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The Genre of Trolls

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THE GENRE OF TROLLS

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The Case of a Finland-Swedish Folk Belief Tradition

Camilla Asplund Ingemark

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PREFACE

I have greatly enjoyed writing this thesis, not least because of the many stimulating discussions I have had with colleagues and friends along the way. Naturally, I have also incurred many debts of gratitude, the creditors of which I hope I have faithfully listed below. I sincerely apologize for any omissions or oversights.

The first set of thanks goes to my supervisor, Professor Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, who has encouraged me from the very start. Her unflinching devotion to her students is remarkable, and I am grateful that I have been able to benefit from it. She has read every draft of my dissertation, quite regardless of what condition it was in, with speed and acumen, and with many annoying questions as a result, but I do not doubt that these have made the manuscript more easily legible and the arguments more convincing. Her knowledge of Finland-Swedish folk belief and the religious situation in 19th-century Ostrobothnia has been particularly valuable in the preparation of the thesis, and she has liberally shared her insights with me during the years.

I also owe Dr Lena Marander-Eklund many thanks. When I worked on my M. A. thesis she functioned as my supervisor for a term, and during this time she managed to introduce me to no less than two of the theories I am utilizing in this book: Lotte Tarkka's theory of intertextuality, and Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman's theory of genre. I guess neither of us realized in what direction these theories would take my work, but that is the charm of doing research, after all. During the years she has also readily supplied me with whatever archive material I have needed, and I am grateful for this as well.

Moreover, I wish to express my gratitude to those colleagues who have assisted me during my stays abroad: Professor Inger Lövkrona, the Department of Ethnology at Lund University, who took care of me for a term in Lund; at the School of Celtic and Scottish Studies, Scottish Ethnology Section at the University of Edinburgh, I benefitted from the generosity of Dr Margaret Mackay who acted as my supervisor—I am especially grateful for the advice on finding English translations of internationally well-known hymns, which posed a real problem for me. I also thank Dr John Shaw who invited me to give a speech at the seminar of the School of Scottish

Studies, and Dr Neill Martin for his encouragement. Jan Adams and Marie Hamilton assisted me with many practical matters, for which I am grateful. My fellow Ph.D students at the School deserve a special mention as well: I enjoyed our post-seminar pub visits to Sandy Bell's.

A number of scholars have kindly commented on various stages of the manuscript. Dr Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Åbo Akademi University, gave many erudite comments on an early draft of my chapter on intertextual theory, and I confess I have not been able to follow up on all of them. Dr Laura Stark, University of Helsinki, made provocative readings of chapters 4 and 5, and also accepted the task of acting as preliminary examiner of the whole text. Once again, it has not been possible for me to take all her feed-back into consideration, but the finished product has definitely improved because of it. Dr Martina Björklund, Section for Russian Language and Literature, Åbo Akademi University, scrutinized my discussions on Bakhtin with zeal and enthusiasm, and I have heeded much of her advice on formal matters as well.

Members of the folkloristic seminar at Åbo Akademi University, as well as of the joint seminar of the science of religion and folklore, have given many useful contributions during the years, both in terms of the structure of the text, and of its contents. The discussions have always been characterized by knowledge, skill and grace, and the post-seminars afterwards have been pleasant occasions. I am grateful for the generosity and patience that have been accorded me.

I also want to thank the members of The Graduate School for Cultural Interpretations, too numerous to mention individually, who have given feedback on my presentations at the meetings of the school. It has always given me food for thought, and I extend my sincerest thanks for the effort expended in trying to improve my thesis. The social gatherings arranged in connection with these meetings have given me the opportunity to get to know colleagues in the whole of Finland better, and this has been a gratifying—and indubitably planned—spin-off effect.

A number of people have sent copies of archive material to me when I needed it most, and for this I thank them: Dr Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch and Dr Carola Ekrem, both providing me with material from the Folklore Archives of the Swedish Literature Society in Finland, and M. A. Sofie Strandén who copied records from the Folklore Archives at Åbo Akademi University. Living abroad, I have been dependent on the kindness of my

colleagues to obtain much of my research material, and I truly appreciate the enthusiasm and rapidity with which it has been put at my disposal.

Elizabeth Nyman accepted the task of correcting my English before the book went to print, and I thank her for this. Dr Pär Sandin kindly took care of the technical editing of the text, for which I am very grateful. Professor Charles Lock, Department of English at the University of Copenhagen, acted as my second preliminary examiner, giving important corrections to the text. He is also an inspiration in his extensive and innovative research on Bakhtin.

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I thank Åbo Akademi University Press for accepting my thesis for publication; Inger Hassel and Kristina Toivonen guided me in the practicalities of finding a printer, Tove Ahlbäck designed the book cover on the basis of the excellent drawing made by Emma Rönnholm, and Anne Andersson took care of the CIP cataloguing of the dissertation. I appreciate the work of all of you.

Finally, I wish to thank my family and friends. My parents, Bengt and Kristina Asplund, always encouraged me to read and write, and this is where it got me. I have greatly enjoyed the journey. My sister, Linda Asplund, has shared my interest in the bizarre. My grandmother, Birgit Asplund, came to the rescue when I needed information on the parish of Vörå, her native parish. My uncle and aunt, Bror Rönnholm and Margareta Willner-Rönnholm, have invited me to stay in their home every time I have been in Åbo, and kept me sober and down-to-earth with the voices of experience. In Finland, Olivia Granholm, Susanna Östman, Viveca Rabb and Anette Johansson have been agreeable companions. In Sweden, Martina and David Finnskog, Henrik Gerding and Rebecka Randler, Elisabet and Anders Göransson, Kristian Göransson and Maria Mellgren, Oskar Hagberg and Shirley Näslund, Mi Lennhag, Björn Levander, Pär Sandin, Kristiina Savin and Jonas Hansson, Aron Sjöblad, Claes Schuborg and Karin Staffans, Joachim Walewski, Per Östborn and others have guided my thoughts to

other things than intertextuality, Bakhtin and folk belief, for which I am indeed grateful. My in-laws, Ingrid Ingemark, Thomas Dellans, Anna Ingemark and Peter and David Milos have eased the load with their kindness and great humour.

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Lund, November the 25th, 2004

Camilla Asplund Ingemark

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of Purpose

The supernatural tradition that is the object of this study, the Swedish troll tradition in Finland as documented in archived material collected between the 1850s and 1925, has previously received little scholarly attention; apart from a few articles (e.g. Lönnqvist 1996), this is the first monograph produced on the subject, and I will therefore begin my inquiry with a description of the folklore of trolls for the benefit of readers with a comparative interest. The troll in the Swedish oral tradition in Finland is a supernatural creature primarily associated with hills and rocks in the forest, but apart from that, it is difficult, if not impossible, to give a good definition of the troll. It is often a solitary being, but it may also live with others of its kind. Judging by the sources at my disposal, it is not chiefly an empirical being—I have not been able to find reports of sightings or personal experience stories, apart from a legend told in the first person singular, but that seems to be more of a narrative strategy—but this impression may well be false due to the haphazard nature of collection. Perhaps reports of sightings never happened to be recorded, even though they existed. Any definite conclusion cannot be drawn on the basis of the recorded material alone.

My basic research problem can be thus formulated: how do the performers, of whose narratives we have some form of transcript, construct the image of the troll, and how is the relation between man and troll represented in the texts? These questions recur in many guises throughout the thesis, and I find them important because they imply an examination of the world view of the narrators, and of what it means to be human in a world also inhabited by extra-human forces. The description of the troll tradition is divided into the following sections, roughly corresponding to the temporal frame of encounter: “3.1 The Conditions of Encounter” focuses on the time and place of the encounter, and on the agent traversing the boundary between this world and the otherworld. The conditions and distinguishing characteristics of women’s, men’s and children’s encounters with the troll are also considered. “3.2 The Troll and Its World” discusses the appearance and abilities of the troll, its world and surroundings. “3.3 Interaction between the Realms” describes the relations between man and troll, both hostile and friendly. The attitude of the troll to Christianity is explored as

well. Finally, "3.4 Breaking the Contact" contemplates the agent effecting the dissociation of the human and supranormal sphere, and the means through which it is achieved, protective and apotropaic measures included. A special study of a peculiar form of encounter, here called the fateful encounter, is appended to this chapter. Individual records will be quoted as examples. Hence chapter 3 deals with the construction of the image of the troll, and of the relationship between man and troll, on a descriptive level.

In chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, the problem of the construction of the image of the troll and the representation of the relation between man and troll is approached on three levels. On the first level, explored in chapters 4 and 5, I examine the texts and discourses out of which the portrait of the troll is woven. In other words, I am undertaking a study of the web of intertextual relations between different troll texts, between troll texts and other folklore texts, and between troll texts and Biblical narratives. Other scholars have addressed the problem of the relationship between religion and folklore (see e.g. Bringéus 1997; Granberg 1971; Wolf-Knuts 1991; Wolf-Knuts 2000; Dundes (1999) is exceptional in that the author discusses the Bible as folklore), and my contribution to this debate centres on the more wide-ranging implications of my research approach. For example, I will argue that scholars need to pay attention to the ways in which Christianity influences folk narrative and folk belief beneath the ostensibly pre- or extra-Christian surface of traditional stories, because religion helps to shape these narratives from within by furnishing intertexts for them, from the Bible for instance.

I will be adapting the theory of intertextuality proposed by Julia Kristeva and reworked by the Finnish folklorist Lotte Tarkka (for definitions of terms utilized in this thesis, see also chapter 1.2; for discussions of concepts, see chapter 1.4). In her pioneering essay "Le mot, le dialogue et le roman", Kristeva construed any text as "a mosaic of quotations, any text is the absorption and transformation of another" (Kristeva 1978: 84–85): a writer constructs his text in relation to an earlier literary corpus. Tarkka aligns herself with this definition in stating that *intertextuality* refers to the idea of the text as a meeting point of different texts, where different points of view intermingle and collide. By the same token, *intertexts* are the other texts giving the individual text its meaning (Tarkka 1993: 171). For this reason, no text is simple and uncomplicated, it has many layers that a conscientious analyst should be aware of and strive to discover. Tarkka does

not say this explicitly, but it is the logical and methodological consequence of the theory, and in her own research, she abides by this rule.

I have chosen Tarkka's theory since it is one of the few extensive elaborations of intertextuality in Nordic folklore research, and because it is particularly adapted to the needs of folkloristic scholarship. It is also a moderate approach, respecting the research traditions of folkloristics as well as those of literary theory. In other words, it is a balanced view of folkloristic intertextuality, but nevertheless with some in-built deviations from earlier praxis.

One of the most fascinating aspects of Tarkka's theory is her conception of metaphor and metonymy. Metaphor links two separate spheres, likened because of their similarities and contrasted due to their differences, while metonymy mediates between the oppositions of the metaphor (Tarkka 1994: 293–294); Tarkka's use of these terms differs from the conventional one, even though it does have an affinity with established definitions. *Metaphor* usually denotes a word or phrase employed instead of another, as a comparison intended to achieve a more striking effect, while *metonymy* commonly implies the substitution of a word for another that is intimately connected with it, such as the use of *the crown* to refer to the monarchy. Tarkka's notion of metaphor is an extension of the common usage, but that of metonymy represents a significant reworking of the concept. The link to common usage is nevertheless present in a similar stress on the proximity created between the poles of the metaphor through metonymy. Through the use of common themes and epithets, a *series of metaphors* is created, constituting levels of world view (*ibid.*). In my analysis, I will apply the notion of levels of metaphorical relations to two groups of texts on abduction and the exorcism of trolls, collected in the parish of Vörå in Ostrobothnia.

In my view, the singular achievement of Tarkka in devising her theory is that she is able to provide the researcher with a powerful tool for investigating the narrators' network of mental associations. I will use it to gain new and exciting insights into Swedish-language folk culture in Finland at the turn of the last century. Intertextual relations will be examined in terms of agreement, inversion or reversal, and negation of the intertext.

On the second level, dealt with in chapter 6, I intend to investigate the generic components out of which the image of the troll might be constructed, and how the manipulation of these elements can change the

conception of the troll.¹ The objects of analysis are two texts from the repertoire of a single narrator, the carpenter Johan Alén hailing from the village of Rejpelt in the parish of Vörå. The definition of genre utilized here is that presented by Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman in their article "Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power" (1992). Genres are viewed as "generalized or abstracted models of discourse production and reception" mediated through the relationship with prior discourse (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 147). Through genre, narrators may shape speech into ordered, unified and bounded texts with strong social and historical associations, though the invocation of genre also renders texts fragmented, heterogeneous and open-ended because of the dependence on other discursive formations and contextual factors for the interpretation, production and reception of discourse (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 147–149). Briggs and Bauman emphasize the role of the narrator in shaping and reconfiguring genres, and they introduce the notion of intertextual gaps, which can be minimized or maximized, to describe the process of connecting an utterance to a generic model. Minimization of the distance between texts and genres makes the discourse maximally interpretable through reference to generic precedents, while maximization is associated with various motives for distancing oneself from textual precedents (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 149). In contrast to many earlier contributions to the folkloristic debate on genre,² Briggs and Bauman focus on how genres actually work, not on how they should be defined or on their source-critical value, whether they are useful or deplorable concepts, whether emic or etic categories should be used, or whether generic designations ought to be employed in the classification of folklore in tradition archives. This is of particular import in an analysis of the intertextual constitution of genre.

The question of genre is also actualized in relation to parody, of which the two texts are specimens. Parodies are sometimes cited as prime examples of intertextuality (Dentith 2000: 5–6) due to their overt connection to another, or several other, texts or to a genre. My hypothesis is that these

¹ Here I am using the adjective *generic* to refer to genre, as Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman have done.

² See e.g. Abrahams 1976a; Abrahams 1976b; Honko 1968; Honko 1971; Honko 1976; Honko 1981; Honko 1989; Ben-Amos 1976a; Ben-Amos 1976b; Ben-Amos 1992; Klintberg 1981; Alver 1967; Dégh 1976; Dégh & Vázsonyi 1976; Lüthi 1976; von Sydow 1971a; von Sydow 1971b; von Sydow 1971c.

narratives are parodies of the genre of the wondertale, and that this entails some fundamental changes to their structure, e.g. to the chronotope of the stories. Mikhail Bakhtin regarded the *chronotope*, “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature”, as a formally constitutive category of literature with a profound impact on genre and generic distinctions, and on the image of man (Bakhtin 1986a: 84–85). In narratives of trolls, the image of the supernatural is subject to a certain number of restrictions; for example, trolls should not marry humans and live happily ever after, nor should they be allowed to live permanently in the human world. A change in these chronotopes constituting the image of the troll may influence genre. One form of change of the chronotope is *novelization*, a term coined by Bakhtin to denote the transference of “novelistic” features, such as indeterminacy, openendedness and contact with the present, to other genres where they are usually absent (Bakhtin 1986a: 7). I believe these features are also to be found in folklore, particularly in jocular tales, a genre which was the speciality of this performer (for a selection of his narratives, see Appendix B). Novelization might illuminate the process of the reconfiguration of genres spoken of by Briggs and Bauman. One aspect of the novel stressed by Bakhtin in his book on Dostoevsky is the introduction of the unfinalizable hero into the novel. *Unfinalizability* refers to the indeterminacy and openendedness of a character, to a character who is evolving, outgrowing his former bounds. In the case of Johan Alén’s tales, this indeterminacy is a positive value.

On the third level, discussed in chapter 7, the relationship between man and troll is scrutinized with the aid of two of Bakhtin’s favourite concepts, unfinalizability and dialogue. This constitutes a reconsideration of Bakhtin’s notion of unfinalizability in the context of narratives of the supernatural, viewed as a genre. Hence I am broadening the scope of the inquiry into generic concerns by reviewing the texts included in my material in the light of the concept of unfinalizability, which I think might be useful in explicating the construction of texts depicting encounters with the supernatural. Stories of such encounters appear to rely on the indeterminacy and unfinalizability of the supranormal beings for suspense and for the efficacy of the narrative; from the perspective of the characters, though, unfinalizability is not necessarily an unequivocal blessing. Therefore, there is a conflict between the demands of the story/genre and those of the characters, and it is

the tension and interplay between these points of view that I wish to elucidate. In his early works (Bakhtine 1984; Bakhtin 1993), Bakhtin pondered the relation between self and other in terms of finalization, the bestowal of form, rather than unfinalizability, which he regarded as the consequence of poor art. These early formulations of the problem of intersubjectivity are a fair complement to the later theories of polyphony and dialogue with their unbridled celebration of indeterminacy. Thus I will analyze the role of unfinalizability on the one hand and finalization on the other in the construction of the relationship between man and troll, taking the differing requirements of the genre and of the characters into account.

An important aspect of Bakhtin's conception of unfinalizability is the assumption of a dialogical position in relation to the hero on the part of the author. Such a position entails the adoption of a very open attitude to the characters which allows them to develop freely within the narrative. Hence *dialogue* is employed in a restricted sense, as it implies a willingness to listen unconditionally to the other. The performer of a narrative of trolls may be presumed to exhibit such an attitude to his supranormal characters by permitting them "to be themselves", and this hypothesis needs to be verified, but I also want to examine whether the human characters in the text engage in dialogue with the troll in this specific sense, and what it might suggest for the interpretation of the relationship between humans and supernatural creatures.

To summarize, I hope to demonstrate how theories of intertextuality and genre taken together may serve to highlight the creation of images of the supernatural in narrative. Finally, I want to stress that the interpretations presented in this thesis are my own, based on my individual store of knowledge, and that others, including the narrators I am studying, might well see, or have seen, other connections than I am able to perceive. Similarly, the conclusions I draw on the basis of these interpretations are my own, and they are custom-made for the material I am utilizing. Hence, even though I believe they have some degree of general applicability, I also think they have to be tested in each individual case.

1.2 Delimitations and Definitions

The present study is geographically, linguistically and temporally delimited; it is primarily focused on the provinces of Nyland (Uusimaa), Southwestern

Finland and Ostrobothnia, as well as the Åland Islands, in other words, on those areas in Finland with Swedish-speaking inhabitants.³ This is because it is the Swedish-language tradition of trolls in Finland I am examining. In terms of time the investigation spans some seventy years, from the 1850s to 1925 (for the methodological implications of this fact, see chapter 1.5).

So how is a troll to be defined? The best answer to that question might be that it cannot be defined (cf. Stattin 1992: 18–19), but this has not stopped scholars from trying. Elisabeth Hartmann makes a distinction between the Eastern Scandinavian (Danish and Swedish) and the Western Scandinavian (Norwegian) conceptions of trolls. She characterizes the Norwegian trolls as solitary and fictitious beings, basically synonymous with the *riese* (she uses the German spelling and not the Norwegian *rise*), which she regards as a purely aetiological being. The Scandinavian forms of *riesen*—the Norwegian *jutul* (sing.), *jöttnar* (plural), *gygr* (fem.), the Swedish *jättar* (plural) and the Danish *kjæmper* (plural) sharply distinguish themselves from empirical beings, according to Hartmann. She divides the conception of the *riese* into two parts, one based on faith, the other entirely fictive, and these intermingle in actual practice (Hartmann 1936: 47–49, 51). The Norwegian legend troll is generally of great stature and grotesquely ugly (Hartmann 1936: 52). The Eastern Scandinavian trolls, on the other hand, are social, empirical beings corresponding to the *huldrefolk* in Norwegian folk belief. This is especially true of the Danish and South Swedish conception of trolls. In the former case, the term *troid* is rarely utilized, since *bjærgfolk* is preferred to indicate a group of beings taking an intermediate position between Swedish trolls on the one hand, and Norwegian *huldrefolk* and Swedish *vättar* on the other. Hartmann likens the trolls of Southern Sweden to those of Danish tradition, and identifies them with *vättar*. In the north of Sweden, from Dalecarlia and Hälsingland northward, the Eastern Scandinavian tradition reigns, and the limits of this tradition area

³ Swedish-speakers have been living in modern-day Finland at least since the 12th–14th centuries when the land was incorporated into the kingdom of Sweden (for the latest discussion of this issue, see Ivars & Huldén 2002). In the following I will be using Swedish place-names when referring to areas inhabited by Swedish-speaking people, or to places with a Finnish-speaking population but having Swedish names as well. It may also be noted that the extent to which Finland-Swedish narrators were fluent in, or even knew, Finnish should not be overestimated. Therefore a concentration on Swedish-language traditions is in order.

are the same as those of the conception of *vittra* (the Norwegian *huldra*). In Western Sweden the Eastern Scandinavian and Western Scandinavian traditions blend into each other, even though they retain the grotesque traits of the Norwegian tradition. The Central Swedish conception of trolls exists in Götaland, Southern and Central Svealand, Småland, Northern Blekinge, Östergötland, Eastern Västergötland, Västmanland, Närke, Södermanland, Uppland, Gästrikland and Swedish-speaking Finland. Hartmann describes the Central Swedish trolls as a group of creatures largely corresponding to the Danish *bjærgfolk* and the Norwegian *huldrefolk*, as well as to the conception of *vättar*. The latter were regarded as more peaceful and well-disposed neighbours, while the trolls received a more ominous, dangerous stamp since they lived in the wilderness and in the mountains. The evil-mindedness of the trolls was evidenced in their abductions of cattle and humans alike. The Central Swedish trolls dwell in mountains, those in Southern Sweden inhabit mounds, and Norwegian trolls live in the high mountains. The looks of the troll may be pictured in various ways, but its ugliness is a common feature. In Central Sweden the troll can be of human height, whereas the Northern and Western parts of the country favour huge trolls (Hartmann 1936: 60–65).

Jan-Öjvind Swahn essentially agrees with Elisabeth Hartmann in his article in the Swedish *Nationalencyklopedin*. He notes that the term *troll* has different significations in Swedish (including Finland-Swedish), Danish and Norwegian tradition, and that the trolls of folk belief, and therefore of legends, were envisioned as anthropomorphic, collective supranormal beings inhabiting mountains, barrows or woods in Central and South Swedish folklore. They were thought to live their lives much as humans did, and in some legends they live in peace with man, though they are mostly depicted as thieving and dangerous. Conceptions of changelings and abductions were the most important ones connected to them, and these motifs can also be found in the Celtic world; this was one of Elisabeth Hartmann's main points. Belief in trolls must be distinguished from that in witches. The trolls of folktales are identical with giants, and their role is to serve as supernaturally great and dangerous opponents to the heroes. The solitary trolls associated with impressive natural formations in legends tend to have characteristics drawn from both legends and folktales (Swahn 1995: 431).

With regards to the Norwegian trolls, Virginie Amilien describes them as supernatural creatures, big and ugly, functioning as the opponents of the

human heroes; the troll is the typical image of evil in Norwegian narratives. Since the Christianization of Norway it has been related to the Devil. The troll is a symbol of not only the power of evil, but also of the forces of nature. The distinction between the troll and the *jutul* rests on the latter's mythical association: the *jutul* is linked to the past, connoting a temporal reference, and its importance in legends springs from this fact. The *tusse* makes rare appearances in folk narratives. Originally a creature of cosmogonic significance, the Old Norse *thurs*, the race to which Ymer belonged, turned into an evil and naive personage, often depicted as a short man with a white beard. The *rise* has preserved its link to giant dimensions. In contradistinction to Hartmann, Amilien argues that the *rise* has progressively distinguished itself from other supranormal beings, but unfortunately she does not expand on the subject. In later Norwegian tradition the *gyger* may be the wife of the troll, playing the part of a secondary opponent, or she may be the principal opponent, great and terrible. Employed synonymously with *gyger*, the *hulder* in one sense of the word is a man-eating, horrible giantess. The term may also designate a creature haunting the hills and woods, or the family of the subterranean people, the *huldrefolk*, which are viewed more positively, although the latter can function as both helpers and opponents (Amilien 1996: 35–42). Since Amilien restricts herself to folktales, the relation between trolls and *huldra* and *huldrefolk* remains indistinct, and it is difficult to compare her opinion on the subject with Hartmann's.

If we juxtapose these accounts of the idiosyncrasies and mores of the trolls to what can be gathered from my own material, the following observations can be made. Very little can be said of the size of the troll (cf. chapter 3.2.1): only rarely is it described as "terribly large" (SLS 31, 141:111) or something to that effect (SLS 65: 45). Most of the time its physique is not mentioned at all. Thus, one cannot claim with certainty that trolls are huge and ugly. They might be humanlike as in Central Sweden, the traditional area to which Swedish-speaking Finland also belongs, in which case there might be no need to specify their appearance. The trolls usually live in hills in the woods; in that respect the definitions agree with my material. They can be social as well as solitary beings, one of the few traits demarcating them from the *rå*, which is generally solitary. The forest is the home of both the troll and the *rå*, and both are equally notorious for abducting humans or their cattle. However, the *rå* is not commonly associated with

the practice of changing babies; here the Devil (SLS 166: 687–689; SLS 37: 70–71), the earthdwellers (SLS 333: 208–210) and the brownies (SLS 166: 728–729) are the troll's fellow culprits, in addition to nameless creatures (*Finlands* 1931: 147–148).

No personal experience narratives of trolls have been recorded, but this might be the result of the vicissitudes of collection. If we relate this fact to the rest of the material on supernatural beings, we can see that personal experience stories are rather scarce in general. There are a few narratives about encounters with the *rå*, for instance, but the number of such texts is marginal. Their inclusion in the extant collections may be as much attributed to chance as to any conscious design, and it is possible that collectors were biased against, or simply uninterested in, personal experience narratives. Accordingly, I cannot make any pronouncement on the empirical or fictitious nature of the troll in the Swedish tradition in Finland.

I have chosen not to make any wide-ranging comparisons with Finnish-language and international traditions (concerning the former, see note 3 in this chapter); it is my hope that anyone interested in this aspect of the troll tradition in the Swedish-speaking districts in Finland will find what he needs in order to draw his own conclusions.⁴ Similarly, I have declined to consider the extent of belief in trolls; as Linda Dégh and Andrew Vázsonyi have shown us, belief is a volatile condition (Dégh & Vázsonyi 1976), and the contextual information is too scant to give any indication of belief or non-belief in any case.

A choice I regret I have been forced to make, but that I nevertheless deem necessary, is the limited attention I have been able to devote to intertexts from the field of wider folk belief, in chapters 4 and 5 in particular. I have felt it more urgent to point to relations with religious tradition, which is the prime contribution of this thesis to the study of folk belief, than to provide an exhaustive account of the belief context to which the material examined belonged.

