing in the Estonian case is the very conservative attitude of the students with their idea of folklore as the science of an archaic past that can best be demonstrated in peasant culture. This attitude at the same time was resistant against the soviet regime. Students at a low level resisted the research mandate imposed from above to deal with contemporary working-class culture, and only recurred to it in the use of a doctrinaire rhetoric made up of Marxist set pieces. On the one hand, this shows how ineffective a research program is if it is purely politically motivated and does not have grassroots support in the classrooms. On the other hand, the longue durée of the romantic-nationalist movement of the 19th century becomes clear here, which maintained its influence on the world of ideas of what folklore should be and achieve in soviet-occupied countries, too. The pervasiveness of the understanding of folklore as a science in the service of a *völkisch*-national search for origins becomes also astonishingly apparent in the other articles. This is similar in Western Europe, where nationalistic-romantic ideas partly shape—at least popular—conceptions of folklore studies until today, which is precisely why a consequent renaming of the subject and its associations still seems necessary (dgv 2021).

More over this issue proves the value of an international history of knowledge of this special discipline formerly known as folklores studies. For "beyond national ties and bloc affiliations, a remarkably independent international development took place, which connected the nationally integrated folkloristic-ethnological disciplines" (Schmoll 2015, 48f.). The common pages in the article by Ingrid Slavek Gradisnik (Slovenia) are particularly striking. Her analysis of the conflict between scholars such as Slavko Kremensek, who wanted to evolve new theo-

retical and methodological concepts, and scholars who worked in a more positivistic style have many parallels to the German debates from the 1960s onward (cf. Birkalan-Gedik, Schmoll & Timm 2021). Kremensek accused his colleagues—very similar to Utz Jeggle (1970) in Germany, for example—of adhering to "positivist, often nationalistic and even politically biased ethnographic traditions" (Slavec Gradisnik, p. 141). The heated discussions and mutual accusations, some of which were based on misunderstandings, as Slavec Gradisnik (p. 142) shows, are strikingly reminiscent of the discussions that took place, for example, in Detmold in 1969 at the congress of the German Folklore Society. There, too, was a heated discussion about the future of the discipline, and the young scholars fundamentally questioned how museum scholars and traditional folklorists embedded their research methodologically and theoretically (cf. Bürkert 2021a). Kremensek began publishing his critical and innovative thoughts in the early 1960s (cf. Slavec Gradisnik) before the discussion in Germany reached its peak. It would be interesting to find out to what extent his German and other colleagues in Europe were aware of his work and if the scholarly exchange had been carried out here at any level.

Estates with first-person documents, especially correspondence, of scholars are significant sources when it comes to tracing questions of exchange and networks between scholars, as well as interconnections between politics and academia and between folkloristic practice and folklore studies. These sources are not always considered as research data, and they are often given little importance. However, they are of immense importance for the historical ethnography of academic practices and their impact on society. They even allow to draw conclusions about past work routines and the understanding of self-efficacy of scholars in and beyond academia, which are challenging to reconstruct via historical studies of published research. In particular, the effects of folklore studies in the local region, the role of scholars in the development and shaping of local folkloristic practice, such as museums of local history, preservation of historical monuments, and the work of associations can often only be accessed through such first-person documents. The lack of attention paid to these sources in the history of knowledge means that the relevance and social impact of the subject are often underestimated. The sphere of influence of folklore studies is often a local one, but one closely networked with local actors who shape how folklore is lived and popularized.

Therefore the question of the design and transformation of applied or public folklore as presented by Hande Birkalan-Gedik in the case of Turkey is also very prolific for an international debate. Here we see again that there is a profound difference between public folklore on the one hand, which produces knowledge *for* and in collaboration *with* agents from the broader public, and applied folklore on the other, which popularizes knowledge in a particular way often politically motivated. Here it is necessary to think again more carefully about the different connotations of the terms cultural brokerage and knowledge transfer in different historical and political contexts. They often cannot be used congruently, as the discussions at the end of the 1990s between German and American experts have already shown (Bendix & Welz 1999; Bürkert (2021b).

The questions ticked on in this issue make it all the more worthwhile to continue to exchange views on the specific terms of knowledge production and knowledge transfer in an international network. The contributions have shown that it is helpful to adopt research categories from other national contexts and where the situational contexts lead to new perspectives on existing analyses. I very much hope for the possibilities to meet up again soon in workshops, having vivid discussions, and to share our sources and analytical thoughts on our different but somehow congruent knowledge histories in our discipline of many names.

Notes

1 The official, yet not literal translation is Ludwig-Uhland-Institute for Cultural and Historical Anthropology.

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