In the present study the terms *narrative*, *text*, *intertextuality* and *intertext*, *dialogue* and *discourse* will be liberally employed. By *narrative* I mean the narration of a series of events, involving a process of communication in which the narrative is told by a performer to a recipient using verbal means

⁴ *He* and *his* will be employed to denote any anonymous person, and both men and women are included.

(cf. Rimmon-Keenan 2001: 2). *Story*, and to some extent *text*, are employed synonymously with *narrative*. *Text* is also understood to be characterized by the connectedness of its components and the concepts underlying them (cohesion and coherence). It is constructed by the performer, on conscious as well as unconscious levels, and its production is related to the surrounding situational, social and cultural context. The text is a system in which each component is vital for the functioning of the system (cf. Björklund 1993: 21), and in addition, it is an intertextual phenomenon connecting communicative speech to other types of anterior or synchronic utterances. The text is therefore a productivity, implying that: 1) it redistributes language, i.e., it changes and transgresses both linguistic and logical categories; 2) it is an *intertextuality*, i.e., a permutation of texts: within the space of the text several utterances drawn from other texts cross and neutralize one another (Kristeva 1978: 52). The *intertexts* are consequently the utterances absorbed into and transformed in the text (Kristeva 1978: 84–85). One detail in the explication of intertextuality above is objectionable, however, and that is the notion of intertexts neutralizing each other. Then the tension, the *dialogue* between the utterances constituting the text would disappear, and a significant component of its productivity would vanish.

Kristeva's inspiration in devising the concept of intertextuality, Mikhail Bakhtin, used the word *dialogue* in a number of different, but related senses; I will only refer to those relevant to my own study (see also chapter 1.4.1). Firstly, dialogue exists within the word, as any word we utter has been pronounced by others before us, imbuing it with the views, shared thoughts, value judgements and accents of others. Our own appropriation of the word enters into complex interrelationships of association, dissociation and intersection with those alien elements, which influences the actualization of the word (Bakhtin 1986a: 276). Secondly, there is dialogue between points of view or discourses within the same utterance, hybridization. By this Bakhtin meant the fusion of the discourse of the author with the discourse of the narrator, the implicit author or the characters within a single proposition, so that the person from whose point of view the text is structured cannot be pin-pointed (Bakhtin 1986a: 301–308). The conception of perspectives or discourses in dialogue has been assimilated into folkloristic research (see e.g. Tarkka 1994: 251, 263–265, 295). Thirdly, Bakhtin construed the relation between speaker and listener as a dialogue. He calls this form of dialogue *addressivity*, which he defined as the

orientation of the speaker to the response of the listener; this anticipated answer shapes the utterance. Addressivity requires an active understanding on the part of the listener, who must absorb the utterance into his own conceptual system, and thereby construct new interrelationships, consonances and dissonances with the utterance (Bakhtin 1986a: 280–282). In chapter 7 I will be using *dialogue* chiefly in this sense.

Within folkloristic research yet other meanings have accrued to *dialogue*. Lotte Tarkka has spoken of a dialogue between genres (Tarkka 1994: 265, 267–291, 295), and of dialogue on the thematic level, e.g. a symbolic dialogue between humans and supernatural creatures in ritual (Tarkka 1994: 251, 260–261, 266–272, 274–287, 295). In dialogical anthropology, the word has been applied to the interaction between interviewer and interviewee as well (Vasenkari 1999; Vasenkari & Pekkala 2000). More generally, *dialogue* has been applied to almost any form of linguistic exchange, but one peculiar characteristic of dialogue in comparison with other similar terms might be worth mentioning. Unlike *dialectic*, for example, *dialogue* does not imply the fusion of thesis and antithesis in a synthesis; dialogue has no end point, no real resolution. It continues beyond the boundaries of any particular exchange (Morson & Emerson 1990: 49–50).

Discourse is a much-used term in contemporary cultural research, and this dissertation is no exception; the nuances of my own usage of the word mainly derive from Michel Foucault's, Norman Fairclough's and Mikhail Bakhtin's definitions of it. Foucault employs it in three senses: firstly, it represents the general domain of all statements (*discourse* without an article in English); secondly, it refers to an individualizable group of statements (*a discourse*); and thirdly, it signifies a regulated practice accounting for a certain number of statements (Foucault 1999: 106). I will be using the word in all these senses, though chiefly in the first and second ones. Fairclough's conception of discourse is related to Foucault's; for Fairclough, *a discourse* is a specific way of constructing a subject matter or area of knowledge (Fairclough 1992: 128), while *discourse* is language use as a form of social practice (Fairclough 1992: 63).

Bakhtin, or rather his translator, deploys *discourse* somewhat differently; sometimes it refers to a *voice*, as in *double-voiced discourse*, a designation that will be utilized in chapter 6, and sometimes it denotes a method of using words presuming authority, a usage that is due to the meaning of the original Russian word *slovo* (Mills 2002: 7–8). *Discourse* may also be de-

fined by its context of occurrence, for example *the discourse of religion* that will be spoken of in chapters 4 and 5 (cf. Mills 2002: 9). In structuralist and post-structuralist research, the word has connoted a move away from the reflectionist view of language as an unproblematic vehicle of communication and representation, to a conception emphasizing language as a system governed by its own rules and constraints influencing the thoughts and expressions of individual subjects (Mills 2002: 8). All these associations have influenced my use of the word.

Thus, the heterogeneity of the current usage of the term is visible in my own employment of it, and even though this might lead to some confusion, I have not found it meaningful to substitute it with other labels of my own invention, since that would only contribute to an unnecessary multiplication of technical terms. Nevertheless, I believe the different senses of the word will be fairly easy to determine when interpreted in relation to the context of use.

1.3 Trolls in the History of Research

In this survey of prior research I will concentrate exclusively on the folkloristic literature on trolls. For an account of Nordic folk belief research in general until 1975, see Velure (1976).

The first large-scale effort to present and analyze the troll tradition in Scandinavia was made by Elisabeth Hartmann in *Die Trollvorstellungen in den Sagen und Märchen der skandinavischen Völker*, published in 1936. It is an ambitious work in that she attempts to cover the whole of Scandinavia, with the exception of Iceland, the Faroes and Finland; these areas are nevertheless treated as well, albeit in passing. The explicit aim of her study is to examine the troll as it appears in legends and fairy tales respectively in order to identify their distinctive characteristics. She then proceeds by describing the legends and tale types associated with the troll, in the former case chiefly narratives of changelings and abductions (*bergtagning*), and in the latter case she orders the material according to the status of the troll as opponent or helper. Hartmann believes that some of the Scandinavian legends of changelings and abductions originate in actual emotional experiences (Hartmann 1936: 77, 134), whereas the fairy tales are purely fictive in their description of the troll (Hartmann 1936: 143). Thus she thinks the conception of the troll as evidenced in legends is tangibly close

and vivid, while the troll in fairy tales is stiff and unrealistic. However, both genres have some common traits, e.g. the huge frame of the troll, its predilection for living in mountains and its enmity for man (Hartmann 1936: 143). Märchen fictions and tales for children hold the middle ground between these genres, as their image of the troll is more or less similar to that of the legend (Hartmann 1936: 176).

In addition to the primary research problem, Hartmann also considers other points, such as the geographical origin or age of a given legend or tale type, quite in line with the methodology of the historic-geographical school, and, perhaps most importantly, the emergence of the main motif of a story. Dreams and hallucinations constitute a frequently employed explanation (Hartmann 1936: 52, 77, 100–101, 114, 116, 118, 121–122, 127, 133–134, 165), and in that respect it is a rather von Sydowian study with its predilection for psychologistic interpretations.

Hence Hartmann presupposes the specialization of genres—one purely fictitious, the other both fictitious and based on experience—but unlike her latter-day sympathizers (e.g. Honko 1989: 13), she does not ponder its communicative functions; the meanings of the narratives she scrutinizes do not exist as a factor worth taking into account. Notwithstanding, I have followed in Hartmann's footsteps on one point, and that is in viewing the relationship between man and troll in terms of conflict and tolerance, rendered as "Der [Märchen]Troll als übernatürlicher Gegner" and "Der [Märchen]Troll als übernatürlicher Helfer" in Hartmann's work. As can be seen from my clarification in brackets, it is only the troll in fairy tales that is dealt with in this manner. I have chosen to consider all texts pertaining to trolls from this point of view, and I have also paid attention to the possible changes occurring in the relationship between man and troll in the course of a narrative in order to highlight the complexity of human-supernatural interaction.

Bengt Holbek studies the story of Hobergsgubben, the old Hoburg man, in Danish folklore from a genre point of view in the article "On the Borderline between Legend and Tale" (1991; for a summary of the narrative, see chapters 3.3.2, 3.3.3). He begins by rejecting Waldemar Liungman's statement that the story originated in Denmark in the Middle Ages, and he presents both internal and external evidence to support his claim; he believes that the narrative reached Denmark through the translation of a Swedish chapbook, that is through print. Many elements of the story are

not to be found in Danish folklore, and the distribution pattern of the recorded oral variants is different from the common one (Holbek 1991: 180–182). Once the literary derivation of the text has been established, Holbek contemplates what the folk narrators have done with the story, how they have turned it into folklore, and why they have chosen to integrate that specific narrative into their repertoires. All chapbooks did not enter folklore, after all. As for the first two questions, people retained those features that were compatible with tradition, while transforming those that were not. Examples of the latter are the figures of St. Peter and the Virgin Mary who might be replaced by representatives of the church, as well as the drummer who has been combined with the image of St. Peter or God himself, which is more in accord with tradition (Holbek 1991: 183–186). The third question does not receive much treatment.

Holbek then moves on to the topic of genre, and asserts that both tale and legend, the genres to which the story might belong, serve as instruction in right and proper conduct, but the tale creates a fictional world in which interpersonal relations on the family level are treated, and the legend determines the order and the boundaries of the human world in opposition to the chaotic world outside it. However, the narrative of the old Hoburg man does not fit squarely into either category. The chapbook, a rationalist and rather tiresome creation according to Holbek, is supposed to be fictitious, but there are elements in it with their roots in legend tradition. Thus, the status of the printed source is ambiguous, and the oral versions have followed suit. Some of the latter have not been completely faithful to the literary text, and two distinct tendencies can be discerned in the development of the stories. Some stress the narrative's identity as a tale, often linking it with tales of the stupid ogre. It is viewed as entertainment, and the troll is thought to deserve the treatment it gets. Nevertheless, the troll is duped by reference to powers associated with the legend and the beliefs of the community.

Others add further legend motifs to the text, frequently connecting it with real barrows or hills in the landscape. The peculiarity of the other-world is prominent, and man becomes the defender of his community against alien intrusion. The happy end of the story brings it closer to the tale in this respect, and Holbek's conclusion is that the narrative is permanently poised on the borderline between legend and tale (Holbek 1991: 187–191).

Holbek broaches a subject that will be prominent in my own thesis, namely the question of intergeneric dialogue or intergenericity (for the terms, see 1.4.3; cf. chapter 6 for analysis). My theoretical framework is different, but Holbek is an important precedent in several ways. Firstly, he points to the phenomenon of intergeneric dialogue itself, and demonstrates that the generic ambiguity of texts does not have to be resolved, and that a text need not necessarily be inserted into one, unambiguous slot in the genre system. Secondly, Holbek indicates the import of norms and values in the construction of the tale and the legend as genres, and I will be touching on that topic as well, but from the perspective of distorted norms and values in parodic narratives.

Bo Lönnqvist briefly surveys the relation between physical appearance and cultural barriers in the article "Troll och människor" ('Trolls and Humans', 1996). The form of the body has been used as a criterion for distinguishing between the normal and the abnormal, the human and the non-human in many contexts for several centuries, as his material stemming from the 17th century onward shows. One of these contexts is the supranormal tradition of the 18th and 19th centuries, and especially the notion of changelings. The changeling embodied what the human child should not be like, possessing corporeal traits that were the object of derision in folk culture. More generally, the physical attributes of supernatural beings could be both positive and negative, and the meanings ascribed to them depend on the situation, and the time and place at which they are encountered. These traits might be turned into the inverse of the normal, substituting oneeyedness for twoeyedness, an animal limb for a human one, etc. Apart from such a conceptual delimitation, supranormal creatures are also subject to a territorial demarcation, relegated as they are to the forest and the wilds, the water or the subterranean world, separate from human habitation (Lönnqvist 1996: 152–155). The ambiguity between human and animal characteristics is an important one, recurring in traditional abusive terms, for example. Lönnqvist stresses the duality of these features, and wonders whether they are losing their ambivalence, becoming wholly negative, in contemporary culture. In other words, is the nuanced perception of these attributes giving way to increasing aggression resulting in greater humiliation for the victim (Lönnqvist 1996: 157)? Thus, it is the symbolic properties of trolls and changelings that are in focus, and they are regarded as manifestations of a more general cultural pattern.

In her doctoral dissertation *Le troll et autres créatures surnaturelles dans les contes populaires norvégiens* (1996), Virginie Amilien ponders the construction of the image of the troll and its world through the ages, and the symbolism and associations of the figure. In exploring what one might call the metaphorical association between the domain of the troll and the world of the dead, Amilien focuses on the traits common to both realms. One such characteristic is the location of these worlds, in the mountains. The dead were thought to inhabit specific mountains in the landscape, whereas trolls dwelt in the mountains of the imagination. Timelessness and the absence of spatial specificity define both realms. The Christian division of the world of the dead into Paradise, Purgatory and Hell recurs in the description of the otherworld of the troll in which these three categories intermingle. According to Amilien, the image of Paradise is present in the fertility of the earth in the domain of the troll, as well as in the arduousness of the passage to that realm (cf. the narrow path), visited by an elect few, but since the world of the troll is often reached through a descent involving physical mortification, it may also be linked to the image of Hell or to Purgatory. The brilliant light encountered at the end of the journey, however, once again associates it with Paradise (Amilien 1996:108–117). In this study I consider the paradisaical associations of the otherworld as well, but I will point to other reasons for doing so, and the conclusions are somewhat different.

Amilien employs a *longue-durée* perspective on her material, tracing the evolution of the troll from the Old Norse sagas to modern folktales and contemporary popular culture. In Old Norse literature the troll was connected with combat, and female trolls in particular were regarded as powerful and vicious. With the introduction of Christianity all supernatural creatures were denigrated, but only the troll was assimilated into the image of the Devil. Amilien illustrates the influence of the Bible on folk narratives with one, lucid example, tale types AT 300–303, The Dragon Slayer. The attributes of the dragon, beast, troll or *rise* acting as opponent in these types are drawn from the Revelation of St. John the Divine. The many heads of the troll, the horns it is occasionally endowed with and the crowns adorning its heads are to be found in the description of the beast in Revelation 13:1, and the ability of the troll to regenerate when not all of its heads have been lopped off in one stroke parallels the wondrous resuscitation of the beast in Revelation 13:3 (Amilien 1996:135, 142–144, 146). I intend to

make a similar, more extended and systematic investigation of such relationships between folklore and the Bible.

Amilien continues her exploration of the symbolic properties of the troll by analyzing the image of supernatural beings in relation to the Old Norse conceptions of the dead, the soul, and fate. She contends that supranormal creatures seem to incarnate the image of the dead, oscillating between the notions of revenants and of the souls of the dead (Amilien 1996: 164, 185, 220). The troll may be viewed as the embodiment of destiny as well, since it goads the protagonist into action and gives him a mission in life through its depredations. Simultaneously, it has traits in common with the *fylgja*, the ancient tutelary spirit protecting a man or clan, and with the *hamr*, which could detach itself from the body, representing the ancestral spirit. The *fylgja* manifests itself in dreams, and the encounter with the troll occasionally begins with the hero inexplicably falling asleep, making the coming of the *fylgja*/troll possible. The physical form of the *fylgja* is reminiscent of the appearance of the female trolls, and the ambivalence of the *fylgja*, which was both good and bad, is reflected in the malice of the male troll and the benignity of a younger, female troll in some narratives; Amilien believes the protective aspect of the troll has been suppressed by the Church. When the troll is destroyed, its soul, i.e., the *fylgja*, passes into the hero, who is reborn, concretely and symbolically. The *hamr* is the vital principle giving the hero a new personality, and it is a symbolic image of the power which is being embodied in him. For the first time he is becoming a person, an adult. The helper is like unto the *hugr*, the impersonal, active manifestation of the soul. It is exterior to man, just as the helper is, and it is connected with the souls of the dead. The *hugr* appears when it sees fit, sometimes to the detriment of the individual it has supposedly come to assist. This facet corresponds to those instances when the hero is being aided against his will. There are also elements of the *fylgja* in the image of the helper (Amilien 1996: 180–185, 202–207, 222–223). In other words, Amilien argues that the Old Norse concepts have survived in the Norwegian tales of the troll.

Moreover, Amilien contemplates whether it is possible to isolate any characteristics peculiar to the troll, and she settles on five traits usually linked to trolls alone: firstly, particular sounds; the troll often arrives noisily, and it shouts rather than talks. Secondly, it can have more than two eyes, or only one eye. Thirdly, it loves beauty, especially human, female

beauty. Fourthly and fifthly, it is associated with two specific ways of dying, either at the sight of the rising sun, or in an explosion because of anger—it literally bursts into pieces (Amilien 1996: 255).

Amilien also considers whether there is anything typically Norwegian in the folktales, and she concludes that the attributes of supranormal creatures in the texts are not exclusively Norwegian; rather the national character lies in the combination of wondrous attributes and the rigorous functions imposed by the narrative. The omnipresence of the supernatural and its close liaison with the everyday is the true mark of Norwegianness, according to Amilien (Amilien 1996: 258).

The principal fascination of Amilien's work is her manner of blending the research problems posed in contemporary folkloristics with the old question of survivals of ancient cultural conceptions in 19th- and early 20th-century folklore. In contrast to the representatives of the survivalist approach, however, she does not view the historical evolution of this relic as a degeneration of ancient forms, but as an adaptation to an existing historical context producing a culturally viable tradition. Each stage of evolution is given its due, and the Old Norse conceptions are not valorized simply because they are the oldest. Similarly, she does not stoop to reductionism, confining the world of the troll to a feeble reflection of the ancient kingdom of the dead, for instance, but emphasizing their connotative and associative resemblances.

The implications of her analysis are interesting to deliberate. Why did these ancient concepts survive, i.e., what function did they fill in later periods? Were they considered functional in wonder tales only, or did they persist in other contexts as well? How did they fit into the overall culture of each era? These questions might be difficult to answer, but they certainly deserve to be posed.

Knut Aukrust has studied the relationship between trolls, churches and St. Olaf in an article with that title, "Troll, kirker og St. Olav" (1997). St. Olaf occupied a special place in Norwegian folklore, something occasionally frowned upon by the ecclesiastical authorities. The saint also represented law and order for the peasantry which referred to him in disputes with the authorities (Aukrust 1997: 235–237).

The Christianization of the country effected by St. Olaf was not accomplished without opposition, and in the folk tradition the human, pagan adversaries have been replaced by equally pagan, but supernatural creatures,

such as trolls, *jötnar* and other beings. The troll emerges as the most important opponent of Christianization, and the slaying of the troll is another way of expressing St. Olaf's mission to give the people new norms and a new religion. Yet the combat with the troll has cosmological overtones as well, since it is associated with the building of churches. In this context the trolls are not merely opponents, but also the actual builders of the church. The church spoken of may be a local church, but it is often the magnificent cathedral in Trondheim, Nidarosdomen, which was erected on the supposed site of Olaf's grave. The construction of such an edifice must have been carried out by divine or supernatural means, and the idea of the church-building troll suits this line of popular reasoning perfectly (Aukrust 1997: 243–245).

The story, which is well-known in Scandinavian folklore (see Klintberg 2002: 135–136), runs as follows: A troll offers to complete a building project, or volunteers to build a church from scratch in return for either the sun and moon, or one of the saint's vital body parts. St. Olaf is desperate enough to enter the bargain, and must then find out the troll's name in order to evade a grisly fate. At the last moment he hears a lullaby sung by the troll's wife in which the troll's name is mentioned, and St. Olaf can save his hide. The narrative may be interpreted as a representation of the disclosure and annihilation of, and the victory over trolls and supranormal powers. Therefore, the erection of the church is a sign of conquest, geographically and cosmologically. The church appears as a sacred site, and as an intersection with other planes of existence. The struggle is crucial in the construction and establishment of sacred space. The forces of chaos, the enemies of God, are symbolized by the troll; St. Olaf's vanquishment of the troll echoes the triumph of God over primordial chaos in the Creation (Aukrust 1997: 245–250).

The shrine is the centre of a cosmological landscape consisting of earth, sky and the subterranean world. Sacred space furnishes the link between these three levels: the cross and the steeple reach toward the sky, the foundation wall extends into the netherworld, into the realm of the dead. One might add that the churchyard becomes the new habitation of the dead, making the realm of the dead a Christianized sphere. Hence the church creates a bridge between what comes before life on earth and what comes after (Aukrust 1997: 250).

Like most other recent contributions to the scholarly literature on trolls,

Aukrust scrutinizes the symbolism of the stories of St. Olaf and the trolls, connecting them with the creation of sacred space and the victory of good over evil.

In addition to these scientific works, there are a number of books aimed at the general public which are worth mentioning, for instance Jan-Öjvind Swahn and Bo Lundwall's 1984 book *Trollen, deras liv, land och legender* ('The Trolls, Their Life, Land and Legends'), Olav Bø's *Trollmakter og godvette* ('Magic Powers and *Godvette*', 1987), and Ebbe Schön and Elisabeth Nyman's *Troll* ('Trolls', 1997).

To summarize, my own work will develop three aspects already touched upon in prior scholarship: firstly, I will expand Hartmann's perspectives on conflict and tolerance between man and troll to include other genres than fairy tales, and to focus on the ratio between these opposites in the narratives, and how it affects the relationship between man and troll. Secondly, I will discuss the issue of intergeneric dialogue raised by Holbek in order to highlight the generic constitution of the image of the troll. Thirdly, I will launch a more systematic and sustained analysis of the connections between troll narratives and Biblical stories, a relation briefly considered by Amilien in her dissertation.

1.4 Intertextuality in the History of Research

In the following I briefly outline the history of the concepts and perspectives I employ in my analysis of the Swedish troll tradition in Finland. My focus is on levels of intertextuality as they have been defined, explicitly and implicitly, in literary and folkloristic scholarship. I do not intend to give a complete overview of intertextual theories, nor do I endeavour to go into every detail of the works I mention in my account. For good introductions to intertextuality I refer the reader to Graham Allen's *Intertextuality* (2000), Michael Worton and Judith Still's *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices* (1990), the collection *Intertextuality* edited by Heinrich F. Plett (1991), and *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History* edited by Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein (1991), for example. The early development of folkloristic intertextualism is described in my *Intertextuality in Nordic Folklore Research* (2001), in which I include particulars not touched upon here.

In an ascending order of abstraction, I discuss (1) intertextuality proper, i.e., the notion of each text being an intersection of texts where at least

one other text can be read (Kristeva 1978: 84); (2) interdiscursivity, which moves from the relation between texts to relations between discourses, here taken in the sense of specific ways of constructing a subject matter (Fairclough 1992: 128), with attendant institutional settings and prevalent power relations; (3) intergenericity, which takes the inquiry one step further, pertaining to the larger whole of genres and genre systems, and (4) cultural intertextuality seeking to uncover more vague affinities between cultural forms, synchronically and diachronically. Finally, we return to the individual subject, whose identity has been said to be constituted by the intermingling of all previous levels in his mind. This aspect of intertextuality may be labelled (5) subjective intertextuality.

Like any division of research trends into various categories, it is difficult to achieve absolute consistency. In my presentation I have therefore adopted the following principles: if a scholar has contributed to the understanding of several aspects of intertextuality, I have split my account of his work and placed it under the appropriate headings. Occasionally I have decided to sort a scholar's work into another category than the most immediately obvious one; this I have done in order to bring out an important consequence of the theory or study.

1.4.1 Intertextuality

Most advocates of intertextuality have not confined themselves to the textual level alone, but this level does figure in many investigations as a component in the analysis of broader concerns. The concept was introduced by Julia Kristeva in 1969 in her article "Le mot, le dialogue et le roman"; she drew her inspiration from Saussurean linguistics and Bakhtinian dialogism, and I therefore briefly present the thoughts of the latter which substantially contributed to the innovative aspects of the theory. Nevertheless, in this context I focus exclusively on those facets of Bakhtin's work which are directly relevant for the development of the conception of intertextuality; the reader wishing to find more information on other features of Bakhtin's oeuvre has many valuable commentaries to consult.⁵ I will also introduce

⁵ See e.g. Björklund 2000; Clark & Holquist 1984; Dentith 1995; Emerson 2000; Hirschkop & Shepherd 1989; Hirschkop 1999; Holquist 1990; Lock 2001a; Lock 2001b; Morson 1986; Morson & Emerson 1990; Vice 1997.

other concepts elaborated by Bakhtin in the course of this thesis, and discuss them in their respective contexts.

I have already presented Bakhtin's understanding of dialogue in some detail in chapter 1.2, and I will not repeat it here. However, the very notion of intertextuality itself, the conception of the text as a mosaic of quotations, is foreshadowed by Bakhtin's analyses of the roots of the works of Rabelais and Dostoevsky in carnival and Menippean satire (Bakhtin 1968; Bachtin 1991). In other words, texts may absorb the characteristics of other genres and cultural forms, and be transformed by them as well as re-model them in their turn. In this respect, Bakhtin is more concerned with interdiscursivity and intergenericity than with intertextuality, though he would have employed none of these terms to describe his preoccupations.⁶

Kristeva produced her work in the intellectual climate of the group involved in the avant-garde journal *Tel Quel*, which boasted associates such as Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and other prominent theorists (Allen 2000: 30–35). Taking the Bakhtinian word as a point of departure, she described the word not as “un *point* (un sens fixe), mais un *croisement de surfaces* textuelles, un dialogue de plusieurs écritures: de l'écrivain, du destinataire (ou du personnage), du contexte culturel actuel ou antérieur” (Kristeva 1978: 83).⁷ Kristeva operates with a fusion of writer and addressee, and of addressee and cultural context. Through the word, the text is situated within history and society which are viewed as texts read by the author and into which he inserts himself by rewriting them. Diachrony gives way to synchrony as the writer assimilates and reaccentuates anterior texts (Kristeva 1978: 83). All texts are considered mosaics of quotations, being the absorption and transformation of other texts. As a consequence, intersubjectivity disappears and is replaced by intertextuality (Kristeva 1978: 85), signalling the emergence of an entirely textualized universe.

Gérard Genette has devoted much effort to developing the analytical

⁶ In this context I would like to point out that I do not regard Bakhtin as an intertextualist, though I acknowledge his partial predilection for problems related to the research field subsequently given that label. Nevertheless, much of his work is difficult to subsume under this heading, and especially the later, psychoanalytical orientation of intertextuality is hard to reconcile with Bakhtin's more pragmatic view of things.

⁷ “... a *point* (a fixed meaning), but an *intersection of textual surfaces*, a dialogue of several writings: of the writer, of the addressee (or the character), of the contemporary or anterior cultural context” (my translation; cf. Kristeva 1980).

vocabulary of intertextual theory, or *transtextuality* as he prefers to call it, defined as “tout ce qui le [i.e., the text] met en relation, manifeste ou secrète, avec d’autres textes” (Genette 1992: 7).⁸ He divides transtextuality into five types: intertextuality, reduced to quotation, plagiarism and allusion; paratextuality—titles, headings, prefaces, illustrations; metatextuality, i.e., commentary; architextuality, the generic framework, and perhaps the most important, at least in this context, hypertextuality, the relation uniting the hypertext, the text studied, with an anterior text, the hypotext. In his use of the concept, Genette restricts himself to obvious hypertextuality, where the whole of the hypertext is derived from the whole of the hypotext, due to his refusal to accord the reader too prominent a role in the interpretation of hypertextual relationships (Genette 1992: 13, 18–19). The hypertext can be created on the basis of the hypotext either through transformation or imitation, the latter being a more complex and indirect procedure. An imitation is essentially another story inspired by the anterior text, while a transformation merely transfers the same story to another setting (Genette 1992: 14). The rigid definition of hypertextuality utilized in practice limits the applicability of the concept, especially since many texts have more than one hypotext, and these may be less easily discernible than Genette would hope for.

He has also elaborated a taxonomy of intertextual techniques, which are far too numerous to mention here in their totality; some of the most common are condensation (contraction of the text), amplification (substantial additions) and substitution (Genette 1992: 341–342, 375, 384). Once again, his categories are keyed to the study of effortlessly identifiable hypotexts, and are more difficult to apply in less evident cases. His work has not figured much in folkloristic discussions of intertextuality, but I will be applying some of his terms where appropriate, in a rather unsystematic fashion.

Susan Stewart was one of the first to apply the theory of intertextuality to folklore in her study of nonsense (Stewart 1979) in which she viewed nonsense as generated in relation to a standard of common sense, the aim being to scrutinize the transformative operations utilized in moving from one domain to another. The concept of intertextuality is employed to describe the interdependence of different provinces of meaning, and to estab-

⁸ “...all that places it [the text] in relation, manifestly or secretly, with other texts” (my translation).

lish the common-sense world as a platform for developing other domains of meaning (Stewart 1979: 16–17). Stewart elaborates an intertextual construct, proceeding from realism, which is most faithful to the everyday, common-sense world, via myth, science fiction and fantasy transposing it to another world while still being dependent on it, to irony splitting reality into two separate spheres, the normal and the ironic, and metafiction stressing the cultural nature of signification and interpretation. The last level of textuality, metafiction, bears a close resemblance to nonsense since it is embedded in an impossible context, criticizing fiction from within fiction itself (Stewart 1979: 19–21). The intertextual construct serves to situate nonsense in the field of other utterances and textual practices, highlighting its affinities with other ways of manipulating common-sense assumptions.

Stewart emphasizes the social context of the interpretation of intertextual relationships, citing biography, the traditional stock of knowledge at hand and the concept of society in general as determining factors (Stewart 1979: 16). However, she does not discuss the genesis and definition of the term more broadly.

Intertextuality received a significant folkloristic elaboration in 1993 when the Finnish scholar Lotte Tarkka presented her comprehensive theory on the subject in the paper “Intertextuality, Rhetorics, and the Interpretation of Oral Poetry”. Like Kristeva, Tarkka construed the text “as a meeting point of different texts”. She describes the subject (the writer or performer), the receiver (the reader or listener), and the cultural context, history and reality as the focal points in the construction of meaning. The subject is also a receiver, creating the text in relation to already existing texts (Tarkka 1993: 171). Unlike Kristeva, Tarkka thus regards the receiver (the addressee) as an empirical being, not as a purely discursive entity; Kristeva’s textualized notions of history and society are replaced by more folkloristically oriented definitions. Context and text become different aspects of the production of meaning, and where one ends and the other begins is not self-evident (Tarkka 1993: 178). The act of performance links the text to social and cultural reality, as well as to the performing subject, and it narrows the span of the web of intertextuality.

In a later study, Tarkka examines the relation between texts in terms of the processes of metaphor and metonymy; here metaphor refers to the differences and similarities between a pair of opposites representing distinct conceptual spheres—for example the human village and the supernatural

forest—which are connected by metonymy, combining elements of the same conceptual order into a sequence, and bridging the distance between the poles of the metaphor. In linguistic parlance, metaphorical relations are paradigmatic, whereas metonymic ones are syntagmatic. As instances of metonymy Tarkka mentions the concepts of dialogue and communication, and rituals involving communication with the otherworld (cf. chapter 1.1 on the difference between Tarkka's notions and common usage). Intertextual relations, generated by the use of common themes and epithets, for instance, and forming an intertextual universe, are conceived as a series of metaphors, each constituent being comparable but not identical to the others (Tarkka 1994: 293–294; cf. Tarkka 1998b). This approach facilitates an investigation of networks of association in which similar themes recur in a variety of texts, often representing different genres. I will return to this topic in the discussion of intergenericity.

In her dissertation *Magic, Body and Social Order* (1998), Laura Stark-Arola adopts Lotte Tarkka's notion of the intertextual universe as an organic whole in which a single text receives its meaning only in relation to other texts. She also discusses *macro-texts*, i.e., broader cultural traditions such as ritual descriptions of love magic, *lempi*-bathing and instances of women being perceived as polluting men, which gain meaning through their interrelation (Stark-Arola 1998: 67, 73). Nevertheless, the most important contribution made by Stark-Arola is perhaps the delineation of a concrete, intertextualist research method, something that has been largely missing in intertextual scholarship. Her deliberations on this point therefore deserve some attention.

She takes her point of departure in the act of reading the whole corpus of texts to be analyzed, saying that the researcher forms a pre-comprehension of recurrent correspondences, homologies and analogies among and between the texts. A similar differentiation of the meanings contained in the texts, applicable to the larger corpus, is made as well. This preliminary picture constitutes the basis for the next step in the process of interpretation, the employment of the method of intertextual abstraction, as she calls it, which is glossed as the crystallization of the common denominators of texts sporting the same theme into hypothetical generalizations like the core motifs she treats in her study. The farm house is an example of such a motif, organizing the relations between domains (home–village) and persons (members of the household–outsiders); core motifs are specifically de-

ployed to organize other cultural concepts, symbols and relations. Additionally, the scholar examines relations of opposition and exclusion; the force of the female genitalia, female *väki*, should not come into contact with men's travel gear, for instance, since that would ruin them or the horse in some way (Stark-Arola 1998: 67–68, 23–24, 224–230).

The emphasis on an understanding arrived at through the reading of a corpus of texts in its entirety necessitates a substantial research material, as a single text or a very small number of texts are deemed inadequate for the production of a reliable interpretation of cultural thought. Hence a sizeable corpus is primarily needed for the identification of key texts, those texts which will throw light on all texts involved. Such key texts may be ones overtly articulating the assumptions remaining tacit in many other records, as in Stark-Arola's case (Stark-Arola 1998: 68).

The scholarly interpretation of the semantic systems extracted from the intertextual universe is worked out through reference to various contextual frames, consisting of textual context, performance context, social context, cultural context, folk belief context, genre context and inter-genre context. Only the last two are labelled intertextual—with a broader conception of intertext, all but the first, which is rather intratextual, could be regarded as intertextual (Stark-Arola 1998: 69–70).

Another seminal figure in the history of intertextuality is Michael Riffaterre. His version of the concept, presented in *Semiotics of Poetry* (1978) and several articles, differs markedly from the ones dealt with thus far. He defines an intertext as “one or more texts which the reader must know in order to understand a work of literature in terms of its overall significance (as opposed to the discrete meanings of its successive words, phrases and sentences)” (Riffaterre 1990: 56). Intertextuality then becomes the network of functions forming and regulating the relations between text and intertext. Riffaterre distinguishes between theme and intertext: the former is a variant of a motif, and knowledge of it is not necessary for the interpretation of a text (Riffaterre 1990: 57, 61); it does not always constitute an intertext, but an intertext can simultaneously be a theme. This delimitation of intertext is not congruent with the views of many intertextualist researchers. Lotte Tarkka, for example, has successfully analyzed themes as intertexts, and Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred has investigated the articulation of the same theme in a diachronic body of material (see 1.4.4). In my own work I have also regarded themes as intertexts, since I do believe the

various formulations of a theme have bearing on the interpretation of specific instances of it.

In Riffaterre's vocabulary, the term *intertext* is reserved for texts which must be adduced in order to comprehend the ungrammaticalities of the text, the unintelligible, seemingly unmotivated departures from logic and accepted usage. The presence of these intertexts is signalled by a connective, a word or phrase occurring in both the text and the intertext, linking them to each other. The connective represents a problem in the text, but it also furnishes the answer to that problem in the intertext. Riffaterre argues that the combination of the sign systems of the text and intertext creates a new entity accounting for the uniqueness of the text (Riffaterre 1990: 61, 57–58); thus he draws a conclusion diametrically opposed to that of most other scholars who deny the absolute originality of texts because of their inclusion in an intertextual system.

Furthermore, Riffaterre differentiates between meaning, which is the result of the first, syntagmatic reading, i.e., the reading of the words and phrases of the text in succession, and significance, which springs from the second, retroactive reading. Meaning is plural, but unlike most proponents of intertextuality, Riffaterre does not cherish its multiplicity. The aim of interpretation is to arrive at the one, unitary significance of the text, summarized in the matrix, a single word from which the structure of the whole text can be derived. This word is not present in the text; it is detectable only in the form of its variants, the ungrammaticalities evident in the text. Consequently the discovery of the matrix calls for a reinterpretation of the multifarious meanings of the text in order to achieve a uniform explication (Riffaterre 1978: 2–6, 13, 19).

Riffaterre champions the non-referentiality of poetry, since the ungrammaticalities of the text require a reading not according to reality, but in relation to other texts. The habit of interpreting poetry as a representation of reality must be overcome to arrive at the significance of the text. The function of the second reading is therefore to make this transition from mimesis and meaning to semiosis and significance. Riffaterre identifies two types of intertextual representation of reality; the first creates its representation by referring to an intertext at odds with reality, the second depicts reality by negating an intertext conforming to that reality (Riffaterre 1984: 143). His rejection of referentiality thus parallels Kristeva's disregard for context, although the arguments for doing so are slightly different.

Lauri Honko has picked up on Riffaterre's version of intertextuality in his *Textualising the Siri Epic* (1998), though he dispenses with many of Riffaterre's assumptions, for example the non-referentiality of poetry; being an ardent defender of the fundamental importance of context and performance (Honko 1998: 151), Honko has no sympathy for context-free approaches. What Honko and Riffaterre do share is the emphasis on intertextuality at the reception of a text. Riffaterre's exegesis of French poetry is ostensibly oriented to the reading to be made by the receiver, and Honko places special theoretical weight on intertextual interpretation when the singer is internalizing a specific epic on the one hand, and during the performance of an epic on the other, when the audience is creating coherence in the text by referring the story to a set of intertexts, which might not be the same for all participants (Honko 1998: 167, 145, cf. 399).

Other common features are the stress on the individuality of the text, which Honko seems to feel tends to be downplayed in some accounts of intertextuality (Honko 1998: 34), and the notion of a shared sociolect (Riffaterre 1984: 160, n. 2) or pool of tradition (Honko 1998: 69 *et passim*) consisting of thematic, poetic, performatory and other traditional models, elements and rules. The individual performer then selects and adjusts components of this collective, intertextual store, and it is this application of the concept that Honko finds most rewarding. The pool of tradition as organized through a singer's personal tradition system becomes less disorderly than the presumed collective one, and it is possible to discern how the material is retained in the mind, namely as prearranged units and orderings of plot, but remaining open to editing and novel combinations of elements (Honko 1998: 70–71, 92–93, 154–155). The concept of the pool of tradition is intimately connected with another notion: for each separate epic present in the singer's mind Honko posits a *mental text*, a pretextual template incorporating storylines, textual elements such as episodic patterns, images of epic situations and multiforms, generic rules and contextual frames, e.g. remembrances of earlier performances. However, the term should not be reduced to mean merely fixed wordings stored in the memory and subsequently used in performance, since that would greatly diminish its explanatory power. Its force lies in explicating the mechanisms behind the otherwise rather mysterious composition and performance of extended folklore forms, like the long oral epic, by providing a distinct but flexible framework within which to develop the narrative. The totality of mental texts

constitutes an intertextual network within the tradition system of the performer, and it vouches for the existence of a wider array of materials than is actually employed in performed epics. Thus, the notion is very much linked to the individual, and Honko doubts its relevance for larger social groups and tradition areas, which do not furnish the same kind of thick corpus as the multiply recorded repertoire of a single singer represents (Honko 1998: 94–99).

A concept somewhat akin to Honko's pool of tradition is the notion of ethnopoetic or ethnocultural substrate advanced by Lauri Harvilahti who defines it as "those devices by means of which the singer gives clues, i.e. uses specific registers and markers in order to enable the interpretation of the discourse during the flow of the performance" (Harvilahti 2000: 68). It is a common, essentially intertextual repository of poetic diction, prosody, modes of performance, musical styles and traditional meanings that can be utilized in various contexts (Harvilahti 2003: 125; cf. Harvilahti 2001). Both Honko's and Harvilahti's terms are convenient for designating the store of intertextual expressions out of which the individual texts under study are constituted.

1.4.2 Interdiscursivity

The identification of intertextuality with mere source-hunting within a paradigm of influence, implying unimaginative dependence on other texts and authors, in later applications of the theory of intertextuality led Kristeva to abandon the term *intertextuality* in favour of *transposition*, which better expressed the important point that intertextuality involves a transposition from one sign system to another, resulting in a rearticulation of the thetic position, the enunciative and denotative position. As an example Kristeva refers to her study of the medieval French romance whose sign system sprang from the redistribution of the sign systems of the carnival, courtly poetry and scholastic discourse (Kristeva 1985: 59–60). Put in these terms, intertextuality comes closer to a notion of interdiscursivity or intergeneric dialogue.

Norman Fairclough has utilized the concept of interdiscursivity or constitutive intertextuality to describe the relation between different discursive structures. *Interdiscursivity* denotes "the constitution of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse", defined as the totality of

discursive practices within an institution or society (Fairclough 1992: 85, 43). He regards interdiscursivity as applicable to many levels, e.g. to the societal order of discourse, the institutional order of discourse, the discourse types (a term used for any kind of convention) and elements constituting discourse types, such as genre and discourse. A *discourse* is a specific way of constructing a subject matter or area of knowledge (Fairclough 1992: 124–128).

The concept draws on both Julia Kristeva's theory of intertextuality and Michel Foucault's and Michel Pêcheux's work on discourse, with the crucial addition of the possibility of discursive as well as social change. Fairclough situates his scholarly preoccupations within the field of critical linguistics, and his version of it combines a concern for stringent discourse analysis with questions of power relations and ideologies, the constitution of social subjects and systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough 1992: 12).

I will be applying Fairclough's conception of interdiscursivity in my examination of the relationship between folklore and religious tradition as manifested in narratives of trolls, but I will not be addressing all the issues raised by his standpoint. There is one problem with the notion of interdiscursivity though, and that is the difficulty of distinguishing the intertextual and interdiscursive level. It is often virtually impossible, and any description of the effects of intertextual and interdiscursive relations on discourse must take both dimensions into account.

In Ulrika Wolf-Knuts' investigation of intertextual relations between the Biblical story of the Creation and Fall of Man and folklore narratives about women receiving aid from the Devil at the birth of their babies (Wolf-Knuts 2000), the latter is regarded as the inverted version of the former, constituting a return of sorts to a paradisaical state in which women can give birth without pain (Wolf-Knuts 2000: 100–101). Thus, Wolf-Knuts identifies specific Biblical intertexts—here New Testament texts are mentioned as well—to the folklore texts which she, referring to the work of Manfred Geier (Geier 1985), who adopted Gérard Genette's term (Genette 1992, originally published in 1982), calls *palimpsests* or *a montage of texts*. Following Lotte Tarkka, she views each text as dependent on other texts to acquire its meaning. She also considers the link between the Biblical and the folklore texts as a relation between discourses, ecclesiastical and popular, even though she does not employ the concept of interdiscursivity. Furthermore, Wolf-Knuts points to the occasionally very elusive nature of intertexts: all

of them are not even texts, they may be images or merely motifs actualized in diverse situations. The connection between folklore and the Bible is construed as just such a vague relationship; the motifs exist in people's minds and they can be used, reworked and inserted into new contexts (Wolf-Knuts 2000: 91–92). Wolf-Knuts' work can be read in conjunction with my own, as the subject matter and points of view are fairly similar.

Ole Marius Hylland has analyzed narratives about Elvis in terms of intertextuality (Hylland 2002), and he isolates four groups of narratives, each more complex than the preceding one, and with diverse strategies for handling intertextual relations. The first group is constituted by biographies, which must necessarily rely on anterior expositions of the subject, but still distinguish themselves enough from these to merit publication and attention. The second group of narratives is produced by Elvis's fans, making their individual selection from all that can be seen, heard, read, visited and bought in relation to Elvis. The fans construct their narratives by actively creating a personal relationship to Elvis merchandise, services and expressions connected to his person. The third group consists of parodies and ironic treatments of Elvis and his fans, who function as the parodied intertexts. As Hylland notes, parody is a very intertextual practice, something I will also endeavour to demonstrate in my own examination of parody in chapter 6. The fourth group is the one commenting on all the others: the academic dissertation or the artwork. Finally, Hylland gives an example of a text blending all four types of narratives, a Gospel of Elvis complete with scientific commentary and replete with irony, written by a historian and scholar of culture (Hylland 2002: 145). Thus, Hylland ends up straddling wider territory than his usage of the term *intertextuality* suggests, tacitly incorporating issues of interdiscursivity and intergenericity, since the intertexts going into the production of the narratives represent a host of discourses and genres, and particularly in the case of the narratives of the fans, they are building blocks in the constitution of the intertextualized subject, as the fans define themselves and their lives according to the narratives about Elvis.

The same can basically be said of Anne Eriksen's article on the narratives about a Norwegian thirteenth-century historical personage, Mindre-Alv Erlingsson (Eriksen 2002). Applying Lotte Tarkka's notion of a web of intertextual relations as the locus of meaning, and putting special weight on Mikhail Bakhtin's conception of utterances—historically situated, finalized

wholes bounded by a change of speaking subjects and able to elicit a response (Bakhtin 1986b: 71, 76)—uttered by voices in a dialogue, Eriksen analyzes the texts about Erlingsson in the context of national and local history. Scholars concentrating on Erlingsson's position in national history have adopted various perspectives, but all of them have related their vision of him to the discourses prevalent within the discipline of history. On the local level, Erlingsson is associated with sites in both Østfold and Vestfold. In Østfold local historians have attempted to insert local history into the larger frame of national history; the material used is comprised of historical sources. In Vestfold oral tradition is the only available source, as historical data confirming Erlingsson's connection to Vestfold do not exist. Hence historians in Østfold and Vestfold orient their narratives in relation to different discourses, one to scholarly discourses, the other to orally transmitted "folk" discourses. Simultaneously, the inclusion of Mindre-Alv in a folkloristic scholarly discussion spawns links to yet other professional discourses and creates a dialogue with new intertexts (it might be noted that the historians of Vestfold practice the intertextual technique of amplification as designated by Genette, for they fill in the lacuna of the historical sources with texts from the oral tradition). Eriksen draws the conclusion that there is no "tradition" about Mindre-Alv, but rather a network of voices and utterances in dialogue. The notion of tradition is completely replaced by the concepts of voice and dialogue (Eriksen 2002: 149–166).

1.4.3 Intergenerativity

Recent folkloristic examinations of the relationship between genres, *intergenerativity*, find their source of inspiration in Mikhail Bakhtin's late work on speech genres, "The Problem of Speech Genres" (1986b), in which he defined genres as relatively stable types of utterances (Bakhtin 1986b: 60). I will focus on only one aspect of his treatment of genre, namely his distinction between primary or simple genres and secondary or complex genres. Secondary genres, like the novel or drama, "absorb and digest various primary genres" which are altered as they enter into complex ones. Bakhtin links primary genres, e.g. rejoinders in a dialogue or letters, to an immediate relationship with actual reality and the real utterances of others, while a primary genre absorbed into a novel for instance loses this connection with reality and becomes part of a literary event (Bakhtin 1986b: 61–62).

Lotte Tarkka implicitly modelled her conception of the epic universe, a symbolic network and intertextual space generated by the fluctuation of the same images, texts and fragments of texts in the whole of oral poetry, forming the synthetic level of the genre system, on Bakhtin's notion of secondary genres. The genre of the epic turns into the point of departure for the analysis of intergeneric dialogue, and the primary genres absorbed into the epic through direct reference or allusion become components of this epic universe, representing different and complementary perspectives (Tarkka 1994: 251). Therefore, the creation of an intertextual relation, by various means, between the epic and another genre leads to the incorporation of the latter into the epic. This enables a view of the absorbed genre as a naturalized part of the epic on the one hand, and as distinct enough to be located outside the epic universe on the other, since the epic universe "engages in dialogue across its borders" (Tarkka 1994: 265). To connect intergeneric dialogue in this way to a secondary genre has its advantages and liabilities; the resulting organic definition grounds the mixing of genres in something concrete, the epic as a genre, but this act might also imply a bestowal of primacy on secondary genres, despite Tarkka's protestations to the contrary when she writes: "The intertextual universe is this hybrid text in its totality and it is in itself primary and prior to its individual fragments" (Tarkka 1993: 173). If the locus of intertextuality is a secondary genre, it seems to deprive primary genres of the status as intertextual. The epic universe is constructed through a dialogue of metaphor and metonymy (see 1.4.1) forming levels of world view.

Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman combine Bakhtin's perspective on genre with Julia Kristeva's notion of intertextuality, resulting in a theory centred on the relation between generic frameworks and individual texts, presented in their article "Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power" (1992). They define genres as "generalized or abstracted models of discourse production and reception", and propose to regard genres as tools for shaping speech into ordered, unified and bounded texts with strong historical associations on the one hand, and fragmented, heterogeneous and open-ended through their dependence on other discursive formations and context for the interpretation, production and reception of discourse on the other. The process of connecting a text to a generic model unfailingly creates an intertextual gap, since the text cannot fit completely into the generic framework. These intertextual gaps can be minimized and maximized; minimization

reduces the distance between text and genre, while maximization increases it. The former is associated with traditional renderings, whereas the latter is more in line with idiosyncratic, “avantgarde” ones (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 147–149). Bakhtin’s secondary genres come to the fore in Briggs and Bauman’s discussion of tall tales, a genre moving from one type of generic intertextuality (linked to the personal experience narrative) to another (the hyperbolic tall tale). The connections to several sets of generic features or to a mixed genre, or both, enable multiple strategies for the manipulation of intertextual gaps, as well as an ideological rearticulation of the constituent genres and their mutual relations (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 154). In my study of parody in chapter 6, I will be utilizing this point of view. The relationship between generic intertextuality and power pointed out by Briggs and Bauman (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 159) has also sparked an interest within Nordic folklore research.

Inger Lövkrona’s study of erotic folklore, “Suktande pigor och finurliga drängar” (‘Yearning Maids and Clever Farmhands’, 1996) is a meditation on precisely the power over discourse and genre. She employs Lotte Tarkka’s theory of intertextuality in order to make comparisons between various traditional erotic texts and their respective messages concerning women and their place in society. She views intertextualization as a method for highlighting the consistency of the text’s message, i.e., the overt meaning determined by the power relations portrayed in the relationship between the subject and the object of the text. In contradistinction to message, meaning is defined as being multiple and not manifested in the structure of the text (Lövkrona 1996: 122). Briggs and Bauman’s notion of generic intertextuality and its link to ideology, politics and power is more vital to the analysis however, and it is used in conjunction with feminist theories in an investigation of the construction of gender and cultural identity, as well as of the creation, reproduction and legitimization of gender hierarchies (Lövkrona 1996: 112–113, 103–106). Lövkrona argues that traditional erotica exhibit a male perspective, but stresses that women had the possibility to contest it by identifying with negative stereotypes in the texts. These stereotypes were censured socially, yet allowed for female empowerment, along with the subversive power of laughter (Lövkrona 1996: 156–158, 162–166; cf. Asplund 2001 for a longer discussion of Lövkrona’s article). Consequently, women’s reinterpretations of the male message belong to the realm of meaning.

Laura Stark-Arola's account of the construction of the genre context and the inter-genre context is also relevant to this discussion. Both are devised by indicating the similarity of semantic structures; concerning the former, a multitude of texts of the same type, be they ritual descriptions, incantations or narratives, are assembled in order to show that they form a class of texts because of their resemblance to each other in terms of form, function and/or message. As for the latter, the similarities are observed across classes, types and genres (Stark-Arola 1998: 69–70). An inter-genre macro-text is created by the existence of common poetic elements and themes in texts belonging to different genres (cf. Tarkka 1994: 292, 294). North Karelian *lempi*-bathing incantations, for example, share many elements with wedding songs and lyric songs about marriage, and the inter-genre macro-text thus generated addresses the themes of pairing and marriage. These inter-genre macro-texts and the poetic elements constituting them are, in essence, a system of referentiality, invoking a larger, but implicit world of images and symbols (Stark-Arola 1998: 188). At this point, intertextuality has indeed been transformed into intergenericity.

Anna-Leena Siikala briefly utilized Briggs and Bauman's concept of intertextual gaps in an article on emotions and their expression in the culture of the province of Savo in Finland (Siikala 1998). She noted that lyric singers from Savo tended to break the rules of tragic songs by inserting elements of humour into the text, thus producing a maximization of the intertextual gap always present in the linking of a text to a generic model, through the abrupt change in style (Siikala 1998: 170). She returned to the topic in two studies of the Southern Cook Island *korero*, history, which she considered to be an extensive intertextual network (Siikala 2000a, 2000b); the *korero* is truly a secondary genre as Bakhtin envisioned it, functioning both as a kind of metadiscourse in which the content is mediated using varied strategies, and as a metagenre comprised of the same contentual matter and the same functional field though represented and performed in diverse forms. Hence the *korero* furnishes generic models for the concrete instantiations of history, ranging from the *tua taito* ('old narratives'), the poetic *pees*, the mastery of which characterizes the specialist, called the *tumu korero*, genealogies, and the *ura* performances incorporating song and dance (Siikala 2000b: 221; 2000a: 353). The proper performance of the *korero* is invested with great authority and has social and political implications because of the link to leadership and land rights through genealogical knowledge. The

korero is a superdiscourse, a marked form of culturally significant discourse apprehended as an historically established understanding of the social hierarchy and the power relations within the community. It is a basis and generic force in the social processes creating and legitimizing the order of a society (Siikala 2000a: 366). Due to the status of the *korero*, the *tumu korero* also assumes a specific professional habitus distinguished by respect for the ancestors and dedication to historical accuracy (Siikala 2000b: 224).

Siikala provides some examples of the ways in which intertextual gaps are manipulated by different persons in various contexts. *Tumu koreros* strive to minimize the intertextual gap between performance and generic model, whereas commoners asked to give an account of a *korero* maximize it, thereby disclaiming it as a performance. The commoner does not master the generic models appropriate to the *korero*, and is reluctant to perform it in earnest (Siikala 2000b: 240). Another example is the transformation of a handwritten manuscript, a *puka papaanga* containing the genealogical information and epic tradition pertinent to the *korero*, into an oral performance which was then recorded in writing. In the first part of the narrative, the performer minimizes the intertextual gap between his text and its generic models, which is a strategy for creating textual authority through adherence to prior, authoritative discourses mediated by the performer's father and other experts. Toward the end of the narrative, the narrator maximizes the intertextual gap as the text turns into a performance of his own life story. The reproduction of prior discourse becomes less important, and the personal experiences and evaluations of the narrator take centre stage. The text is not a conventional *korero*, but rather a personal perspective on world history (Siikala 2000a: 354, 359–360, 362). Siikala's research points to the potentially immense social significance of the mastery of generic models and of the ability to manipulate intertextual gaps in the appropriate way.

1.4.4 Cultural Intertextuality

There is only one entry under this heading, namely Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred's investigation of diachronic intertextuality in *Fortelling om huldra – fortelling om oss* (1998). Focusing on emotion and its expression in narratives, Skjelbred tried to discover relationships of meaning and connotation (cf. Tarkka 1993: 171), and a form of thematic continuity in the

disparate material constituted by the folklore of preindustrial, agrarian Norway on the one hand, and the media texts of contemporary Norwegian society on the other. The concept of thematic field, a version of Elliott Oring's ideological field (Skjelbred 1998: 22–23), is the guiding principle in the construction of an intertextual network spanning two centuries and various narrative complexes. Encounters with the supernatural, with *huldra* in the old days, and with angels and aliens today, is one such complex, actualizing the issue of whether we should believe our own perceptions and experiences. These narratives may be used as a way of discussing the value of sensory experience, and of defining where experience ends and hallucination begins, by including these themes in their structure. Thus, the intertextual relationship is based on neither local nor temporal situatedness, nor on association with a specific genre, genre system or medium, but solely on the presence of an underlying existential problem that is the same. Due to the disconnectedness from a relatively uniform social and cultural context, and the dissimilarities in the creatures inhabiting the narrative world, this type of cultural intertextuality is an illuminating example of how cultural intertextuality in general works. It is a more elusive form of intertextuality which does not rely on common verbal expressions or textual structures in order to create a link between texts. In principle, the theme can be the only common denominator in otherwise dissimilar texts. Because of this, the intertextual connection is more difficult to demonstrate—there is no unambiguous proof of its existence—but the notion of cultural intertextuality opens to an examination of the wider coherence of culture, without overstressing that coherence. The differences in cultural context spoken of above are therefore bridged by this cultural coherence over a certain period of time, and in this sense it is still a cultural intertextuality. This phenomenon can also be discerned in Adrienne Mayor's study of an ancient analogy to the modern legend of the Choking Doberman in which she adduces similar social and psychological circumstances for the emergence of similar narratives, even though she does not discuss it in terms of intertextuality (Mayor 1992: 253–268).

1.4.5 Subjective Intertextuality

The role of intertextuality in creating subjectivity has been explored by several researchers. Here I will restrict myself to those conceiving of it in ex-

plicitly intertextual terms; therefore some theories of the subject, such as Lotte Tarkka's, will not be considered here (but see Asplund 2001: 73).

Julia Kristeva has extended her discussion of intertextuality into the domain of the preverbal through her conception of the semiotic and the symbolic, presented in her doctoral dissertation *La révolution du langage poétique* (1985). The semiotic is composed of the drives preceding the acquisition of language and subjectivity as they are inscribed into language, the symbolic. After the acquisition of language, the semiotic and the symbolic are part of the same whole, and both constitute subjectivity. Hence all signifying systems contain elements of both, though art, and especially poetry, is more open to the energy of the semiotic (Kristeva 1985: 22). The revolution in poetic language referred to in the title of the thesis is the eruption of the semiotic into the texts of poets like Mallarmé, and the linguistic and social revolution caused by it. Kristeva distinguishes between phenotext, which is symbolic, and genotext, the inscription of the semiotic into the symbolic (Kristeva 1985: 83–86). Her prime concern is the movement back and forth from one to the other in a text. The semiotic is associated with a non-verbal, atemporal and non-spatial receptacle of drives called the *chora*, anterior to the formation of subjectivity (Kristeva 1985: 22–30), while the break into language and identity is named the thetic, involving a separation of subject and object (Kristeva 1985: 41–43).

This aspect of Kristeva's work has not received much attention within the field of folkloristics, but it must be included here to do justice to the notion of intertextuality. For a good introduction to this facet of her work, see Smith (1998).

Roland Barthes approached the problem of subjectivity from a more prosaic angle. In his analysis of Honoré de Balzac's short story "Sarrasine", entitled *S/Z* (1976), Barthes identified five codes constituting the text and, by extension, Balzac as a subject. Barthes attempted to demonstrate that none of the features of the story had its origin in Balzac the Author-God's unique, individual mind, imbuing the text with august authorial intention, but in the "tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture" as he put it in "The Death of the Author" (Barthes 1977: 146). Balzac is transformed from a humanist subject into an intertextualized one in the process, even though Barthes denies the text itself the status of intertextual; the classic text, the class to which "Sarrasine" belongs, is limited in its plurality (Barthes 1976: 13), and is connotative rather than truly intertextual, or

so Barthes claims. Nevertheless, Barthes manages to release the allegedly restricted plurality of Balzac's text and to indicate its intertextual construction, however flawed it might seem compared to modern and postmodern texts with their highly conscious intertextuality.

From a folkloristic point of view, the most interesting code Barthes mentions is the cultural code or code of reference which represents a collective, anonymous voice springing from human knowledge and wisdom. It frequently assumes scientific or moral authority, and might acquire proverbial dimensions (Barthes 1976: 23). The idea of this kind of traditional wisdom and shared presumptions is well suited to the study of folklore, but this facet of Barthes's work has remained in the background within folkloristic scholarship. Notwithstanding, his sustained examination of the constitution of the intertextualized subject is an important antecedent to such investigations within our discipline, despite the fact that it is missing in the bibliographies.

One such study is Anne Leonora Blaakilde's "A Vision of Twenty-First-Century Folkloristics" (1998), in which she pondered the impact of intertextuality on individual identity. Blaakilde connects intertextuality with the mixing of genres, and particularly with the mixing of genres within the subject, basing her ideas on Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of speech genres. The points of intertextuality can be located in what she calls cultural tropes, expressing cultural difference (Blaakilde 1998: 109). The encounter between the folklorist and the interviewee turns into a dialogue of cultural difference as well as similarity in which each participant has his own constellation of these characteristics. The dialogical nature of the encounter furnishes a centre of communicative coherence while allowing for disparate tendencies. The intertextualized subject—here the interviewer as well as the interviewee—is made up of specific discourses and genres, and the construction of that subject in discourse is thus the natural and necessary starting point for any interpretation of cultural tropes, and by extension, of anything else in the world, including academic discourses (Blaakilde 1998: 113–114).

In essence, Blaakilde has viewed the intertextualized subject as similar to a secondary genre in Bakhtin's sense, absorbing and digesting primary genres; the subject is created in relation to other persons, and the texts and discourses of the surrounding world. The subject is not self-sufficient, complete and unchangeable in itself. It is always developed in interaction with the outside world. The addition of the concept of cultural difference gives

certain nuances to the picture of the workings of this absorption of genres, emphasizing both the cultural and individual aspects of this process. The intersubjective, dialogical encounter as an arena for further intertextualization of subjects and for the production of knowledge and interpretations is described as the ground for agency (Blaakilde 1998:109), since dialogue cannot be passive; if it is, it degenerates into monologue (cf. Emerson 2000: 229). Therefore it demands some degree of agency to continue.

All scholars presented here have their own conceptions of the subject and subjectivity, but a number of common features may be discerned. All seem to agree on the produced and processual nature of the subject, which is constantly being reassessed and remoulded. Furthermore, subjectivity is characterized as a relational position, articulated in relation to other people, objects or phenomena. Subjectivity also creates the point of view from which the individual observes the world; this is especially prominent in Barthes's analysis, where the constitution of the perspective of the author, Balzac, is determined by the intertextual codes generating his subjectivity (cf. Björklund 1993: 242; Lövkrona 1996: 160–166).

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To summarize my own position *vis-à-vis* this research history, I will be applying Julia Kristeva's conception of texts as mosaics of quotations, and be utilizing Lotte Tarkka's notion of metaphor and metonymy to describe the relationship between texts linked in this fashion. I will also adopt Norman Fairclough's concept of interdiscursivity to delineate the relationships between texts on the level of discourse, and use Mikhail Bakhtin's, and Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman's insights into the workings of genre in order to examine the effects of generic framing on narrative. The previous study most in tune with my own is that of Ulrika Wolf-Knuts who explores the relation between folklore and Biblical stories as well, but my work will serve to elaborate the implications of that relationship and provide other theoretical tools for investigating them. The rest of the research literature has also been important for the development of my understanding of intertextuality and of how it functions.

1.5 Method

The choice of material has been guided by a number of practical and methodological considerations. Thus, in my investigation I have restricted myself to trolls alone, i.e., to supranormal creatures explicitly designated by that name, either in the text itself or in the headline supplied by the collector. This is primarily to keep the corpus manageable; examining the folklore of all supernatural beings is a task of considerable proportions, and exciting though it might be, I cannot embark on such a project here.

A special problem in selecting the corpus of study, however, has been to discriminate between *trollgumma* and *trollkäring* ('old troll woman') in the sense of *witch* and the use of the same terms in the sense of *troll*. My pragmatic solution to this thorny issue has been to check if these labels alternate with *troll* or a synonym for *witch* in the text, and if the former is the case, I have included the record in my material. This method is not fool-proof, of course, but there was no other option.

The selection of the period of study has also been dictated by rather pragmatic concerns: the earliest archival text on trolls to be found in the Finland-Swedish folklore collections was recorded in the 1850s, while 1925 is the date of the last record—at least as far as I know—to be noted down manually. All texts were collected using a fairly uniform fieldwork methodology, described in chapter 2.2. A comparison of audiotape recordings and handwritten documents is a task in itself, which I cannot perform in the context of this thesis (for such a study on the nightmare, see Danielsson 1992). Besides a consistency in the fieldwork methods used in the collection of the material, my choice is also conditioned by the scrutiny of intertextual relations which I have opted to analyze from a roughly synchronous perspective in order to achieve some uniformity in the intertexts invoked. A consideration of intertexts changing over time might have offered an intriguing peek at the life of tradition from a diachronic point of view, but then we would have had to contend with the different nature of the sources as well.

Regarding chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, the material has been selected employing the following criteria. In chapters 4 and 5 I have limited myself to the tradition of a specific parish, the parish of Vörå, and its immediate neighbours. Lotte Tarkka stresses the importance of working with material from a single community (Tarkka 1993:173) to ensure that the intertextual rela-

tions found spring from the same network of associations, and the parish of Vörå is exceptionally rich in (recorded) supernatural traditions. Vörå may also be said to represent the average Ostrobothnian parish in many respects: chiefly rural, socially homogeneous, prone to religious revivals and emigration. The choice of the parish of Vörå as the object of a case study is mainly dictated by the availability of material and the existence of other studies on the folklore and history of the community. For the discussion in chapters 4 and 5 I wanted a corpus of texts belonging to the same tale or legend type, and Vörå was the parish with the largest number of such texts. The selected parish also had to furnish a substantial amount of other folklore material, and once again Vörå was a good choice. In addition, I considered it important to have other studies on the parish to consult, especially in the reconstruction of the historical, social and religious context. A more personal motivation is that my paternal grandmother was born in Vörå, and therefore it has pleased me to do my research on her native parish. However, if some other community had proven more useful for my purposes, I would have opted for that instead. Vörå is not a romanticized and exoticized Finland-Swedish Dalecarlia or Karelia, representing the home of the genuine, Finland-Swedish folk, at least not to me.

Two groups of texts, both of which consist of narratives of abduction, though the second adds the motif of the banishment of the trolls, have been singled out as particularly suitable for an intertextual analysis as they represent the nearest equivalent to a *thick corpus* (Honko 2000: 15–17) to be found in my material. Lauri Honko glosses this term as the activity of “producing ‘thickness’ of text and context through the multiple documentation of expressions of folklore in their varying manifestations in performance within a ‘biologically’ definable tradition bearer, community or environment” (Honko 2000: 17). Collected within the same community, the texts studied in these chapters may indeed be viewed as “part of living tradition systems maintained by individuals and groups having the possibility of social exchange” (Honko 2000: 16). Nevertheless, the thickness of the material is mainly restricted to the textual level, while contextual thickness is lacking; the latter was not a priority during the time of collection.

In chapter 6 I have concentrated on the repertoire of a single narrator, another form of thick corpus, though with the same reservations as in the previous case. As for chapter 7, the selection of texts has been guided by the research problem posed, i.e., what effects the indeterminacy of the troll

in stories of the supernatural has on the relationship between man and troll. A number of records from the entire Swedish-speaking area have been singled out for analysis on the basis of their illustrative character.

Concerning the choice of material in general terms, I have restricted myself to prose narrative genres. I have also perused the extant records of ballads, proverbs and riddles referring to trolls, but these are so scant that they scarcely contribute anything to the investigation, and I have therefore decided to exclude them.

The theories I use also constitute my method to a large extent, but a number of comments on my concrete method of analysis may be made. It is quite akin to those used by Laura Stark-Arola and Lotte Tarkka; in the course of my work, I have read approximately 10 000 records⁹ as published in certain volumes of *Finlands svenska folkdiktning* ('The Swedish Folklore of Finland'), mainly legends of the supernatural, wonder tales and jocular tales (*Finlands* 1917, 1920, 1931)—I have read the cited volumes in their entirety. In addition to these, I have made goal-oriented searches in other parts of this collection. Taking the troll stories as a point of departure, I have scanned these three volumes on the basis of two criteria in the case of texts intended for my intertextual investigations in chapters 4, 5 and 6: 1) the presence of verbal expressions similar to the ones utilized in troll narratives (the epithets of Tarkka's theory), and 2) the employment of similar themes (the core motifs in Stark-Arola's method, the common themes in Tarkka's). When I have discovered linguistic or thematic similarities using the method of intertextual abstraction, I have consulted the original records, as the published versions generally do not reproduce the vernacular. I have also gone over the narratives in Rancken's second collection, going straight to the original records (R II; see chapter 2.2.1).

In assessing the relevance of potential intertexts thus identified, I have striven to maintain a rather close fit between the verbal expression and/or theme of the troll text and the intertext. I have rejected intertexts in which the similarity to the primary material was too tenuous and superficial.

⁹ The concept of the record, in its capacity as a text in particular, is not wholly unproblematic. Where does one record/text end and another begin? Especially in the light of intertextual theory, the boundaries of the text become permeable and fuzzy (cf. Tarkka 1993: 171). In this specific context I mean a text demarcated as a single whole in the manuscript, occupying a page of its own and/or given an individual heading or number, or, in the case of longer segments, parts dealing with the same topic or theme.

However, it is difficult to draw an exact line between probable and improbable intertexts, and the final decision remains subjective, as indeed all interpretation does (cf. Tarkka 1993: 172–173; Skjelbred 1998: 21–22, referring to Ingwersen 1995: 77–90; Wolf 2002: 16–28). Nevertheless, I have also tried to corroborate my interpretations through reference to existing knowledge about the beliefs, customs and contextual factors prevalent in the parish of Vörå at the time of collection.

Regarding chapter 7, my method has been somewhat different as the research problem has changed. Michael Holquist has stated that Bakhtin's works do not furnish any ready-made methods which can be applied directly to a research material, but that "[a]n immersion in Bakhtin's thought will indeed transform the way one reads, but only after some time has elapsed, and in ways that are not predictable (Holquist 1990: 107–108). It took me three years to see the utility of Bakhtin's notions of unfinalizability and finalization in my own work, and the key to this realization was the same as Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred's in her examination of cultural intertextuality: emotion. I had noted the sometimes very palpable sense of fear of the supernatural described in some troll narratives, and I wondered whether there was any significant reason for this other than the basic human fear of the unknown. I started studying the situations in which this fear appeared in the stories, and came to the conclusion that it was the uncertainty about the intentions and possible actions of the troll that provoked this reaction. Framing it as an instance of unfinalizability was principally occasioned by Bakhtin's glossing of the concept as the unobstructed unfolding of a character in narrative; this seemed to help to explain the behaviour of the troll in the narratives. The position of the author, or, in my case, the narrator in relation to unfinalizable characters was also important; narrators of troll texts seemed to strive for the creation of an image of the troll dominated by its unpredictability which I interpreted as a consequence of its unfinalizability. Then I began to look for evidence of a potential unfinalizability of supranormal characters in other texts, and of a possible promotion of this trait on the part of the narrators in their construction of their texts.

2 MATERIAL AND CONTEXT

2.1 General Considerations

My primary material consists of 123 records made by many different collectors in various parts of those districts in Finland housing Swedish-speaking inhabitants. In addition to these texts, I have cited 72 other records which constitute my secondary material. The largest part of the material stems from the Folk Culture Archives of the Swedish Literature Society in Finland in Helsingfors, some records belong to the Rancken Folklore collection currently deposited at the Department of Folklore at Åbo Akademi University. Finally, 26 texts are drawn from printed sources, predominantly publications dealing expressly with folklore and folk culture.

The geographical distribution of records from Nyland (Uusimaa) and Southwest Finland is almost even, but Ostrobothnia has yielded more than fifty per cent of the texts. The Åland Islands are poorly represented in my material, having contributed only two records. The primary corpus consists of prose narratives of trolls, supernatural beings mostly inhabiting forests, hills and rocks.

It is questionable whether it is possible to make any pronouncements on the actual distribution and vigour of troll traditions in the Swedish-speaking areas in Finland on the basis of the amount of records alone. Collection was often guided by the personal interests of each fieldworker, and the entire scope of traditions in a community was hardly covered by even the most industrious of collectors. In addition, some parishes received more attention than others. The politics of collection probably had a profound influence on the formation of the collections now extant, and the lack of records from a particular area cannot be equated to a lack of tradition (Bergman 1981: 22–23; Wolf-Knuts 1991: 34–37; cf. Lilja 1996: 182).

In the following I will give an account of the ideology constructed and sustained in and through the collection of Swedish folklore in Finland. All translations from the Swedish are mine unless otherwise stated. I will also provide a brief description of the context in which the records were made, focusing on the material from the Ostrobothnian parish of Vörå, which will be the object of some in-depth studies in chapters 4, 5 and 6.¹⁰

¹⁰ In this thesis I refer to the sites of collection as parishes, even though this administrative unit was replaced by the municipality in 1865–1868.

2.2 The Sources

2.2.1 The Rancken Collection (R) and Its Contributors

The material collected in Ostrobothnia on the initiative of Johan Oskar Immanuel Rancken (1824–1895) is one of the earliest sources of troll narratives. As a senior master, and later headmaster, at Vasa's secondary school, he was in a perfect position to inspire his students to see the wonder and importance of Swedish folklore to a country then in the process of constructing a national identity, at that time solely envisioned in terms of the Finnish language and Finnish folklore (see Honko 1980 and Anttonen 2003 for an account of Finnish nation building). The rhetoric of the Swedish-speaking intelligentsia favoured a suppression of the Swedish language, which was perceived as an obstacle on the way to real nationhood. The Swedish language had to die in order to allow the Finnish language to grow (Andersson 1967: 120; Wolf-Knuts 1997: 33). J. O. I. Rancken, credited by Otto Andersson as the first official advocate of Swedish traditions in Finland (Andersson 1967: 123), believed that the Swedish culture in Finland bridged the gap between Finnish tradition and traditions in Sweden (Wolf-Knuts 1997: 33).

Rancken wanted to carry out historical, comparative research in a patriotic spirit, and folk culture was the key to the successful completion of such inquiries, as it was more "archaic" and "genuine". Ulrika Wolf-Knuts has identified the key words in Rancken's writings, and recurrent ones are *peculiarities* (*egendomligheter*) and *the peculiar* (*det egendomliga*), whereby he meant *the typical* (*det typiska*), *the unique* (*det unika*) or *the non-universal* (*det icke-universella*), but also *the odd* (*det underliga*) and *the original* (*det ursprungliga*). It was of prime importance to collect these peculiarities, as they were being stunted by urbanisation and education, the latter activity being one in which Rancken himself was deeply involved in (Wolf-Knuts 1997: 35–36, 40–43). Rancken was not, however, negligent of urban culture, but encouraged the collection of urban traditions as well. Variants were mandatory for comparative research, and Rancken found it desirable for the collector of folklore to be well-acquainted with the district in which he worked. He thought himself unsuitable in this respect, as he was not a native of Ostrobothnia (Wolf-Knuts 1997: 32, 34, 36). Also the images in folklore, interpreted by Wolf-Knuts as attitudes, norms and values, lay within Rancken's field of interest (Wolf-Knuts 1997: 43).

Rancken tried to entice his pupils into an appreciation of folklore by giving them essay assignments on local traditions (Andersson 1967: 129–130; Bergman 1981: 7; Häggman 1992: 75–76; Wolf-Knuts 1997: 43). Three of the texts I will cite stem from this kind of homework; one such essay was submitted by Odo Sandelin in January 1887 when he attended the eighth form. The text is composed in standard Swedish. Sandelin comes across as hostile to folklore and condemns it in no uncertain terms. He connects superstition to the spiritual state of different religions; in pagan religions superstition prospers most, a bit less in Catholicism, and least of all in his own faith, Protestantism. He writes:

Ostuderadt och ouplyst folk har en besynnerlig benägenhet att sätta tilltro till en hel hop underliga, oftast otänkbara och förnuftslösa historier och de i håg komma dem så beundransvärdt väl. Dessa sitta de sedan om vinterkvällarna vid spiseleden och berätta åt sina barn, som sedan med sin rika, lifliga fantasi oppfatta dem mycket mer förunderliga än de i sjelfva verket berättats. Så fortgår det från generation till generation, alltid med små förändringar och tillsatser vid berättandet. Vårt folk har länge stått fjettradt i okunnighetens bojer. På senare tider har likväl en stigande folkbildning börjat lossa dessa bojer och jemsides med den har vidskepelsen och öftron börjat försvinna eller åtminstone minskas. Så t. ex. i Kronoby kommun. Här finns numera högst få traditioner från länge sedan svunna dar. Kronoby är också i intellektuellt hänseende en af landets främsta socknar. Endast af gammalt folk får man höra dessa sägner; de unga tro dem ej och endast göra spe af dem. (R I 86: 1–2)

Unstudied and uneducated people have a peculiar propensity to give credence to an entire host of strange, often unthinkable and senseless stories, and they recall them so admirably well. In the winter evenings they consequently sit by the fireside and tell these to their children who, with their lively imagination, interpret them as far more wondrous than they really have been told. Thus it continues from generation to generation, always with small changes and additions in the telling. Our people have long stood fettered in the bonds of ignorance. Recently the rise of education has, however, begun to undo these bonds and alongside it superstition has begun to disappear or at least diminish. Thus [it is] e.g. in the municipality of Kronoby. Nowadays there are very few traditions here from times long since past. Kronoby is also intellectually one of the most prominent parishes in the country. You only get to hear these legends from the old folk; the young do not believe in them and only ridicule them.

In addition to Sandelin's essay, I have also referred to Matts Leander Forsnäs' essay "Skrock, vidskepelse m.m. bland allmogen i Kronoby" ('Superstitions etc. among the peasant folk in Kronoby') (R I 74), and Edv. Keto's "Skrock och vidskepelse i min hembygd" ('Superstitions in My Home District'), also from the parish of Kronoby (R I 78).

The rest of the texts that I have utilized from this collection spring from the extensive collecting activities of Jakob Edvard Wefvar (1840–1911) who collected for many other employers as well. Wefvar's records are made in the vernacular, though not using the phonetic script called *landsmålsalfabet* which had not been invented at this point. Jakob Edvard Wefvar was born in the parish of Munsala and studied under Rancken before entering the University of Helsingfors, called *Kejsarliga Alexandersuniversitetet* ('the Imperial Alexander University') while the country was under Russian rule. He continued collecting folklore whenever he was not prevented by illness, and later in life he became known as a lay preacher and teacher (Häggman 1990: 139–152. For more details see Dahlbacka 1984; Häggman 1990; Häggman 1992; Wolf-Knuts 1991).

As for the technical aspects of collection, Rancken preferred prose narratives to be recorded verbatim in order to bring out the peculiarities of the narrator's language. Ulrika Wolf-Knuts deems Wefvar willing to comply with these instructions, but she finds it improbable that he would have been able to follow them to the letter, as the texts do not reflect real speech, even if they are in the vernacular. She does however indicate the possibility of the narrator employing a specialized style of speech in storytelling (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 22–24; Wolf-Knuts 1997: 32), what Dell Hymes and other scholars following in his footsteps have labelled a *register* (Hymes 1989: 440). Ann-Mari Häggman in her turn has noted on perusal of Wefvar's posthumous documents that his field notes were often imperfect and vague drafts, while the submitted manuscripts were clean copies and edited to some degree (Häggman 1992: 81).

Wefvar seems to have been able to create a good rapport with the performers; his own background as the son of a crofter placed him more on a par with the people he interviewed, his personality and his long stays in their midst during the collecting trips endeared him to his hosts, and he succeeded in developing a trusting relationship with them (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 22–23). I think the great interest in folk life he exhibited might have contributed to this circumstance, as well as his proneness to tell stories of his own (for examples suggesting this interpretation see Wolf-Knuts 1991: 22; Häggman 1990: 153). Generally, Wefvar has provided the name, profession and domicile of the performer in the clean copy of the record (cf. Wolf-Knuts 1991: 24), with some exceptions. At times he mentioned only geographical provenance, which applies to eight records, six of which were

made in the parish of Vörå. One gives as the place of provenance the parish as a whole (R II 151), while the rest were collected in the villages of Karvsor (R II 11), Rejpelt (R II 70; R II 120; R II 204) and KaitSOR (R II 178). The remaining two were recorded in the parish of Gamla Karleby (R II 420) and the village of Dagsmark in the parish of Lappfjärd (R II 291) respectively. In the parish of Sideby he met Niklas Teir, the son of a lay assessor, who provided him with one story (R II 394). Similarly, in the village of Dagsmark he collected two stories, one from Henrik Lilljans (R II 295) and the other from Karl Gustaf Lång (R II 305), the latter having also been known as a ballad singer, as were Maria and Sofia Bergström from the village of Härkmeri in the same parish. The Bergströms jointly contributed one story (R II 336), as did E. Granars from the same village (R II 338). In Skaftung Wefvar came across Robert Emholm, another legend narrator and ballad singer nick-named Rox-Robert, who gave him one narrative (R II 339). The painter Peter Ragvals in the parish of Övermark supplied three stories, one of them in writing, but all texts still in the vernacular (R II 325; R II 327; R II 328). In the parish of Vörå Wefvar visited Greta Mårtens who supported herself on life annuity (R II 32; R II 76), Anna Kull (R II 19; R II 121), Johan Svens (R II 67), Majs Svens, merely eleven years old (R II 199) and the carpenter Johan Alén in the village of Rejpelt (R II 27; R II 58; see Appendix A). He also called on Sigfrids in the village of KaitSOR, said to be supported by life annuity (R II 175), as well as on Jakob Grönback who narrated one story (R II 133). In the village of Karvsor Wefvar met the former baker's apprentice Mickel Bygdén (R II 46), and in the village of Lotlax he encountered the shoemaker Svendlin (R II 188). In the village of Karvat in the neighbouring parish of Oravais the carpenter Erik Kock gave him one story (R II 36), while Maria Holstre from the village of Kimo supplied him with one narrative (R II 28a). Finally, Johan Mattsson Palkis from Wefvar's home village of Linnusperä in the parish of Gamla Karleby contributed one text cited here (R II 138). Unfortunately, one text is illegible toward the end and I have not been able to decipher the name of the performer (R II 427).

2.2.2 The Collections of the Swedish Literature Society in Finland (SLS)

The Swedish Literature Society in Finland was founded in 1885 in an attempt to promote and legitimize Swedish culture in Finland at a time when the political and linguistic situation was frustrated (Steinby 1985: 14–

18). The struggle between the Finnish and Swedish language parties started in the 1870s and continued until the turn of the century, when Russification strategies implemented by the Russian government intensified to such a point that the formerly opposing parties thought it best to unite their forces rather than to squabble among themselves. There was also a cultural dimension in addition to the political, namely the historical connection to Sweden, which was emphasized (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 24, 34). From the 12th–14th centuries until the war in 1808–1809, Finland was part of Sweden, even though the Swedish supremacy was often contested by Russia.

In the year 1887 Ernst Lagus proposed that the collection of folklore should be included in the Literature Society's field of activity, and a decision was made to send out scholarship holders for this purpose. A list of instructions was accordingly compiled to suggest the kind of folklore to be collected, as well as how the collectors were to proceed in their work. The instructions were published in the Society's publication series *Förhandlingar och uppsatser (FU)* ('Negotiations and Essays') no. 3 (*FU* 3:101–106), and they were also distributed as an offprint. I will just mention a few points pertaining to my material. The collectors were recommended to visit more isolated areas, as the relics of antiquity (*fornminnen*) were considered to flourish at their fullest and in their most original forms there. Elderly people with good memories were preferred as informants. Time, place and the name of the narrator were to be carefully documented, and the transcription to be made "på den munart, som framställaren använt, med största noggrannhet i afseende å uttalet och ordalagen" ('in the dialect used by the presenter, with the greatest accuracy concerning pronunciation and wording' (*FU* 3:103–104). Initially variants were tolerated, and it was emphasized that nothing was too trivial to be recorded (*FU* 3:104). The list of types of folk poetry and folk customs to be observed might have had a restricting effect on the nature of the material in case collectors focused exclusively on the items of the list, and failed to see other genres. Ulrika Wolf-Knuts has nevertheless pointed out that Mårten Thors for example, who has contributed several texts to this investigation, submitted records of other genres than those requested by the Swedish Literature Society (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 34). The great bulk of variants amassed in the archive was a thing of concern for Lagus already in 1895, and the next year he suggested that folklore collection be diverted to those genres less represented in the collections, such as superstitions, riddles and proverbs. Later, in 1908, the

collection was entrusted to *kompetenta fackmän* ('competent professionals'), a measure leading to an increasing specialization among the collectors, and also fostering a more critical distance to the material at the collection stage, which was indeed what Lagus had hoped to achieve (Bergman 1981: 22–23).

The collectors were dissuaded from combining prose texts. Suitable occasions for collection were mentioned in the instructions as festivities and winter evenings by the hearth in the case of folktales, and normal speech situations for proverbs. These were considered the natural performance contexts ensuring authenticity. Present-day folklore research, however, emphasizes that the collector influences the situation in "natural contexts" simply by being present; there is no such thing as participant observation unaffected by the observer. In interview situations the instructions stress that the interviewee's personality, the time and the place, and the narrator's expressive powers must be taken into account (*FU3*: 105) before fixing on a fieldwork strategy. The interview was, in practice, the most common method of collection, and interviewers often quoted previously collected tradition by way of illustrating what they were looking for. They were also quick to explain why they were roaming the countryside to dispel any suspicion harboured by informants (Bergman 1981: 28, 30, 39).

Collectors from the peasant class were probably better equipped to create a relationship with the locals, as they came from similar cultural and social backgrounds. It is hard to say to what extent the difference in social status between the rural population and the many elementary school teachers functioning as collectors has moulded the material obtained. Notwithstanding, not only the social position of collectors and informants influenced their relationship in the field encounter, but also the dominance of the fieldworker in the interview situation. The unequal power relations in an interview should not be overlooked as an aspect having an impact on the encounter (see Vasenkari 1999: 58, 65–66). Nevertheless, many other factors may affect the state of affairs.

From 1908 onwards the scholarship holders were mostly academics and the social gap grew even more noticeable, but a small, but diligent band of local collectors still carried out unpaid fieldwork in the communities where they lived. Problems in the interaction with the narrator arose partly out of the insecure political context, people were suspicious of strangers, or strong religious feelings made people less inclined to pass on sinful things like folk belief (Bergman 1981: 28–29, 32; Wolf-Knuts 1991: 35–36).

The majority of fieldworkers stressed the imminent death of tradition, and they perceived their work as a rescue operation aimed at saving valuable ancient folk memories for posterity, and they were looking for genuine folklore and folk culture (cf. Lilja 1996: 27). Education was seen as a threat to the survival of tradition, while the collectors themselves frequently worked as teachers and therefore contributed to the documentation of those traditions their profession was said to obliterate. Contemporary tradition was not held in very high regard. Neither widespread traditions nor common ones were alluring objects of inquiry, and these were often disregarded, as were beliefs the collectors themselves embraced. In coming to a new place, the collectors were frequently informed in advance of previous activities there—sometimes they even knew which informants other collectors had visited—and when the project of supplementing the archive was initiated, many fieldworkers avoided consulting former interviewees. Occasionally they went as far as to refuse travelling through parishes previously explored; they only wanted “new”, hitherto undiscovered material.

As a result of the efforts at geographic and textual supplementation, texts of diverging provenance were combined. The procedure is well attested in song transcriptions, but Anne Bergman does not exclude the possibility of its application to prose material as well. Many collectors appear to have entertained the idea of an original form that could be reconstructed if different variants were fused (Bergman 1981: 30–32, 36, 40), a thought also in currency among scholars of the historic-geographical or the Finnish school, inspired by Kaarle Krohn, professor of Finnish and Comparative Folklore Research in Helsingfors (cf. Dundes 1974 on the devolutionist premise in folkloristic theory). Folktales were often recorded as examples of vernacular speech, and the collectors were interested in both folklore and linguistics. The record is nevertheless regarded as a more accurate description of the collector's language than of the narrator's; it does not provide any unmediated access to the speech of the interviewee. Source criticism is further complicated by the propensity of the Society's examiners to “correct” examples of the vernacular (Bergman 1981: 32–33).

The material was to be submitted as clean copies, neatly ordered and supplied with a table of contents. This work was time-consuming, and the internal order of the records was probably disrupted. The Literature Society advocated separate note pads for different genres, wherefore the

narrator's train of thoughts cannot be followed in the manuscripts. The severe scrutiny to which the records were subjected might have tempted some collectors to edit their material in order to find favour with their employer (Bergman 1981: 37; Häggman 1992: 90; Wolf-Knuts 1991: 26–27).

In my analysis of the recorded texts, I cite the informant as the narrator of the given story, in order to avoid confusion. To my mind, there are two possible ways of approaching the problem of the respective contributions of collector and informant. The first is through an analogy with unique Old English manuscripts based on oral traditions, namely regarding the scribe as a (re)performer (Doane 1991: 80–81, 89). Notwithstanding, it should be noted that there are several important differences between the Old English chirographer, a scribe involved in the activity of handwriting (Doane 1991: 106), and the latter-day collector. The text produced by the chirographer, though deviating from its “original”, whether written or oral, still draws from the same sources and conforms to the same canon as an oral text; it is not removed from the oral context, and it is created for an audience capable of receiving it, or “hearing” it, as an oral text. It is a valid performance in its own right, concrete and unique (Doane 1991: 81, 83, 89). This is not necessarily true of the collector's text. Many fieldworkers, hailing from another social context, might not have shared the tradition of their interviewees, and their reperformance may not be traditional in Doane's sense. Likewise, the audience of the text—the examiners of the Swedish Literature Society, for instance—was perhaps unable to really “hear” it as an oral text.

Still, there are some common features as well. Doane's description of the oral written text is also a fairly accurate definition of the recorded text: “... it is a product of voice, of a voiced performative situation; its origin is not text but voice, and its destination is as a visual trace of a material event that once existed in another register. The record/text that results is the product of a writer listening to an outer voice—his own or another's—rather than an inner one. Thus meaning is intertwined with two intentions, that of the instigator of the text, the speaker, and that of the designator, the writer, in a process that is less cooperative than it is mutually interventionist” (Doane 1991: 88). In the case of the folklore record, intervention is more onesided as it is chiefly exercised in the editing of the text. This scenario is probably valid for some of the records in which the collector has rephrased the utterance of the performer.

Another possibility is to regard the folklore record as dialogic and polyphonic, i.e., as containing many perspectives and voices, like Inger Lövkrona has done in her study of infanticides in 18th-century Sweden, based on the relations recorded in judgement books (Lövkrona 1999: 36–37). From this point of view, the voices of the collector and the narrator intertwine in the recorded text, producing a multilayered narrative featuring contradictory as well as concordant tendencies. This alternative seems more appropriate when the collector has endeavoured to retain as much as possible of the narrator's performance, but due to the difficulties linked to the fieldwork methods of the time, taking the story down by hand, and the revision required before submission to the commissioners, has introduced his own voice into the text. Since this is unavoidable because of the general, intersubjective nature of fieldwork, and not an error to be skirted at all costs, according to the findings of both reflexive folkloristics and the more recent dialogical approach borrowed from anthropology (Ehn & Klein 1999: 10; Vasenkari 1999: 51, 56), any recorded folklore text is subjected to the same conditions. Text and reality are created in intense interaction with other people, including the interviewer (Ehn & Klein 1999: 11, 79; Vasenkari 1999: 58), and the transcription of the text is an analytical act, as Barbro Klein once put it (Klein 1990).

2.2.3 The Collectors of the Swedish Literature Society and Their Interviewees

The very first collection submitted to the Swedish Literature Society in 1882 (SLS 1) contained records made by anonymous Ostrobothnian students. I have used two narratives (SLS 1, 3; SLS 1, 11), the first of them performed by the shoemaker Anders Westerlund in Nykarleby.

H. Ståhl sent in a collection of folklore from Ostrobothnia in 1889, and I have employed one record from it (SLS 10: 598).

Mårten Thors (1862–1922) was educated as a teacher. He carried out collection in his home district Oravais in 1891 (SLS 22), and in 1892 and 1893 he also extended his activities to Vörå (SLS 28, SLS 37). His records were made using phonetic script according to the presentation of the informant, Thors states. In the beginning of his fieldwork period in Vörå he seems to have encountered some problems in his attempts at establishing a rapport with the inhabitants, but these difficulties appear to have vanished after a while. In his report to the Society he says:

Vöråbon är förbehållsam, reserverad mot främlingen och ytterst rädd för att komma i tidningarna. Efter längre bekantskap och förtroligt umgänge blir han något meddelsammare. Dock berättar han högst ogärna under arbetstid. Söndagseftermiddagen är den lämpligaste tiden, och man kan då göra en rätt god skörd, om man lyckats ta honom på rätta sättet. (FU 8: xxvi)

The inhabitant of Vörå is reticent, guarded toward the stranger and extremely afraid of appearing in the newspapers. After a longer acquaintance and intimate intercourse he becomes slightly more communicative. Yet he is most reluctant to narrate during work hours. Sunday afternoon is the most suitable time, and you may get a pretty good harvest, provided you have managed to tackle him in the right way.

The collections were praised as good and valuable in the evaluation carried out by the Literature Society. Thors consistently omitted the names of the narrators and more specific details of their residence. Ulrika Wolf-Knuts suggests this might be due to the generality of the narratives, but Thors could also have had other motives for leaving the provenance of the texts less meticulously specified (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 28–29). Here I have utilized sixteen records drawn from Thors' three collections (SLS 22, 4; SLS 22, 10; SLS 22, 11; SLS 22: 16–17; SLS 22, 21; SLS 22, 26; SLS 28, 3; SLS 28, 12; SLS 28, 19; SLS 37, 3; SLS 37, 5; SLS 37, 6; SLS 37, 8; SLS 37, 11; SLS 37, 28; SLS 37, 98).

Karl Petter Pettersson (1857–1912) was the elementary school teacher in Nagu, later in Iniö, and he also functioned as a parson, the chairman of the local government committee and as the postmaster of the community. Of his work as a collector of folklore Anders Allardt writes: "Det vilar en käck omedelbarhet över hans stil, och en del av hans sagouppteckningar äro synbarligen färgade av hans personliga gemyt" ('A spirited immediacy suffuses his style, and some of his folktale records are visibly coloured by his personal disposition') (Allardt 1920: 364–365). In other words, Allardt thought that Pettersson directly influenced the language and form of the records he made. In 1890 Pettersson donated two collections of folklore from Nagu to the Swedish Literature Society (SLS 21; SLS 31), whence four texts originate (SLS 21, 8; SLS 21, 29; SLS 31, 141; SLS 31, 146). In 1893, he submitted another collection containing a record I have utilized (SLS 33: 201–207).

J. A. Nygren submitted a collection of miscellaneous texts recorded in 1892–1894 to the Society. One entry, copied from the songbook of the singer Jakob Lassus in the village of Kerklax in the parish of Maxmo in 1892, will be quoted in this investigation (SLS 45: 136–137).

Emil Norrback delivered a collection from Sideby, Ostrobothnia, cover-

ing a five-year period from 1892 to 1896 to the Literature Society (SLS 56). His records, ordered thematically according to the supernatural beings appearing in them, are written in standard Swedish and provide no information on informants or details of provenance. The form of the records indicates a method of compilation of material from various oral sources, which have been woven into a whole by the collector himself, and it is probably Norrback's voice we hear in the text included here (SLS 56: 151–153).

In 1895 J. Torckell was granted a scholarship for carrying out fieldwork on the Åland Islands, and in the field he also encountered narratives of trolls. The text used here is in normalized language lacking references to any narrators. Torckell gives vent to a slightly deprecating attitude to folk belief in his summaries and comments (SLS 59: 48–49).

According to Ann-Mari Häggman, Johannes Dahlbo (1850–1923) from Pörtom in Ostrobothnia was one of the first contributors to the folklore collections housed in the archives of the Swedish Literature Society. An elementary school teacher by profession, he lived and taught in the parish of Korsholm from 1894 onwards (Häggman 1992: 88). His collection from 1898 (SLS 65), here represented by eight records, is intriguing particularly because of his brackets at the end of the texts, where he might ponder the lines of transmission, sketch the linguistic context (the co-texts) etc. The fisherman Johan Berg from Sundom narrated two stories of trolls (SLS 65: 45; SLS 65: 47), one of them a retelling of a personal experience he had heard narrated by Bata Svarfvar (SLS 65: 45). Arstu Jucka from Solf was another of Dahlbo's more communicative interviewees, and here I have utilized one of his narratives (SLS 65: 49). His wife and son, Anna Maja Nordbäck and Isak Johansson Nordbäck, jointly contributed the sole explicitly racy story found in my material (SLS 65: 44). Pörtom informants supplied several small items; one was conveyed by Dahlbo's grandmother (SLS 65: 48), who is not named, one is attributed to the elementary school teacher Hagman (SLS 65: 48). Dahlbo's uncle, Gabriel Norrback who earned his livelihood as a farmer, posthumously got one of his stories immortalized in his nephew's collection (SLS 65: 43–44). A story narrated by Beata Eriksdotter Norrback has also been included (SLS 65: 8–9). All texts are in standard Swedish.

Erik Finne submitted a collection from the parishes of Pedersöre and Purmo, Ostrobothnia, in 1899 (SLS 71). Regarding his personal fieldwork principles he states:

Vid antecknandet af traditionen har jag låtit flere personer berätta om samma sak, d.v.s. samma tradition, hvar efter jag gjort ett "uppkok" på hvad som sålunda serverats. Genom ett dylikt tillvägagående tror jag mig ha vunnit den fördelen, att detaljerna tydligare framstå än annars hade varit fallet. För öfrigt har jag så samvetsgrant som möjligt försökt återgifva allt, hvad för mig berättats, utan att hvarken tillskarfva eller fråntaga. (FU 14: ii)

In the recording of the tradition I have made several people tell about the same thing, i.e., the same tradition, and after that I have made a "concoction" of the things thus served. By such a procedure I believe myself to have gained the advantage of the details emerging more distinctly than would otherwise have been the case. As for the rest I have tried to reproduce everything that has been told me as conscientiously as possible, without either adding or subtracting.

In the record incorporated into my material (SLS 71: 32–34), Finne is true to his principles in the respect that he has avoided crediting any informants, but the text is still rendered in the vernacular.

Filip Sundman was also collecting folklore in 1899 (SLS 72). Like many other collectors, he had no great confidence in the ability of folklore to survive in the modern age, and in his report to the Swedish Literature Society he writes:

Af mitt arbete erhöj jag det intrycket, att det är hög tid att samla detta material, om det icke redan är något för sent. Huru mycket har inte fallit i glömska under de senaste decennierna? Intresset för allt gammalt har svalnat betänkligt, beroende dels på bildningens framträngande, dels på ökad arbete vid jordbruket. De unga lär sig icke mera något sådant, och de gamla lämnas ofta i sticket af minnet. Glädjande var dock att se den beredvillighet, hvarmed de stodo till min tjänst, samt det vänliga bemötande, som på ytterst få undantag när, öfverallt kom mig till del. (FU 14: iii)

From my work I have gained the impression that it is high time to collect this material, if it is not already somewhat too late. How much has not fallen into oblivion during the last few decades? The interest in everything ancient has precariously cooled, due partly to the advancement of education, partly to the increased workload in agriculture. The young no longer learn such things, and the old are often betrayed by their memory. It was, however, gratifying to see the readiness with which they were at my service, and the kind reception that, with very few exceptions, was accorded me everywhere.

The record in standard Swedish used here was made in the parish of Pojo in the beginning of July following the dictation of an informant named Söderbergskan, whose first name is not given (SLS 72: 36).

Two years later, in 1901, Torsten Stjernschantz (1882–1953), later curator of the Academy of Arts Ateneum, did some fieldwork for the Literature

Society (Allardt 1920: 366) when he collected a narrative regarding trolls (SLS 80: 46–47). This specific text is rendered in standard Swedish, but some of the other ones are in the vernacular. Stjernschantz does not name his interviewees, nor does he specify the village where the story was collected. Of his working conditions he complains:

Kimito är annars ett mycket otacksamt arbetsfält för upptecknaren av folklore, ity att bland annat de talrika bruken, Dalsbruk, Björkboda och Skinnarvik, genom införande af en myckenhet lös främmande befolkning samt inköpande av stora delar af ön, infört nya tiders seder och uppfattning, hvarigenom den gamla allmogekulturen råkat i glömska. (FU 16: xxxiii)

Kimito is otherwise a very thankless work environment for the recorder of folklore, because the numerous works, for instance—Dalsbruk, Björkboda and Skinnarvik—have introduced the customs and ideas of modern times through the introduction of a multitude of unknown drifter residents and the purchase of large parts of the island. As a result the old peasant culture has fallen into oblivion.¹¹

H. R. A. Sjöberg did fieldwork in the parish of Replot in 1905, and one of the folk narratives he recorded has been cited in my analysis. The narrator is the crofter H. Gammal (SLS 98, 46: 72).

G. E. Lindström collected Swedish-language folklore in the predominantly Finnish-speaking parish of Hausjärvi in the late 1870s, and one text from the village of Källarhult springs from this collection (SLS 166e, 2). The name of the narrator is not mentioned. A record from the village of Hästböle in the parish of Sjundeå has also been cited (SLS 166: 687–689), as well as another record from the same parish (SLS 166: 728–729).

Henrik Kullberg submitted a collection of folklore from Nyland in 1912, and one text, narrated by the cottar Johan Stark, hailing from Virböle in the parish of Strömfors, has been used (SLS 208: 678–679). Two years later Kullberg conducted fieldwork in Nyland again, interviewing Johan Stark once more, and I have utilized a record made on this occasion (SLS 228: 89–93).

Several folk high schools were engaged in the collection of folklore, and in the 1890s pupils of the school in Kronoby, inspired by their teacher Johannes Klockars, a diligent local collector, made transcripts of folklore, which were subsequently submitted to the Swedish Literature Society (SLS 220). Karl Viktor Ulfves recorded a narrative from the parish of Lappfjärd

¹¹ The English translation is slightly adjusted to make the text more intelligible.

entitled "En jägares äfventyr" ('The Adventures of a Hunter') in the manuscript (SLS 220:240–242). The language is normalized and the informant is not mentioned, unless it is indeed the collector himself. An anonymous collector has donated an account of changelings under the heading "Vidskepelse" ('Superstition'), and Sideby is acknowledged as the place of recording (SLS 220:67–69). The Literature Society has made an addendum, suggesting that the modest collector might be Emil Norrback. Yet another text, ostensibly based on a tradition to be found in the parish of Korsholm (SLS 220:167–168) is also included in this collection. Likewise, a record from the parish of Lappfjärd has been utilized (SLS 220:248).

The poet Jacob Tegengren (1875–1956), too, was interested in folklore, and he worked as a local collector for the Swedish Literature Society (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 31). He visited the parish of Korsnäs and the island of Replot in 1912–1913 (SLS 215, 160; SLS 215, 248; SLS 215, 249; SLS 215, 250) and finished two collections from Vörå in 1922 (SLS 324:292; SLS 324:296; SLS 324:299; SLS 333:208–210; SLS 333:220–221; SLS 333:223); ten entries in total concern us here. Tegengren used standard Swedish, and did not normally supply the narrator's name, although exceptions to this rule do exist.

V. E. V. Wessman (1879–1958) was an unremitting collector of folklore. His fieldwork methods and biography have been carefully analyzed by Gun Herranen (Herranen 1986: 213–230). As Wessman's experience as a collector grew, he became more sensitive to the importance of the narrator, and having delivered merely his name in connection with the transcribed text during his first years as a scholarship holder, he later appended miniature biographies of the storytellers to the collection (Herranen 1986: 221–222). In the summer of 1909 this re-orientation was manifest in the brief notes on the personal character of some of the narrators; two folktales derive from this collection (SLS 137). Both represent the same taletype and are narrated by the former tenant crofter Grönholm in Backa (SLS 137 I, 1) and Otto Nylund, a dependent tenant in Snappertuna (SLS 137 II, 1). Wessman reports that Grönholm was called GammelDrosi ('Old Drosi') after the name of his croft and that he was over 80 years old, bedridden for many years. When he was young his repertoire included a large number of tales and songs, but by the time Wessman visited him he had forgotten most of them. Otto Nylund is described as a very talkative old man of 78 years. His memory was said to have been incredible in his younger years. Wessman wrote: "What he once heard narrated, he remembered without

difficulty for years on end, thus (?) people tell that when he returned home from church, he was able to recite the parson's sermon word for word". Whether this statement is literally true or a simile for his perfect memory is hard to tell. People used to call him the Bishop, but he was also considered an inveterate liar, which Wessman suspected might be occasioned by his superstition (SLS 137, "Smärre notiser angående berättarna" ('Minor Remarks on the Narrators'), no pagination).

The more elaborate biographies reach their peak in the 1911 collection; a few years earlier Wessman had encountered Berndt Strömberg (1822–1910), the blind master storyteller, whose narratives touched on trolls as well. Gun Herranen, who has devoted much of her efforts as a folklorist to explore every available detail of Strömberg's life and tales, claims that Strömberg was unique among Swedish-speaking narrators in Finland. Wessman recorded 120 folktales from him, and previous to his visits other collectors had documented some of his stories, but to no great extent. The texts are often long and complicated, yet easy to follow and stringent. When Wessman found Strömberg in 1909 he was already 87 years old and lived in a fishing croft in Leksvall in the parish of Ekenäs. Gun Herranen deems the extraordinary wealth of details a characteristic feature of Strömberg's style (Herranen 1995: 156–157; cf. Herranen 1984, 1987, 1993). Here I have used seven of his tales (SLS 202 Sagor II, 1; SLS 202 Sagor II, 8; SLS 202 Sagor II, 15; SLS 202 Sagor II, 19; SLS 202 Sagor II, 28; SLS 202 Sagor II, 61; SLS 202 Sagor II, 66). The same collection (SLS 202) contains another story of trolls, narrated by the female elementary school teacher Sandholm (SLS 202 Sagor I, 8). Wessman compares her version with Strömberg's in the notes accompanying the text, though it seems he did not record Strömberg's tale in full. In 1915 Wessman did fieldwork in the southwestern archipelago, and on this occasion he recorded a text in the village of Utö in the municipality of Finnby (SLS 255: 175–176).

Wessman primarily regarded folklore as an element of social intercourse, Herranen claims, and he stressed the importance of a trusting relationship to the folk. He felt no need to be thought of as a learned man, and he pretty much let people believe whatever they wished of him. Ideologically, his was a quest for genuine folklore, collected in a linguistically and socially homogeneous environment. In keeping with a general tendency among collectors of the period, he discarded traditions inspired by literate culture (Herranen 1986: 221–222, 224, 226–227). In 1917, when the country was on

the verge of a civil war, he travelled the Ostrobothnian countryside recording narratives, 12 of which are included in my corpus (SLS 280). Karolina Grannas from Härkmeri in the parish of Lappfjärd, 78 years old at the time, contributed one story of trolls (SLS 280: 362). Robert Hannus, a 72-year-old Härkmeri resident, recounted one story (SLS 280: 357), while Olga Nummelin, 79 years old and hailing from Sideby, told a similar one (SLS 280: 379). Anders Ek from Kärklax in the parish of Maxmo, 82 years old, narrated a story retelling the supernatural experience of a work mate (SLS 280: 503–504). One text from Vörå lacks information on the informant (SLS 280: 635–636), which is rather unusual for a collector like Wessman. In the parish of Solf, Sofia Snåfs, 69 years old (SLS 280: 131) and Isak Snåfs (SLS 280: 132) from the village of Munsmo, narrated one story each, as did Johanna Berg, 84 years old, in the village of Rimal (SLS 280: 136), Albertina Hellman, 86 years old (SLS 280: 129) and Eva Sund, 87 years old, from the village of Sundom (SLS 280: 130). Johan Grönlund, farmer in Taklax in the parish of Korsnäs, 69 years old (SLS 280: 295) and Anders Rovhök, 81 years old, living in Fröjnäs in the parish of Övermark (SLS 280: 312) also told him one story each. A year later, in 1918, he was recording folklore in the parish of Ekenäs when he met Alma Sundström in Skåldö, who related a narrative for him (SLS 290: 493).

As a rule, Wessman's records of folktales are in the vernacular, reproduced with painstaking faithfulness, while other texts, such as the ones extracted from SLS 280, are rendered in normalized language with occasionally inserted dialectal expressions explained in notes at the bottom of the page, a practice he evidently considered superfluous in the transcripts in the vernacular, in which the notes mostly relate to other extant versions, in manuscript or in print. For the longer narratives, the notes are thus recruited for exercises of scholarly comparison, whereas in the case of shorter ones, the annotations form the running commentary of a linguist, even though the words selected for annotation seem somewhat puzzling in hindsight. A possible explanation for Wessman's divergent transcription methods is that the texts comprising SLS 280 were something of a by-product of the collecting trip; the real purpose was to collect single words in the vernacular, not entire stories (SLS 280, Wessman's field report).

Axel Olof Freudenthal (1836–1911) was a prominent figure in the Swedish-speaking circles of the time; he strove for the protection of the Swedish vernaculars and Swedish culture in Finland (Steinby 1985: 61–66), and he

made his first advance for the cause by joining *Illegala nyländska afdelningen* ('The Illegal Division of Nyland') at the Imperial Alexander University, legalized in 1868. Later he was one of the founders of the Swedish Literature Society. He was also active in the *Svenska landsmåls-föreningen i Finland* ('The Swedish Society for the Vernaculars in Finland') from 1874 onwards (Bergman 1981: 8; Steinby 1985: 13; Wolf-Knuts 1991: 19). He donated some records made between 1860 and c. 1900 to the Swedish Literature Society, and the collection was filed as SLS 213. I have utilized one transcript taken down in the vernacular, but still lacking any attribution to a narrator, and it ends in mid-sentence (SLS 213, 184).

Gabriel Nikander (1884–1959) was professor of Nordic Cultural History and Ethnology at Åbo Akademi University. Prior to his appointment he had worked as a teacher at a folk high school, among other things, and he was a highly esteemed collector for the Literature Society (Steinby 1985: 161–162). In 1911 he collected folklore in Nagu, and an item attributed to an H. I. in the record has been included in my material (SLS 192a: 141). Unfortunately this person was accidentally left out of the list of informants, as far as I can tell. In 1912–1913 he collected folklore in Kyrkslätt, and one text has been used in my analysis (SLS 217: 542). In the summer of 1913 he was doing fieldwork in Kimito when he recorded a narrative from Stava Söderström, born in 1855 and living in the village of Påvalsby at the time of collection (SLS 226: 150–151), and he also documented an item collected from Mathilda Gustafsson, born in 1875 and living in Iniö (SLS 226: 462). On the same field trip he visited Pargas, where he collected one story (SLS 226: 171–172). His contemplations in the field report recall those of Torsten Stjernschantz:

Arbetet här var svårt. Redan på 1870-talet trodde Fagerlund sig samma konstatera, att vidskepelsen nära nog utrotats i Korpo och Houtskär, och på 1890-talet sade Elmgren detsamma om Pargas.¹² Deras ord böra tydas så, att folkseden i dessa sjöfartsidkande socknar sedan länge befunnit sig i upplösning och att endast fragment av folktron kvarleva. Då härtill kommer att folkbildningen har endast kommit halvvägs mot i Nyland,

¹² L. W. Fagerlund published his "Anteckningar om Korpo och Houtskärs socknar" ('Notes on the Parishes of Korpo and Houtskär') in the 1870s, a work characterized by Otto Andersson as "a very significant contribution to the knowledge of the Swedish people and Swedish folklife in Finland". Sven Gabriel Elmgren wrote a "Beskrivning öfver Pargas socken" ('A Description of the Parish of Pargas'), by Andersson considered important, but unfortunately marred by serious factual errors (Andersson 1967: 171, 133–134).

och således misstron mot främlingen, som efterforskar folktrons relikter, är synnerligen stor, följer härav att sådant arbete är svårt i dessa trakter. Jag har därför antecknat talrika materiellt etnografiska notiser, då sådana om folktron icke står att erhålla. En del allmänt förekommande vidskepelse har jag inte antecknat. (SLS 226:525)

Work here was hard. Already in the 1870s Fagerlund thought himself [able to] establish the same, [the fact] that superstition has been almost entirely eradicated in Korpo and Houtskär, and in the 1890s Elmgren said the same of Pargas. Their words should be thus construed that folk customs in these seafaring parishes have long been in a state of disintegration, and that merely fragments of folk belief survive. In addition, as adult education has progressed at only half the rate as in Nyland, and suspicion of the stranger inquiring into the relics of folk belief is therefore particularly great, such work is consequently difficult in these areas. Therefore I have made notes on numerous materially oriented ethnographic items, since ones on folk belief are not in my power to obtain. Some generally circulating superstitions I have not recorded.

That Nikander's comments concern previous scholarship is perhaps not all too surprising, as he is one of the competent professionals enlisted by the Swedish Literature Society, and we become well aware that he was not spared the problem of encountering suspicion among his presumptive informants. In this instance adult education is actually credited with a positive influence on the folk, making them better equipped to understand the inherent value of ancient folk belief and the importance of preserving it for the nation, science and later generations, a mission education had not yet fulfilled in Kimito. Like many other collectors (cf. chapter 2.2.2), Nikander ignored very common tradition, and the records are made in standard Swedish.

Jakob Edvard Wefvar collected for the Swedish Literature Society as well, and here I have used one text from the parish of Vörå, recorded from the rope-maker Kastell living in the village of Rejpelt (SLS 275: 87–88). The narrative was documented some time in the 1870s.

Vivi Peters (1893–1945) was one of the few female collectors. She followed in her father's, K. P. Pettersson's, footsteps as she submitted her first collection to the Swedish Literature Society in 1916. She extended the Society's collecting activities to new fields and areas of research, such as food and hygiene. Her premier collection was well received, which spurred her to go on. Ernst Lagus, otherwise so severe in his criticism, held her in high regard. The 1918 collection (SLS 320) contains a record from Fina Lilja, a crofter's daughter and party cook from Finnö on the island of Korpo (SLS 320: 80). Lilja was born in 1846.

The pupils of the folk high school in Vörå delivered a collection to the Literature Society in 1922, probably inspired by Jacob Tegengren, the local collector (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 31). One of the texts, signed by Elna Källbacka (SLS 338: 21–22), has bearing on my investigation, and it is intriguing to note that it refers to a local tradition recorded by many other collectors as well. In the same year, the folk high school in Närpes, too, submitted a collection to the Society (SLS 319), whence I. N.'s essay "Vidskepelse i min hembygd" ('Superstition in my Home District') is taken (SLS 319: 31–32).

Felix Andersson was collecting in Storpellinge in 1925 when he recorded a story of a troll (SLS 374:10–12). No informants are acknowledged by name and the language is normalized, though some quotations framed in direct discourse have a vernacularized tinge. In one instance he has added alternative phrasings in the margin, which might imply that he heard the story performed several times.

The notes on folk belief compiled in 1852 by Märten Lassus, a senior juryman living in Vörå, were incorporated into the collections of the Swedish Literature Society in the form of typed copies (SLS 299); of these I have cited six stories (SLS 299: 31–32; SLS 299: 33; SLS 299: 33–34; SLS 299: 34–35; SLS 299: 35–36; SLS 299: 47–48). The document was, in other words, produced long before the Society even existed, and accordingly does not conform to its rules of disposition. Incidentally, it is the only collection of folklore thought to have been instigated by Rancken's appeal in the paper *Ilmarinen* in 1848.

2.2.4 Printed Sources

I have also made use of printed sources. Wilhelm Sjöberg and Jacob Tegengren contributed one and two entries respectively, concerning names and legends of stones and rocks in the parish of Replot in the former case, and the parish of Vörå in the latter, published in the periodical *Budkavlen* issued since 1922. Sjöberg's article is included in the very first issue (*Budkavlen* 1922: 39–41), Tegengren's appeared a couple of years later (*Budkavlen* 1923: 86; *Budkavlen* 1924: 85). Two items in Sjöberg's text refer to trolls, while Tegengren's articles contain one item each that have been employed in my analysis. Tegengren was likewise involved in the publication of *Bygdeminnen*, a series in three volumes running between 1909 and 1912, containing folklore collected by students at the folk high school in Närpes.

There are four narratives in these volumes that I have quoted in my research (*Bygdeminnen* 1909: 33–34; 1910: 41–42; 1912: 56–57). The first one was collected by Alfred Lassfolk in the village of Yttermark in the parish of Närpes, the second by K. J. Valsberg in Övermark, the third by Else Tegengren from Lena Stenlund, farm mistress in Yttermark, and the fourth by John Ahlbäck in Korsholm.

L. W. Fagerlund's "Anteckningar om Korpo och Houtskärs socknar" ('Notes on the Parishes of Korpo and Houtskär') alluded to by Nikander was printed in 1878 in the periodical *Bidrag till kännedom af Finlands natur och folk* ('Contributions to the Knowledge of the Nature and People of Finland'). It is an extensive examination touching on many aspects of the history and culture of the parishes in question. Included therein is a tale from Houtskär, "Trollgobbin' och vallgöutin'" ('The Old Troll and the Shepherd Boy') (Fagerlund 1878: 169–178). Axel Olof Freudenthal appended a story "åm in tjärng, som vast bjärgteji" ('On a Woman Who Was Abducted') as a linguistic sample in his monograph on the Vörå vernacular, *Vöråmålet* (Freudenthal 1889: 197). Both Freudenthal and Fagerlund employed phonetic script and the language of their samples evokes vernacular speech patterns, but most other printed texts are in standard Swedish, and they have been edited to suit the tastes of a reading educated public. This is obvious in some texts, as the collectors have "polished" the material into a finely honed piece of romantic poetic description (see e.g. *Hembygden* 1912: 120).

Budkavlen's predecessor *Hembygden* is a rich source of folklore as well. Rafael Karsten published an essay on "Kvarlevor av hednisk tro bland Finlands svenskar" ('Relics of Heathen Folk Belief Among the Swedes of Finland') in 1910, where he quoted a story of trolls (*Hembygden* 1910: 145). In his conclusion, the author stresses the importance of collecting beliefs and exhorts the journal's readership to engage in this work. He exemplifies:

De företeelser som vanligen gå under benämningen "skrock och vidskepelse" bör han ej håna och bele såsom betydelselöst nonsens, utan att han bör söka att förstå dem. De utgöra som vi sett fullt naturliga yttringar av primitivt tankeliv, och nutidsmänniskan har anledning att tillvarata och bedöma dem med samma pietet som övriga minnesmärken av en förgången tid. (*Hembygden* 1910: 149)

He should not deride and sneer at the phenomena usually subsumed under the term “superstition”¹³ as meaningless nonsense, but rather try to understand them. They constitute, as we have seen, entirely natural manifestations of primitive thought, and modern man has reason to preserve and judge them with the same piety afforded other monuments of times past.

Folklore is used as a means of shedding light on “primitive thought” and a time long past.

Uno Sandvik was one of *Hembygden's* local collaborators, and in 1911 he submitted a record on trolls from Terjärv, Ostrobothnia (*Hembygden* 1911: 114). The folk high schools were contributors of prime importance in the collection of folklore (Steinby 1985: 171); Svenska Österbottens Ungdomsförbunds folkhögskola (‘The Folk High School of the Youth Association of Ostrobothnia’) delivered a small collection of texts to *Hembygden* in 1912. Two of these are devoted to trolls; one was sent in by Edith Smeds from the parish of Solf, and one by Edvard Hellman hailing from the same parish (*Hembygden* 1912: 120–121). J. Kaustinen, a local collector in Vörå, supplied some particulars on traditions of trolls in his parish in the same issue (*Hembygden* 1912: 20–21). The next year Edit Håkans from the village of Petsmo submitted a text on trolls, although the heading designates them as *earth-dwellers* (*Hembygden* 1913: 105). Jacob Tegengren was a diligent author in *Hembygden* too, and he contributed a story of trolls in the 1916 issue (*Hembygden* 1916: 62–63). Wilhelm Sjöberg did not fail to appear either, and published “Sägner om ‘Stråkgobbin’” (‘Legends of the Old Stråk Man’), narrated by Alfred Gädda, a fisherman from Panike in the parish of Replot, in *Hembygden* 1917–18: 122–123.

Nyländska afdelningen (‘The Division of Nyland’) at the Imperial Alexander University, referred to above in its illegal form, had funded collection of folklore by granting scholarships to fieldworkers from 1860 onwards, and in 1882 the decision on the publication of the collections thus obtained was made. The series, entitled simply *Nyland*, swiftly became the model for both publishing and collecting folklore in the Swedish circles in Finland. The first volume appeared in 1884, the last at the turn of the century (Andersson 1967: 151–152, 172–173). In this study the volumes of folktales, tomes 2 and 6, are most useful. Once again we encounter Jakob

¹³ The Swedish words *skrock* and *vidskepelse* both translate as *superstition*, and it seems unnecessary to replicate the English equivalent for the sake of accuracy in translation.

Edvard Wefvar, who collected in Nyland as well, and in the parish of Karis he recorded the tale of “Kárin Trätjóra” (‘Catherine with the Wooden Skirt’) from the lips of Edla Theilenius from Mangårdsby, born in 1846 (*Nyland* 1887, 19: 15–17). Another Karis resident, Johan Bäckström, was also visited by Wefvar (*Nyland* 1887, 26: 26–27). G. E. Lindström conducted fieldwork in Svartbäck in the parish of Sjundeå, where he recorded a narrative from Lindholm, whose first name he does not mention (*Nyland* 1887, 77: 90–93). All these texts are published in the vernacular utilizing phonetic script, which is not the case with Gustav Åberg’s record from Lappom in the parish of Strömfors (*Nyland* 1887, 180: 209–211). Isak Eriksson Smeds, who was later lecturer in Swedish in Joensuu, has contributed one record, made in the vernacular, to the investigation (Allardt 1920: 363; *Nyland* 1887, 114: 137–138). Adolf Backman, an editor, collected two stories of Hobergs-gubben (‘The Old Man of Hoberg’), one from Övitsböle in the parish of Mörskom, the other from Lomböle in Borgå (*Nyland* 1896, 25: 19; *Nyland* 1896, 26: 20–21). Both of the texts are in the vernacular. In Embom in the parish of Liljendal Isak Alexius Björkström, a freeholder, interviewed the dependent tenant Vilhelm Vilhelmsson, “a younger man”, whom he considered so noteworthy a narrator that he merited being mentioned by name in the travel report (Allardt 1920: 316; *FU* 9: xxxiv; *Nyland* 1896, 129: 151–154). L. W. Öholm, who was the headmaster of a folk high school, recorded a tale of trolls in the parish of Tenala in 1893 (*Nyland* 1896, 141: 179–182).

The conception of folklore entertained by the Division is aptly illustrated by G. A. Åberg’s introduction to the second volume of *Nyland*:

Publikationens syfte är icke i första hand att söka åstadkomma en samling roande förtäljningar, utan dess uppgift är att åt fäderneslandet rädda återstoden af den rika folkdiktning, som under årtusenden lefvat hos vår folkstam, som följt den släkte ifrån släkte och i skiftande bilder afspeglar hela dess forna världsåskådning, att med ett ord rikta den kulturhistoriska vetenskapen med nytt material. Mycket är nämligen utur dem att hämta för den, som vill studera historien i dess innersta grund, som vill lära känna folkets anda och skaplynne, och följa hela gången af dess inre utveckling. Ty folksagan tillåter oss mången blick in i längst hänsvunna tider, den ger en trogen och lefvande bild af våra föfäders seder och levnadssätt, och sprider öfver forntiden ett ljus, hvilket icke alltid står att vinna ifrån skriftliga urkunder ... våra folksagor förtjäna ett bättre öde än att för alltid begravas i glömskans natt. Men skola de räddas undan förstörelsen, bör detta ske snart. De äro nämligen på väg att dö ut eller fördärfvas under inflytande af en ny tid och nya förhållanden, och endast i aflägsnare bygder lyssnar man ännu med begärlighet till dessa förklingande ljud, hvilka en gång voro hela folkets egendom och den första näringen för våra fäders bildning. (*Nyland* 1887: vii–viii)

The purpose of this publication is not primarily to try to accomplish a collection of entertaining narratives, but its task is rather to salvage the remains of the plentiful folk poetry, for millennia flourishing within our tribe, that has accompanied it from generation to generation and in varying images reflecting the whole of its ancient world view, for the native country, in one word to provide the discipline of cultural history with new material. For there is much to find therein for someone who wants to study history in its innermost core, [someone] who wants to get to know the spirit and creative genius of the folk, and trace the entire process of its inner growth. For the folktale permits many a glimpse of times long since past, it gives a true and lively picture of our ancestor's customs and ways of life, and sheds light on ancient times not always possible to gain from written documents ... our folktales deserve a better fate than to be forever buried in the darkness of oblivion. But if they are to be saved from annihilation, it must happen soon. For they are about to be extinguished or corrupted under the influence of a new age and new conditions, and only in remote areas do people still avidly listen to these sounds dying away, which were once the property of the entire people and the first nourishment for the education of our forefathers.

These apocalyptic words of warning resonate through much of the folkloristic literature of the time—I have already reviewed some examples—and we also find another recurring motif, the notion of folktales as an instrument for divining certain particulars of a history long lost and shrouded in mystery.

Janne Thurman appealed to similar sentiments in his introduction to an essay on “Några hednaminnen i pargasbons diktning” (‘Some Heathen Relics in the Poetry of the Inhabitant of Pargas’), which also contained specimens of folklore collected by the author himself, and one of the entries specifically relates to trolls (Thurman 1891:111–112). As a preamble Thurman mentions the positive and negative effects of education on the intellectual life of the folk and then continues:

Den som önskar höra prof på allmogens urgamla folkdiktning och vill rädda hvad som numera räddas kan, han måste begifva sig till civilisationens utmarker, till trakter, hvarest anghvisslans gälla ljud ej ännu bortdrifvit sjö- och skogsjungfrun, gastar och andra spöken. På sådana ställen är man ännu i tillfälle att få höra våra från hedenhös bevarade vallåtar skalla genom dalen och att se folket samladt på söndagseftermiddagen till vitter sagoskämtan. Lyckas man tillvinna sig allmogemannens förtroende, kan man få taga plats i hans krets och anteckna mången åldrig sägen, som täljes vid dylika tillfällen. Men det är svårt att öfvervinna folkets misstroende. Äfven i de mest aflägsna bygder drager det sig för att åt en främling gifva sina sagor, gåtor och sin gudatro. Det tror nämligen, att de bildade anse dessa sagor och sånger barnsliga, och att de skratta åt dess uppfattning af djävulen och många af företeelserna i naturen – Afsikten med denna uppsats är ingalunda att nedsätta den allmoge, ur hvars sköte jag samlat nedanstående; långt därifrån, jag vill blott visa, huru i vår folkdiktning finnas många äkta fornordiska

pärlor, värda att hopsamlas och bevaras. De hafva visserligen under århundradenas lopp filats af och slitits, men det oakadt äro de för oss, såsom alla minnen från vår folkstams barndom och ungdom, dyrbara och kära. (Thurman 1891: 104–105)

He who wishes to hear specimens of the ancient folk poetry of the peasantry and wants to rescue what nowadays may be rescued, he must go to the outskirts of civilization, to places where the shrill call of the steam whistle has not yet banished the mermaid and maiden of the forest, ghosts and other spectres. In such places you are still in a position to hear our herdsman's songs preserved from times immemorial echo through the valley and to see the people assembled to a learned jest of tales on Sunday afternoon. If you manage to earn the farmer's confidence, you can take your place in his circle and record many an ancient legend told on such occasions. But it is hard to conquer the suspicion of the folk. Even in the remotest districts they hesitate to give their tales, riddles and faith to a stranger. For they believe that the literati deem these tales and songs childish, and that they laugh at their conception of the Devil and many other phenomena in nature. — The purpose of this essay is absolutely not to disparage the folk in whose midst I have collected the following; far from it, I only wish to show how many genuine treasures from the Old Norse, worthy of being collected and preserved, [still] exist in our folk poetry. In the course of the centuries they have certainly become eroded and hackneyed, but regardless of that they are, like all monuments of our tribe's childhood and youth, precious and dear to us.

This excerpt spans almost all the themes occupying the minds of the collectors and researchers of the period; ideology and conceptions of folklore intermingle with the practical problems facing a fieldworker. Folklore is treasures from the Old Norse, eroded and hackneyed of course, but still evidence of a glorious past, "our tribe's childhood and youth". The gaze was turned toward times immemorial, and it is the historical dimension that legitimizes collection, which is obstructed by the tendency of the folk to distrust the collector's intentions. This is not wholly astonishing, as the upper classes did not have too high an opinion of peasant culture earlier on (Andersson 1967: 120). Old Norse culture was important as an ideological point of reference in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and furnished a uniting factor in the rallying of Finland-Swedish resources (Lönnqvist 2001: 235–244).

2.2.5 On the Principles of Transcription and Translation

Concerning the transcription of the Swedish original, I have quoted passages verbatim retaining the spelling used by the collector in cases where the record is made in the vernacular, but not employing phonetic script. Diacritic marks are reproduced according to the manuscript, to the extent I

have been able to discern them; some texts are rather difficult to read. Records in phonetic script have been simplified by converting phonetic notation into conventional letters, as all readers might not be familiar with this specific script. Vowels in the zone between “e” and “ä” have generally been transcribed as “ä”, and sounds between “u” and “o” as “o”, unless this procedure would impede a reasonably fluent reading of the text. “Ng” is written “ng”, except in front of a “g”. In the phonetic script “i” stands for both “i” and “j”, and here I have normalized the transcription according to the rules of standard Swedish. Double letters, notated as a single vowel or consonant underlined in the manuscript, have been reproduced in line with standard orthography. Again, diacritics, though quite rare, have been supplied in accordance with the source. Letters in the beginning of a sentence are not capitalized in the phonetic script, and I have retained this feature.

As for the English translations, all are mine unless otherwise stated. In general I have tried to preserve the expressions and the grammar of the original, and sometimes the English rendition will suffer for it. Nevertheless, I believe this is the best way to preserve at least part of the colour of the original, which would otherwise be lost to the English-speaking reader. Unfortunately my command of English-language dialects is not such that I would have been able to translate texts in the vernacular into English ones. Instead I have had to content myself with translating them into standard English, employing contractions and other more informal features to indicate the vernacular status of the texts.

2.3 Context

In this section I will give an account of the historical, social and religious context in which the texts analyzed in three of the main chapters were narrated. The focus lies on the South Ostrobothnian parish of Vörå where these narratives were collected.

2.3.1 Historical and Social Context

Vörå borders on the parish of Oravais in the north, Härmä in the east, Isokyrö (Storkyro) in the south, Vähäkyrö (Lillkyro) in the southwest, Kvevlax in the west and Maxmo in the northwest (Lönnqvist 1972: 53). The settlement is concentrated to the Vörå river valley and consists of seventeen

villages: the villages of Rejpelt, Jörala, Andiala, Lomby, Bergby, Koskeby, Miemois, Mäkipää, Rökiö, Lålax and Tuckur in the south and east, the villages of Lotlax, Palvis, Bertby, Kovik, Karvsor and KaitSOR in the north and west. In addition, two groups of outlying villages are situated in the west and in the east; the former, comprising the villages Kalapää, Röukas-Komossa and Kaurjärv-Aknus, is Swedish-speaking, whereas the latter, constituted by the villages of Pettersbacka, Murto, Vesiluoma and Ruthsland, is Finnish-speaking (Lönqvist 1972: 53–54).¹⁴ The neighbouring Swedish-speaking parishes of Oravais and Maxmo belonged to the parish of Vörå until 1859 and 1872 respectively, when they were officially separated from Vörå. Contacts have been especially lively between the villages of KaitSOR in Vörå and Karvat in Oravais, and between Palvis and Lotlax in Vörå and Kärklax in Maxmo (Lönqvist 1972: 53–54; Åkerblom 1963: 145–146).

The parish has been connected by roads to Vähäkyrö, Isokyrö, Maxmo and the gulf of Bothnia since the 17th century—in the north Vörå stretches out to the sea. In the 1850s and 1860s a main road to Ylihärmä was built, but the present road to Vasa, the county capital, was not finished until the 1940s. During the time of collection, the parishioners travelled to Vasa via Vähäkyrö, often to sell their produce at the market—mostly butter, meat, pork and tallow; in 1821 the parish, like many others, lost the right to arrange fairs of its own (Lönqvist 1972: 54, 57; Talve 1997: 116; Åkerblom 1963: 119–120).

From the 1860s to the 1910s the population amounted to 7000–8000 persons, most of whom were occupied with farming. In 1876 there were 624 landowners in the parish, and 802 tenants. Four years later 73% were occupied in farming, and the corresponding ratio in 1901 was 66%. The rest supported themselves through pensions, life annuity, public office, the poor rota of the parish (a form of poor relief), social benefits (not specified), trade, hunting and fishing, shipping, industry and handicraft, or communications (not specified). In 1901, tenants, cottars and dependent lodgers still constituted a large group (Lönqvist 1972: 62). Some parishioners found temporary work in Sweden, a situation which became increasingly common from the 1860s onward. The period was also characterized by accelerating emigration, first to Sweden in the 1870s and later to North America from

¹⁴ The form and spelling of the names of these villages vary considerably in the records and the research literature, and in quotations I have retained the spelling of the original.

the 1880s onwards. Between 1893 and 1910, 17.1% of the parishioners had left Finland; from the whole county of Vasa, more than 40 000 people emigrated to non-European countries in 1893–1901. Emigration reached its peak in 1901–1913. The emigrants were mostly of lower social status: dependent lodgers, cottars, peasant boys and girls (Lönqvist 1972: 59–60; Åkerblom 1963: 9, 13, 18).

Any large-scale industrialization or mechanization of farming methods were not discernible during the period studied. The shoe factory, founded in 1908, and the Hällnäs sawmill, established in 1890, were the only major employers in the parish. However, local ventures were fairly numerous. Several dairies and co-operative dairies were set up in 1886–1902, and various steam mills and saw-mills from the 1880s onwards. The farming guild of Vörå was instituted in 1902. By the 1890s Vörå could boast many shops, including specialized ones, in the different villages. The landless workers employed in industry furnished the principal customer base, since they were paid in cash (Lönqvist 1972: 65–66, 63–64; Åkerblom 1963: 76–84, 101, 122–134).

Finland got its Education Decree in 1866 which meant that public schools were established for children, making education freely available to the masses for the first time (Nykqvist 1979b: 316; Talve 1997: 317). However, the parish of Vörå was already running 21 permanent village schools in 1862. The number of pupils amounted to 730, and lessons were given during 22 weeks each year. Some parishioners also attended Anders Svedberg's renowned school in Munsala, and several of the village teachers sat in on his classes in order to improve their own teaching and educational level. By 1886 the number of schools had increased to three elementary schools with 97 pupils and 22 primary schools with 770 pupils. Twenty-one children attended school in Vasa (Lönqvist 1972: 64; Nykvist 1979b: 315; Åkerblom 1963: 266). In 1898 municipalities were enjoined to establish schools if a minimum of 30 children had been registered for education, and since the maximum distance to school was set at five kilometres, many new schools were created. The immediate background for this decree was the intensification of Russification implemented by the Russian authorities at the time, and a good education was perceived as the best bulwark against such attempts (Nykqvist 1979b: 321). At the end of the period, in 1925, the parish of Vörå had thirteen elementary schools (Åkerblom 1963: 275–294). The folk high school was founded in 1907 (Lönqvist 1972: 64; Nykvist 1979b:

331; Åkerblom 1963: 301); as mentioned earlier (chapter 2.2.3), its pupils donated a collection of folklore to the Swedish Literature Society in 1922.

Apart from the schools, the parishioners' desire for learning could be satisfied by the libraries and papers as well, and various non-profit organizations. The first library was housed in the vestry of the parish church following a petition by the dean in 1852. The collection consisted of religious and other useful and educational writings. Children were frequent users of the facilities, but their enthusiasm was not entirely appreciated, since they failed to keep the books whole and clean. The library was later split in two and moved to the elementary schools in the villages of Koskeby and Kovik. Donations of books were received in 1882 and 1892, and in 1888 a large purchase of works by Zacharias Topelius was made. From the 1880s onwards, six libraries were created in other parts of the parish with the financial aid of Svenska folkskolans vänner ('Friends of the Swedish elementary school'). By the turn of the century some 900 tomes were available in the libraries of the parish.

Newspaper subscriptions became increasingly common in the 1880s: in 1882 the parishioners of Vörå had taken out 50 subscriptions, two years later the number had doubled to 117. The Ostrobothnian student nation in Helsingfors promoted public reading cottages in the beginning of the 1890s, and Vörå received its own reading cottage in 1891. Being a large parish, the situation was different in various parts of Vörå. In 1892, reading was said to be quite common a pastime in the southern and middle parts, but in the north no such intellectual interests could be discerned. In the villages of Tuckur, Kovik and Karvsor the act of subscribing to a newspaper was thought to be such an enterprise that it required collective action, and the inhabitants founded an association, constituted by half of the population, for the purpose. No papers other than a religious one were read in Lotlax and Palvis, but in Bertby and Kaitisor not even that was available. Data from 1893 state that the most popular papers were *Weckobladet* (80 subscriptions), *Wasa tidning* (30 subscriptions) and *Wasabladet* (14 subscriptions). Twenty other journals and papers were in circulation as well, in one to four copies per issue. In 1900 *Wasa Posten* had 301 subscribers, and 444 in 1910, when *Wasabladet* was ordered in 58 copies (Lönqvist 1972: 64; Dahlbacka 1987: 137–138, n. 22; Åkerblom 1963: 308–310).

The promotion of decency and enlightenment among the youth was a prime motive in the establishment of an association for young men in 1881.

The move was an important and apparently beneficial one to judge by the complaints filed against the male youth at the parish and municipal meetings in the previous decades. The regulations of the parish of 1797, 1828 and 1841 were made more stringent in 1846, at the request of the dean, and the next year the young men were prohibited to ride to and fro outside the church during service on Michaelmas, as they thereby failed to attend mass and had trampled children and old people. In 1867 the farm masters in the northern parts of the parish started patrolling the countryside on weekends and holidays due to the undisciplined behaviour of the youth, and in 1890 the county sheriff wanted to ban weddings because of the exaggerated consumption of liquor at the feasts and all the trouble resulting from it. Other problems at weddings were the wild shooting, reckless riding and gate-crashing practised on those occasions. The creation of the association for young men was thus a welcome event, and the association's founder, Johan Hagman, a teacher in the village of Koskeby, summoned the members once a fortnight to hear lectures given by himself or other speakers. Singing, declamation, debates and games were also included in the programme of the association. It was succeeded by the youth association of Vörå, open to both sexes, which was founded in Koskeby in 1891. This association strove to educate the youth by giving courses in various subjects, by maintaining a library and by arranging sport activities. During the same decade, in 1896, a youth association in Rejpelt was added, occupying itself with publishing a handwritten journal, training a choir and organizing other events. The youth associations of Rökiö and Keskisnejden were established in 1908; the former launched debates once a week and was much focused on temperance. The association of Lotlax was instituted the year after. The programme was varied; in 1913 the branch received two libraries, and the facilities were eagerly utilized by the members. The next year the association arranged a sports competition. The association of Kovik became a combined youth association and temperance society in 1910. The local temperance society launched its civilizing enterprise in 1906, and the housewives got the opportunity to improve their domestic skills when they joined the Martha organization in 1903. The Vörå branch was known as the most active in terms of participation in courses arranged by the organization (Lönnqvist 1972: 64–65; Åkerblom 1963: 107, 317–327).

Thus, the parish of Vörå was socially homogeneous and mostly agrarian, with quite many social activities on offer.

2.3.2 Religious context

One of my principal arguments in the following chapters is that folklore and religious traditions are not as separate as we are sometimes led to believe, and I attempt to demonstrate that narratives of trolls and Biblical texts are part of the same network of associations. In order to substantiate this claim, however, it is imperative to elucidate the ways in which the Bible and other religious writings reached the rural population. The Bible itself was an expensive article until the beginning of the 19th century, when the Evangelical Association in Sweden, financially supported by the British and Foreign Bible Society, started publishing cheap editions of the Bible (Pleijel 1967a: 37–39). These Bibles also found their way to the Swedish-speaking areas in Finland, and other editions were utilized as well. The version of the Bible in use during much of the period under study was the Bible of Charles XII, sanctioned in 1703, which is a very slightly altered variant of the Reformation Bible of 1541 commissioned by Gustavus Vasa Rex; this explains the archaic language of the translation, which was archaic even in the 16th century (Olsson 2001: 58–59, 40). Toward the end of the period, the translation of 1917 came into circulation, but it is uncertain whether it had any real impact on the adult population: people tend to be reluctant to abandon their old, beloved translation.¹⁵

The Bible of 1703 in its 19th-century form has been called Sweden's first Bible for individual reading; previous versions were mainly intended for use in service. A number of factors contributed to this development, in Sweden as well as in Finland: new forms of production were introduced, distribution was intensified, the economy of the masses changed, literacy increased, and religious revivalism encouraged reading of the Bible (Olsson 2001: 62–65).

Apart from individual reading, the message of the Bible was disseminated in other ways: the Gospels and Epistles were read in church during service, and as long as regular attendance was still a custom, these were commonly

¹⁵ It should be noted that the Swedish-speakers in Finland have always employed the Swedish translations of the Bible; while Finland belonged to Sweden this procedure was a matter of course, but even after the incorporation into the Russian realm and the Declaration of Independence, it remained the case. Most of these Bibles were also printed in Sweden, although a limited number of printings in Swedish were produced in Finland (Huldén 1991: 344–345). Other translations than those authorized by the Church might have been used as well (see Lindström 1991: 208–210 on unauthorized translations).

known (Pleijel 1967a: 44). The rewritten material found in the hymnal and in prayers has been decisive in this regard. The old Swedish hymnal of 1695 was officially employed until 1886, when the second general Finnish synod accepted a new one. However, the latter never attained the same status as the former, since it neglected the needs of the revivalist movements, and it was superseded by the songbooks of these movements in practical use (Näsman 1979: 119). Some of these songbooks, such as *Sions sånger* ('The Songs of Zion') and *Sionsharpan* ('The Harp of Zion'), were well-known in Vörå (Dahlbacka 1987: 287). The importance of Martin Luther's catechism, reinforced by the parish catechetical meetings, should not be underestimated either (Pleijel 1967a: 13; Pleijel 1967b: 90; Olsson 1967: 113). Though many may have loathed the catechism and the effort involved in memorizing it, it was nevertheless ingrained in people's minds, as were the expositions of it. The exposition of Archbishop Svebilus, originally published in 1689, was particularly popular; the chapter of Åbo adopted it as a coursebook for the youth in 1759, and it retained its dominant position well into the 20th century (Pleijel 1967b: 94; Nykvist 1979b: 309). We know that Svebilus was cited by the folk, as attested by Janne Thurman in his article on pagan memories in the poetry of the inhabitants of Pargas (Thurman 1891: 110). In the parish of Vörå Svebilus' exposition was utilized in confirmation classes and in the instruction of children (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 42).

Catechetical meetings were instituted by Bishop Johannes Gezelius, senior in 1673. It was a matter of personal honour to perform well at the examinations, and the proficiency of the participants was meticulously checked. The meeting was usually held on a large farm, and everyone was expected to be able to read from a book and to recite the catechism by heart. The grades were entered in the parish register and in special reading slips. Afterwards the clergy expounded a passage from the catechism, and inquired into the moral state of the village (Näsman 1979: 45). Catechetical meetings were still practised at the time of collection (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 42), and confirmation classes and the examinations carried out in connection with them, first decreed in 1763, were likewise common (Näsman 1979: 46, 75–76). As a consequence of the prohibition against private religious meetings issued in 1726, catechetical meetings and visits to the sick were basically the only forms of direct contact the parishioners had with the parish priests. The repeal of this law in the new Church Law of 1870 resulted in an intense activity on the part of both laymen and professionals. The clergy

started giving Bible classes in the villages, and laymen organized edifying meetings (Åkerblom 1963: 158).

The knowledge of religious matters exhibited by the parishioners, both young and old, was praised by the ecclesiastical inspector in 1804. His protocol states that the catechetical meetings arranged in the parish had attracted many visitors, children and youths in particular. The reading skills of the parishioners were likewise deemed good and admirable in general, and the dean expressed his satisfaction with the fact that the youth had begun studying Svebilus' exposition of the catechism. By the 1850s the population increase turned the holding of catechetical meetings into a burden for the clergy, and in 1877 the dean found the situation untenable. Literacy had declined drastically, and he proposed an introduction of elementary schools, but the parishioners rejected the idea.

Confirmation classes were organized annually in the autumn and in the spring, and only those who had attended it during both terms were admitted to the Communion, the protocol of 1804 reports. In 1856 the terms were specified as two weeks in the autumn and two weeks in the spring. The vicar and the curate alternated with the assistant vicar so that both boys and girls received instruction from them in turn. In addition, the parish clerk taught them hymns one hour each day. The same year the dean put forward the idea of creating Sunday schools, and the parishioners accepted his suggestion. In the summer months the children tended to forget what they had learned during the winter, and the autumn was mostly spent recovering the knowledge lost. The dean also thought the youth idled the Sundays away by practising indecency, and considered Sunday school a more edifying pastime. He exhorted the teachers to base their instruction in reading on correct spelling and to ensure that no additions, omissions or transpositions were made when reading by rote, and that the children understood what they had read. The best way of examining their apprehension of the meaning of a text was to ask them to render it in their own words (Åkerblom 1963: 262–266). To what extent his injunction was heeded, and if it was, how well it worked is difficult to tell.

Notwithstanding, the authority of the church dwindled in the 19th century, and the church was no longer capable of supervising the celebration of Communion and participation in catechetical meetings (Raittila 1969: 106). Simultaneously the clergy lost much of its worldly power in the separation of ecclesiastical and municipal administration ordained in 1865 and effected

by 1868 at the latest. However, this does not imply that the clergy necessarily resisted this reform; some were dedicated advocates of it. Preparations for the introduction of municipal administration were made in Vörå in 1867, when crop failure and starvation necessitated the reform. Municipal administration was linked to raised taxes for persons with high incomes, and the parish councils resisted taking immediate action for implementing the law, but the crisis and the costs of poor relief quickened the pace (Nykvist 1979a: 219–221; Åkerblom 1963: 191–194).

As for other religious writings, a variety of authors and works are reported to have been read in the parish of Vörå. Ingvar Dahlbacka has compiled a table on the devotional literature in use in Swedish Ostrobothnia in the 19th century, based on interviews conducted by Tor Krook and a questionnaire prepared by W. A. Schmidt for the Archive of Church History at Åbo Akademi University. The exposition of the catechism published by Svebilus has already been mentioned, as well as *Sions sånger* and *Sionsharpan*. In addition to these, the parishioners cherished Martin Luther's works; Johann Arndt's *Fyra Anderika Böcker om En Sann Christendom* (*Vier Bücher von Wahren Christentum*) and *Paradisets lustgård* (*Paradies-Gärtlein*); Anders Nohrborg's *Den Fallna Menniskans Salighets-Ordning* ('The Order of Salvation of Fallen Man'); Anders Björkqvist's *Trones öfning till Saligheten* ('Faith's Exercise toward Salvation'); *Kosteliga Honungsdroppar...* (*A Choice Drop of Honey from the Rock Christ: or a Word of Advice to all Saints and Sinners*) by John Wilcox; *Nådens ordning* (*Evangelische Gnadenordnung*) by David Hollatz; *En ropandes röst i öknen* ('A Voice Crying in the Desert') by Petter Topp; the sermons of Lorens Christoffer Retzius and Lars Linderoth; and the works of John Bunyan and Johann Jacob Rambach (Dahlbacka 1987: 286–287). All of these are included in Osmo Tiilikä's thorough investigation of the devotional literature of the Pietists in Finland, even though some of the writers do not belong to this specific revivalist tradition. Hence the works read in Vörå fit into a larger Finnish and European context.

One problem in discussing the individual reading of religious literature is of course whether people actually understood what they were reading. Some form of basic literacy had been fairly common since the mid-18th century, but the emphasis was mostly on memorization and on reading well in a more mechanical sense, not on interpretation of the text read (Näsman 1979: 45; Nykvist 1979b: 309; cf. Wolf-Knuts 1991: 44). Two comments may

be made in this context; firstly, the nature of interpretation in general is such that it is always influenced by individual and situational factors, and the correspondence or not of the folk's readings of religious writings to interpretations sanctioned by theology becomes less important (cf. Wolf-Knuts 1991: 44). As a folklorist, it is my task to focus on popular interpretations, using the methods appropriate to my discipline. Secondly, these folk readings are not generated in a social vacuum. The 19th and early 20th century was the age of revivals, and despite the fact that individual religiosity came to the fore in this period, the revivals were highly social phenomena. Social networks of like-minded people were created, and forums—official and unofficial—for the discussion of faith and religion were established. The interpretation of religious works might have been a group activity, effected either in private conversation with one's peers, or at more organized, collective meetings, perhaps involving preaching or exposition of a text. In other words, I assume both a private and a collective interpretation of religious texts, the former influenced by the needs of the individual, the latter conforming to collective patterns. However, even individual interpretations do not escape the touch of the collective, as everybody craves to be accepted by a peer group. In the following, I will therefore outline the religious life of the parish.

Pietism found its first advocate in Jonas Lagus, curate of Vörå in 1817–1828, and when he moved to the Finnish-speaking parish of Ylivieska in 1828, the revival did not abate. The movement stressed individual salvation attained through a person's benevolent actions, and the significance of repentance. The revival has been regarded as legalistic, since it focused so much on the law of the Bible. In the 1830s Vörå emerged as a centre for the Pietist revival as some of the influential families joined the movement, including the sons of the parson. One of them, Johan Mikael Stenbäck, continued to promote Pietism as the curate of the parish in the beginning of the 1840s; his temporary replacement on the post, Josef Reinhold Hedberg, did likewise. During these decades the religious meetings arranged by the movement attracted large audiences, and speakers from other communities were regularly enlisted. Many Pietists donned the old 18th-century folk costume, the long-tailed jacket (*skörtdräkt*) for men and the kirtle for women. It was commonly worn in Vörå in the 1840s and 1850s, but subsequently disappeared in the 1860s. The old-fashioned dress functioned as a social marker, differentiating the pious from the rest of the pop-

ulation. The movement was still going strong in the 1870s, when Frans Oskar Durchman held the office of vicar in the parish, in 1875–1880. Durchman was a respected preacher renowned for his powerful and fascinating sermons (Krook 1931, 1:148–215; Krook 1931, 2: 42–63, 152–173, 334; Näsman 1979: 64–65; Dahlbacka 1987: 61, 63, 64–67, 83, 94–95; Talve 1997: 149; Åkerblom 1963: 156–158, 165). Incidentally, Durchman functioned as Jacob Edvard Wefvar's host while he was collecting folklore in Vörå for J. O. I. Rancken (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 64).

The Evangelical movement, initiated by Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg, gained ground in the 1870s. Hedberg emphasized the Word and the objective aspect of Christianity, i.e., atonement in the blood of Christ, and his message of grace was eventually well received even by former supporters of Pietism; Hedbergianism was experienced as a liberation from the stern moral preaching of the Pietists. Hedberg was also fond of Luther's writings, and these were translated and published by the Evangelicals. The adherence to Luther became a prime characteristic of the movement, typical of both official representatives and laymen. For the laymen, the sacraments, especially the baptism, were crucial (Dahlbacka 1987: 86; Näsman 1979: 69; Raittila 1969: 103). Paradoxical though it may seem, reading of Luther was not a self-evident activity, even if the country was Protestant and the revivals remained within the church (Tiillilä 1961: 15).

Evangelicalism secured a foothold in the parish in 1871, when Josef Wilhelm Fontell was appointed assistant vicar, an office he held until his death in 1880. Fontell is known to have distributed *Sionsharpan*, the songbook of the movement, and *Sändebudet* ('The Messenger'), its journal, among the parishioners. Some inhabitants of Vörå also travelled to Ylihärmä in order to hear the sermons of Karl Sanfrid Nyman, another clergyman associated with the movement (Dahlbacka 1987: 94–95, 99, 130–131; Näsman 1979: 100). The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland was founded in 1873, and one of its most tangible contributions to the religious life of the country was the introduction of colporteurs, who were responsible for distributing religious literature to the masses. In the beginning the colporteurs were chiefly active in the capital, but later on their efforts were extended to Ostrobothnia too. They functioned as lay preachers as well, a circumstance that did not always please the clergy (Dahlbacka 1987: 105–106, 112–122). The first colporteur to visit Ostrobothnia to any greater extent was Gustaf Julin, appointed in 1879. He used to live in Vörå

for shorter periods. He represented the ultraevangelical branch of the movement, and is rumoured to have claimed that even a person committing serious crimes could be saved in the very act of violence if he simultaneously confessed his status as God's saved child (Dahlbacka 1987: 110). Through Julin's activities, the ultraevangelical branch was firmly established in Vörå. He frequently arranged Bible classes and created a revival in the parish (Dahlbacka 1987: 110, 130; Åkerblom 1963: 159).

In the 1880s the parish applied for a permanent colporteur, and the petition was granted in 1892, when Karl August Sjöberg was stationed in Vörå (Dahlbacka 1987: 147, 236; Åkerblom 1963: 159). Prior to Sjöberg's appointment, Jakob Edvard Wefvar had replaced Julin in 1886. Wefvar's main concern was the Ostrobothnian parishes, but he conscientiously conducted a tour of all Swedish-speaking areas in Finland each year (Dahlbacka 1987: 155; Dahlbacka 1984: 20–21). Unlike many other lay preachers, Wefvar also included more remote villages in his itinerary, and the meetings at which he spoke were remarkably well attended. In 1888 he reported that he could hold as many as ten Bible classes in the same village without any diminution of interest. Wefvar was particularly pleased with the reception his message got in Vörå: in 1891 the parish is portrayed as a place where the wind of grace has blown for many years, and Wefvar liked to linger in such districts. He seems to have been a born speaker, and he was more successful in this task than in his capacity as bookseller. Nevertheless, he is commonly credited with the introduction of *Sionsharpan* to a wider audience in the Ostrobothnian parishes—thanks to his efforts, the songbook gained a currency that would otherwise have been denied it (Dahlbacka 1984: 12, 20, 24–26; Dahlbacka 1987: 165–166, 168–169). Due to his status as folklore collector as well as preacher, Wefvar is interesting in this context, and the implications of his dual status deserve investigation.

Wefvar conducted fieldwork in the Swedish-speaking areas in Finland between 1868 and 1886, and by the mid-1870s he appears to have started preaching. These activities were therefore simultaneous, at least in part. Few manuscripts of sermons have survived, and most date to 1875–1880, i.e., to the beginning of his career as a preacher (Dahlbacka 1984: 17, 28). One of these early sermons was delivered in the village of Rejpelt on December 5, 1875 (IF 111: 74; Dahlbacka 1984: 58 n. 43). According to Ingvar Dahlbacka, it is probable that Wefvar did not need a manuscript for his sermons when he acquired more experience; the early ones have a simple structure and are

more of a running commentary on the Biblical text expounded. Regarding the themes of the extant sermons, the atonement accomplished in Christ, Christian conduct, the religious controversies of the time and admonitions predominate (Dahlbacka 1984:29). Wefvar also included folklore in his speeches, which he attempted to make in the vernacular in consonance with the local language (Dahlbacka 1984:27). In a fragmentary manuscript he relates the story of two girls kidnapped by the Russians during the Great Hate, associating their exiled condition with the wretchedness of mankind having distanced itself from God (IF 111:74). Thus, Wefvar explicitly made associations between religious tradition and folklore, and constituted one channel through which his audience came into contact with such a way of thinking. Notwithstanding, I do not believe Wefvar invented this perspective on the relation between religion and folklore, but his sermons may have reinforced any tendency to adopt such a point of view among his listeners. To what extent his sermons might have resembled his way of representing folklore in his records is difficult to tell; the extant manuscripts of his sermons are in standard Swedish and are written in a somewhat laboured style, and he could well have delivered them in this form.

This manner of associating folk narratives with Biblical texts and hymns is exemplified in a number of records. One mentions an old woman who is being fed by three doves like Elijah was nurtured by ravens by the brook (I Kings 17: 4–6; *Nyland* 1887, 114: 137–138), and another tells of a man being thrown out of his drying-barn by a ghost; the narrator observes that he had to “arise, take up his bed and walk” like the man sick with palsy (Matthew 9: 6; Mark 3: 11; Luke 5: 24; John 5: 8; SLS 98: 72). A man being hindered by a *rå* on the road uttered a slightly modified variant of the first line of Psalm 23, “The Lord is my Lord [i.e., shepherd]; I shall not want”, and escaped (SLS 217: 542). In one case the supernatural creature is the one to quote the hymnal: a girl who was desperate to get married promised to wed a merman, but asked to be allowed to visit the groom’s home before the wedding. He consented, but ended up abandoning her on the shore, citing the twelfth verse of hymn 205 in the old Swedish hymnal: “Here no-one can live, for here no-one has peace. Where am I to find shelter for the night? God [has] determined the moment in which I [will] sink to the bottom, so great is my misfortune” (R II 28a; my translation). In another text, the singing of hymn 456, “Now tears and lamentations await” in a mountain

in Russia is said to presage the outbreak of war (SLS 290, 17: 493). A widespread folk tradition has also attributed hymn 359 in the old hymnal, "Wake up, my soul, give praise" to a boy or girl delivered from the clutches of the Devil, to whom he or she has been promised as an unborn foetus (SLS 228: 89–93; R II 291; SLS 33: 201–207; R II 151; *Bygdeminnen* 1909: 33–34).

But let us return to the parish of Vörå. By the turn of the century, Vörå was firmly established as an Evangelical centre. Evangelical festivals were arranged nearly every year, and sewing circles for the benefit of the Association's mission in Japan were set up in four villages between 1901 and 1910. Vörå's position as an Evangelical area was further strengthened by the acquisition of a chapel in Koskeby in 1904, which was part of an incipient organization on the local level. Two years later a branch of the Evangelical Youth Organization was founded on the initiative of the new vicar, Alfred Johannes Bäck, the son of one of the early leaders of the movement. Bäck supported the building of three other chapels, two in the parish of Vörå, in Bertby and Murto, and the remaining one in Keskis in the parish of Oravais. The latter was also frequented by the inhabitants of Vörå. These chapels were used for catechetical meetings, Bible studies and meetings, not to mention the debates hosted by the Youth Organization (Dahlbacka 1987: 175–206, 215, 218, 223, 231, 233–234, 240, 242–243; Näsman 1979: 100; Åkerblom 1963: 160–162).

The parishioners were influenced by various Free Church movements as well. A Baptist community was founded in the village of Kovik in 1873 with Mats Barkar as its first leader. Before this, the preachers Anders Niss and Erik Nygård had familiarized the parishioners with the Baptist faith. The community was very small at first, its membership amounting to a mere four persons. In 1880, Frans Oskar Durchman sent his son and three members of the church council to inspect a Baptist meeting where Mårten Mårtensson Granberg was engaged as speaker. After a longer stay in Sweden Granberg had converted to Baptism and begun preaching in several of the villages in Vörå, to the dismay of the vicar. The inspectors demanded that Granberg cease preaching, but he refused. A chapel was built in the village of Kovik in 1903 (Dahlbacka 1987: 134; Näsman 1979: 86; Åkerblom 1963: 158–159). The Free Church proper similarly formed a community in the parish; the chapel is located in the village of Bergby. The movement was not as successful in Vörå as it has been in many other Ostrobothnian parishes during this period, a fact attributed to the prejudices of the inhabi-

tants of Vörå by representatives of the Free Church in 1913 (Dahlbacka 1987: 134; Näsman 1979: 86; Åkerblom 1963: 161). Another revival, headed by some former Laestadians, reached Vörå in 1908, and the year after Pentecostalism was introduced. The ecstatic features of the latter movement and the glossolalia practised by it clearly distinguished it from previous revivals (Näsman 1979: 135, 140).

With this account of the religious context of the parish of Vörå I have attempted to give a background to the investigation of intertextual relationships between folklore and the Bible in chapters 4 and 5, by demonstrating the place of religion in the life of the community, and the ways in which the parishioners came into contact with the Christian message.

3 DESCRIPTION OF THE TROLL TRADITION

Before we begin, it might be appropriate to briefly rehearse the tentative definition of *troll* utilized in this thesis—although it ought to be stressed that no definitive definition can be given. By this term I mean a supernatural creature inhabiting the forest and bearing this specific name. The importance of studying the troll tradition, and supranormal traditions in general, lies in the function of the otherworld, as depicted in folklore, as a mirror to the human world, enabling a discussion of human society and the conditions influencing the life of the narrators. In other words, the troll and the supranormal sphere may be viewed as instruments for thinking about one's identity and place in the world, and for orienting oneself in a larger, complex reality. Simultaneously, the otherworld may represent an idealized version of the human community if it possesses qualities human society lacks but nevertheless needs (cf. Stark 2002:133). By treating the supernatural world as an embodiment of an ideal society, people could re-define themselves through the relation of the human community with this wondrous sphere (cf. Stark 2002: 137).

3.1 The Conditions of Encounter

In order to establish a relation between the human realm and the otherworld, someone must take the initiative to traverse the boundaries between them. Here I intend to examine the following aspects of this problem: 1) When and where does the encounter take place? 2) Why are the characters of the stories on the site at that time, if specified? 3) Who crosses the boundary between the human and supranormal sphere? 4) Is the contact intentionally or unintentionally contrived; and if the former is the case, what is the purpose of the contact? 5) What influence do gender and age have on the relation to the otherworld?

3.1.1 The Place and Time of the Encounter

The domain of the trolls is preeminently the forest, where their hills and castles are situated. Nature is therefore the explicit or implicit site of encounter in many texts.¹⁶ Jochum Stattin has described nature as the peri-

¹⁶ Freudenthal 1889:197; *Hembygden* 1910:145; *Nyland* 1887, 19; R I 86; R II 70; R II 295; R II 325; SLS 28, 3; SLS 37, 6; SLS 56:153; SLS 65:45; SLS 71:32–34; SLS 80:60; SLS 202

phery in relation to the home and farm, the centre of the world of the peasant; between centre and periphery the cultivated landscape, which provided the farmer's livelihood, was located (Stattin 1992: 55). Nevertheless, the boundary between the farm and the wilderness was not distinct, the border zone could be extensive and consist of a mixture of human and supernatural domains (Stark 2002: 111). The forest was a part of the human world, and man had to use its resources in daily life, but it was viewed as belonging to the otherworld whose inhabitants also made use of these resources. Because of this, a system of working in shifts, so to speak, was applied in order to regulate the use of common resources; the day belonged to humans, while the night belonged to the supranormal. As we will see, this division is not entirely straightforward (cf. Tarkka 1994: 293–294; Stark 2002: 119). In this sense, man may be regarded as the traverser of boundaries when the encounter takes place in nature, and this role is further emphasized when humans arrive at the dwelling of the troll.¹⁷ The road (SLS 56: 153; SLS 280: 312) and the country shop (SLS 28, 12) are more public sites of encounter (as noted in chapter 2.3.1, local shops were already operating in the countryside at the end of the 19th century). The road may be considered both a boundary—between centre and periphery (Stattin 1992: 55)—and a means of crossing that boundary, as it connects physically and cognitively separate spaces. The shop is an integrated part of the human world, and the troll is now the one to bridge the gap between the worlds, as is the case when the encounter occurs on human territory, at home or on the farm.¹⁸

The time of encounter varies greatly. Nocturnal confrontations are common,¹⁹ but morning is mentioned in one record (SLS 280: 132), and it seems as if trolls do not particularly shun the light of day, for many associate meetings with daytime activities.²⁰ Certain festivals are depicted as

Sagor I, 8; SLS 202 Sagor II, 66; SLS 213, 184; SLS 220: 240–242; SLS 280: 129; SLS 280: 132.

¹⁷ *Nyland* 1887, 77; *Nyland* 1896, 129; R II 175; R II 427; SLS 22, 4; SLS 22, 11; SLS 31, 141; SLS 31, 146; SLS 65: 49; SLS 137 I, 1; SLS 137 II, 1; SLS 202 Sagor II, 28; SLS 280: 635–636; SLS 299: 33–34; SLS 338: 21–22.

¹⁸ *Nyland* 1887, 77; R II 11; R II 70; R II 76; R II 336; R II 338; SLS 22, 21; SLS 31, 146; SLS 137 II, 1; SLS 202 Sagor II, 8; SLS 215, 250; SLS 280: 357; SLS 280: 362; SLS 280: 375.

¹⁹ *Nyland* 1887, 77; *Nyland* 1896, 129; R I 86; R II 328; SLS 22, 4; SLS 31, 141; SLS 56: 152; SLS 65: 49; SLS 71: 32–34; SLS 80: 46–47; SLS 202 Sagor II, 8; SLS 280: 362; SLS 374: 10–12.

²⁰ *Nyland* 1887, 19; R II 70; R II 325; R II 336; R II 338; SLS 1, 3; SLS 1, 11; SLS 22, 11; SLS 28, 3; SLS 28, 12; SLS 31, 146; SLS 37, 6; SLS 37, 9; SLS 56: 153; SLS 65: 45, 47; SLS 137 I, 1;

conducive to an encounter with trolls: Easter (SLS 226: 150), Midsummer's Eve (R I 86), the festival of St. Thomas on December 21st (SLS 333: 220–221) and Christmas Day (SLS 65: 49). Even the weather may have some import for supernatural experiences, as the trolls are said to be abroad in rain and mist, and are believed to bathe when rain falls while the sun is shining (SLS 56: 153).

In folkloristic research, supranormal encounters have been related to the breaking of taboos and to social boundaries; in folk narratives, supernatural beings act to maintain traditional gender roles and the moral codes of society, but they also reinforce the very boundary between the human sphere and the otherworld (Stattin 1992: 55–57; Wolf-Knuts 1991: 250–253; Stark 2002: 186). The promotion of social order and cohesion has been associated with notions of purity, whereas the propagation of danger and disorder has been connected with impurity in the vein of Mary Douglas (Stark 2002: 192; Douglas 1992). Notwithstanding, supranormal creatures may be linked to strategies for liberating oneself from oppressive social norms as well; for instance, the Devil can be used by humans to gain advantages for themselves without having to pay the price for his assistance, losing their souls to him after death (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 253–263). However, the link to moral transgressions is not always obvious in my material, although there are some lucid examples of this function, and hence I have not applied the taboo approach in any consistent fashion. Nevertheless, I have endeavoured to comment on such features where appropriate.

3.1.2 Women's Encounter with the Troll

Women's tasks within the sexual division of labour required frequent forays into the forest, where they herded cattle, sought for animals gone astray or collected leaves, according to the texts (Freudenthal 1889: 197; R I 86; R II 325; SLS 28, 3; SLS 37, 6; SLS 65: 45; SLS 202 Sagor I, 8; SLS 213, 184). The encounter is not desired by the woman. For example, a girl walking in the forest chances upon a troll cottage, where she is the witness of foul misdeeds (SLS 37, 3). In one narrative, the woman is fleeing through the forest of the troll on the back of a bull. Unaware of the otherworldly status of the

SLS 137 II, 1; SLS 202 Sagor II, 28; SLS 202 Sagor II, 66; SLS 213, 184; SLS 280: 132; SLS 280: 312; SLS 280: 357; SLS 280: 635–636; SLS 299: 33; SLS 338: 21–22.

woods until her companion informs her of it, she then provokes a confrontation by almost subconsciously failing to heed the injunction not to touch anything in the forest (*Nyland* 1887, 19). In another tale, the queen vows to sacrifice all her twelve sons for a daughter as red as blood and as white as snow, a morally depraved act which summons the troll in its most terrible aspect. A female troll promises the queen her heart's desire in exchange for her boys, whom she gladly consigns to a miserable existence as wild ducks (SLS 202 Sagor II, 66). Here the taboo perspective comes into its own, for the queen has neglected a fundamental responsibility as a parent, i.e., not to deliver her offspring into the hands of the enemy, so to speak. The place of encounter is once again the forest.

The troll assumes the position of traverser of boundaries when the scene of encounter is a woman's home. The visit is always intentional and may have aggressive as well as peaceful motives. Abduction is a recurrent objective (R II 11; SLS 31, 146; SLS 137 II, 1; SLS 226: 150), occasionally preceded by the violation of a prohibition which surrenders the woman into the troll's power. The old, bent woman in one record, for instance, warns the king not to allow his daughter to walk capless under the open sky, and when she does, she is immediately carried away (SLS 31, 146; cf. SLS 137 II, 1). Theft may be another reason for encroaching on human territory (SLS 333: 220–221), and a desire to rob humans of their rightful home is a third; in this case the trolls covet the house of some princesses, and bury them to their necks in the earth to be rid of them (SLS 202 Sagor II, 8). A female troll who has forbidden her fosterling to enter a specific room in her house banishes the girl when she suspects that she has failed to obey her command. The girl refuses to confess her transgression. She marries a king and gives birth to several children, but after each delivery the troll returns to induce her to confess; when she does not, the troll takes her children away (SLS 22, 21). A more endearing motive is to fetch a midwife for the troll's wife (*Hembygden* 1911: 114; *Hembygden* 1913: 105; R II 336; R II 339; SLS 28, 12). One troll appears in order to court a human woman, who is constantly plagued by its attentions no matter where she is (SLS 215, 280).

The troll in the shop may have been there to steal under cover of its invisibility, but its main function in the narrative is to act as a gatekeeper. The midwife, having assisted at the birth of its child, has acquired second sight by applying a magical ointment to her eyes despite the express prohibition of the troll, and it deprives her of her ability by blinding her (SLS

28, 12). As Inger Lövkrona has pointed out, this woman poses a threat not only to the supernatural realm, whose inhabitants she might expose as vulgar thieves, but also to the human world, since she could use her powers for witchcraft (Lövkrona 1989: 113). Second sight and other supernatural powers were generally regarded as both beneficial and harmful, as they could be employed for social as well as anti-social purposes. Thus, a person possessing these faculties was always a potential threat to others, and that is why the woman is so gruesomely punished (cf. Tillhagen 1977: 65–67; Mathisen 1993: 19).

The relation to the troll is partly dictated by age and, by extension, marital status. Young, unmarried women are most likely to be abducted, while the mature, married woman is the obvious candidate for a midwife.

3.1.3 Men's Encounter with the Troll

Men also have their duties in the wilds: to chop wood, hunt, go fishing and to burn charcoal (R I 86: 3–4; SLS 65: 45; SLS 71: 32–34). The encounter may occur during a work trip or on the way home from a fishing trip (SLS 65: 47; SLS 374: 11–12). Dances and visits to the neighbouring village are other occasions for being in the forest during the day or evening (R II 175; SLS 80: 46–47). In several texts no particular motive for the stay in the forest is given (*Hembygden* 1910: 145; SLS 22, 4; SLS 56: 153). The man unintentionally traverses the boundary to the otherworld, and the same may be said of those men coincidentally happening upon the dwelling of the troll. One boy is herding sheep when he suddenly discovers the positively ancient cottage of the trolls (SLS 202 Sagor II, 28), and the man or boy coming to the cottage of the *rå* or the large, splendid building of the troll in the forest (R II 175; SLS 22, 4) chance upon it unexpectedly.

Abductions of men are rare, but two such cases are reported in my material. The context of the first encounter is not mentioned, but it is stated that the man was married to a supposedly female troll and sired several children (SLS 280: 136). In the other account, a man was thought to have been taken by the trolls when he lay down to rest by the side of the road after a wooing trip. He slept for three days, and could not be found despite a search being conducted by the villagers, though he eventually returned (*Hembygden* 1912: 120).

Only men seem to have the daring to consciously seek out the troll in its den; women are brought to it against their will. Feminist analyses have es-

tablished that this is a common pattern in European folk tales, and that women are generally depicted as more helpless, passive and dependent on their family, while men are active and independent (Apo 1995:134). The merchant Thölberg in Gamla Vasa, for example, ventures into the domain of the trolls at their request, which is motivated by highly pragmatic needs. Thölberg's stables are a sanitary nuisance to them, as the horses are placed just above their dinner table, and the trolls wish to persuade their human neighbour to move the building (SLS 65: 49). One boy arrives to enter the service of the troll, even though he is more or less forced to do so, as the bird he is riding on simply dumps him in the troll's courtyard (R II 427). The six brothers coming to the old man's castle are in search for shelter for the night (*Nyland* 1896, 129). A common objective is to rescue abducted women (R II 325; R II 328; SLS 31, 146; SLS 137 I, 1; SLS 137 II, 1), and if the man is a priest, his goal may be to banish the trolls from the vicinity of the human domain (SLS 22, 11; SLS 280: 635–636; SLS 299: 33–34; SLS 338: 21–22; cf. Stark 2002: 124–125).

Such crossings of boundaries may be made with both aggressive and peaceful purposes. The man is an agent intentionally pursuing the troll, and he is confident in his ability to deal with any situation that might arise. This is especially true of those possessing a strong religious faith; the clergymen intending to perform an exorcism, for instance, do not doubt their powers at all. The fact that they often fail the first few times may be the narrators' vengeance upon complacent priests; they are not quite as invincible as they believe themselves to be. Pasi Klemettinen has called this theme a frequently comical folk inversion of ecclesiastical exorcisms, in which the exorcised exorcise the exorcist (Klemettinen 1997: 157–158).

The common soldiers and shape-shifting boys aiming to rescue the abducted princesses are similarly unaware of any limitations to their bravery, but they are genuinely courageous in contrast to all the pretenders trying to steal the show. While other men flee in terror at the threat of a confrontation with the troll, they stoutly stay by the side of the princess and successfully defend her against the troll.

As was the case with women's encounters with the supernatural, men may also be approached by the troll in their homes. A boy, who is being courted by a troll girl, receives visits in his home as well as on the road (R II 70). The troll may appear in order to help a boy, who has liberated him from captivity, to assist him in obtaining his chosen bride (SLS 1, 3).

In one story, the troll comes to the bedside of the master of the house to ask him to move the stable (SLS 280: 362). Here the encounter is occasioned by the man's status in the household: he is the highest authority in the affairs of the farm, and only he is qualified to grant or reject the troll's petition.

The troll may have more sinister reasons for its visit as well. A boy, who has undertaken to guard the possessions of his mistress against the attack of trolls, is subjected to severe nocturnal assaults (*Nyland* 1887, 77), and an obese man called Smörbuk (Butterbelly) is abducted to furnish a succulent soup for the troll's festive dinner (SLS 37, 9).²¹

In accordance with the prevailing ideals in premodern, agrarian society, men exhibit a more active approach to the otherworld. They do not hesitate to enter the supernatural realm to track down the troll, and they have the prerequisites to emerge from such an encounter untouched. Men may also be cast as victims of the troll, but somehow they manage to turn the situation to their advantage, or they are rescued by other men, either their father or their youngest brother.

The influence of age and marital status on men's encounters with the troll is primarily felt in connection with the trolls' abductions of women and the performance of banishments. In order to be suitable partners for the princesses they free from captivity, the men must be young, or at least unmarried, in the first instance, while they must be mature in the second, as their position as minister requires a lengthy education. When it comes to abductions of men, trolls seem to be less discriminating, for they kidnap both married and unmarried men.

3.1.4 Children's Encounter with the Troll

In this category I have included smaller children only, as many boys and girls mentioned in the texts seem to be perceived as young adults rather than underaged children. Moreover, gender appears to be more significant than age in determining the fate of a person.

²¹ The name of this character is usually rendered as *Smörböck* ('Butter Ram'), but in this record it is evident from the notation of the vernacular that *Smörbuk* ('Butterbelly') is the name used by the narrator. The *u* is underlined in the manuscript, and in the phonetic script an underlined vowel denotes a long vowel, making it *buk*, not *böck*, which would have a short vowel in the vernacular.

The home and the forest are the principal scenes of children's encounters with the supranormal. Beginning with the latter, no explanation for the sojourn in the wilds is given in two cases (*Hembygden* 1910:145; SLS 280:295), while the child accompanies its mother on a leaf-collecting expedition in another (R II 325). These children have unconsciously crossed the boundary to the otherworld, and they are abducted by the troll. Abduction is likewise a motive when the troll intrudes upon the human sphere (R II 338; SLS 280:375). A female troll comes to take the child with her to the supranormal realm, but as the godmother of the little girl she has promised to provide for her when her parents are poverty-stricken, and her action is thus legitimate (SLS 22, 21). The situation is more complicated in another text, narrated by the shoemaker Anders Westerlund, and collected by an anonymous student sometime before 1882:

He va eingang in konung som fanga eit bærgrull o to bygd an eit (?) hus i trægáln sin o tid lá an trölí. Konunjin sá to át all, att an som sku slápp ut hede trulli vem he o sku vara sá sku an döden dö. O nán tid baket för konungen bort på ein reisu. Men so hadd konunjin o drottinjin hans en pojck o hande leikt ein da i trægáln o kasta bolln sín át hede (?) tatje tár trölí va, för he va sá brant o passlit ti ta lyru. To titta trulli út jinon gallre o byrja tala me konunjinás pojtjin o bá att án sku slápp út an. Men pojtjin svara att an omöjlít int trössa göra he, fö pappa ha sakt att han som slápper ut trölí ska döden dö. Men trölí huld på me pojtjin á lova att om an sku slápp an so sku an stá an allti bi. (SLS 1, 3:14–15)

Once upon a time there was a king who captured a hill troll, and then he built a house in his garden, and in this [house] he placed the troll. The king told everyone that anyone who released the troll, whoever he might be, would die. But the king and his queen had a boy, and one day he was playing in the garden and threw his ball toward the roof under which the troll was, because it was so steep and suitable for catching [the ball]. Then the troll peered out through the bars and started talking with the king's boy and begging him to release him. But the boy answered that he could not possibly dare do it, for dad has said that he who releases the troll will die. But the troll tried to persuade the boy and promised that it would always assist him if he released it.

The site of encounter is the royal garden, where the troll is imprisoned in a cottage. As the little prince decides to play a ball game precisely on this spot, the troll seizes the opportunity to persuade him to let it free. The prince is reluctant at first, since he is well aware that the penalty for allowing the king's hunting trophy to escape is death, but eventually he gives in, as the troll pledges to reward his kindness, which it indeed does later on in the narrative. The real traverser of boundaries is the king who has brought

the unhappy troll to its present habitation. Yet the prince is not entirely innocent in this matter, as he ought to be conscious of the risks involved in visiting that place, the territory of the troll in the human world. Like most children, he completely ignores the danger. Nevertheless, the troll concretely initiates the contact by addressing the prince. In other words, all are equally responsible for instigating the communication between the worlds.

The position of children as portrayed in the narratives under study is much akin to that of women: their encounters with the troll are mostly unintentional, and they are frequently exposed to the impositions of the troll in the form of abductions, but they may also benefit from the charity offered by denizens of the otherworld, either by being adopted into the troll's household or by receiving the troll's aid in a moment of crisis, in exchange for an earlier favour.

3.2 The Troll and Its World

This subchapter will deal more specifically with the question “what is encountered?”—the appearance of the troll itself, its marvellous abilities, its domain and surroundings. My aim is to provide an account of the otherworld with regard to its peculiarities, although there are, obviously, many similarities between the human and supernatural sphere, especially in terms of social structure.

3.2.1 The Troll and Its Abilities

In the narratives, little attention is paid to the physical appearance of the troll, but they still furnish the fragments of a portrait in the form of general impressions, descriptions of clothing or individual features. The most distinct trait of some wonder tale trolls is probably their multiple heads, either three, six, nine or twelve (*Nyland* 1887, 19; SLS 202 Sagor II, 8; SLS 202 Sagor II, 1). One troll is said to be a big man with enormous eyes (SLS 65: 45). Trolls may also be small and greyclad, with red nightcaps on their heads (SLS 220: 242). Some of them have hollow backs (SLS 280: 312), like the *rå*. A member of a supernatural wedding procession is said to be a very fine gentleman (SLS 56: 152). Two beautiful female forest trolls wear a light green and a pink translucent dress respectively, and their hair is shimmering (SLS 80: 46–47). Another young female troll is short, and dressed in a shining garment (*Bygdeminnen* 1910: 41). The children of hill trolls can be either pretty, properly dressed and clever (or deft, depending on the trans-

lation) (SLS 56: 153), or a woman with an abnormally large head (SLS 280: 357), if it is a changeling. Another description portrays the changeling as very deformed and decrepit, and though it resembles a human, it is incredibly stocky, and the skin is said to have been like the back of an old frog, or even coarser (SLS 220: 67–69). The monstrous physical traits reveal the true nature of the changeling (Lönnqvist 1996: 152).

The power of shape-shifting is one of the most salient talents of the troll. A troll in the parish of Pellinge, for instance, always appeared in the shape of a white horse (SLS 374: 10), and when the parson banishes the inhabitants of the Troll Hill in the parish of Vörå, they fly away as black ravens (SLS 280: 635–636). A pregnant female troll is encountered in the guise of a very fat and black frog (R II 336), and a troll prince metamorphoses into a dog to make a human prince follow him (SLS 202 Sagor II, 1). One troll from the Åland Islands shows itself as a he-goat with terrible horns and a beard enveloping the entire hill where it lives (SLS 59: 48–49), and another troll transforms itself into a bird to entice a young girl to its dwelling (SLS 202 Sagor II, 61: 869). In one text, the troll takes the shape of a white bear in order to carry off a sleeping girl (SLS 37, 8).

Other guises favoured by the trolls are those of natural phenomena, like clouds, skies and hurricanes (SLS 31, 146; SLS 137 II, 1; SLS 137 I, 1). They may also be invisible (R II 70; SLS 280: 503). Another characteristic of their kind is regeneration, exercised to the dismay of both supernatural helpers and humans. The bull bringing the heroine through the troll's forest is exasperated by the propensity of the troll to breathe new life into each head he laboriously manages to kill (*Nyland* 1887, 19), and a troll, who gets its finger cut off, returns the next day to display its regenerated member (R II 338). On the same occasion, it demonstrates its possession of second sight, as it immediately knows the location of the basket of butter hidden away by the mistress of the house. One troll can talk despite its recent decapitation (SLS 137 I, 1), and a demi-troll, i.e., a character with one human and one supernatural parent, is able to fell the whole forest with a single cut and stack the wood on its sledge with just one throw (R II 295). Moreover, trolls may have influence over animals and objects: an old troll woman detains a boy's sheep near its dwelling for the duration of their encounter (SLS 202 Sagor II, 28), and a troll prince possesses a similar gift for controlling ships (SLS 202 Sagor II, 1). Finally, some trolls dazzle humans with their cultural accomplishments: two troll girls impressed a boy

with their beautiful singing and polyglot proficiency, for they spoke all languages in the world (SLS 80: 46–47).

3.2.2 The Dwelling and Possessions of the Troll

Hills or rocks are indubitably the most popular settlement sites among the trolls, according to the narratives (*Budkavlen* 1924: 85; *Bygdeminnen* 1910: 41; R II 305; R II 336; R II 427; SLS 65: 47; SLS 202 Sagor II, 61; SLS 280: 129; *Budkavlen* 1922: 39). Sometimes their dwelling is more generally designated as the forest, and subsequently particularized as, for example, a copper, silver or golden forest (*Nyland* 1887, 19). Lakes are rare habitations, but a troll in the parish of Kronoby resides in a swamp (R I 86: 3), and in stories of the befouled dinner table of the trolls they live underground (*Hembygden* 1913: 105; SLS 65: 49).

The residence itself may be described as a large, beautiful building or a splendid building (SLS 1, 11; SLS 22, 4; SLS 37, 6). A soldier looking for some abducted princesses with his bird helper encountered the dwelling described below. The narrative was recorded by K. P. Pettersson before 1890:

Tislút kám dom en dág ti et stórt slott i skógin, som va úthuggi ur sjálfva bærge. Portarna sto ypy o soldátn gick in o fogeln föld me.

Först kám dom át et rúm, som vá alt áf silfver, men som dörana stó ypy så gick dom vidare, o kám át et rúm som vá alt áf gull, hva där va i e; tom gick så vidare, o kám i et rúm som alt glánst áf ädla stejnar bara kring väggana. (SLS 31, 146:151–152)

One day they finally came to a large castle in the forest, and it was hewn out of the living rock. The gates were open and the soldier went in and the bird accompanied him.

First they came to a room which was entirely of silver, but as the doors were open they continued, and came to a room which was entirely of gold, what was in it; they continued, and came to a room in which all just glittered of gem stones along the walls.

Two other trolls also inhabited ancient castles (*Nyland* 1896, 129; SLS 31, 141). The gates can be made of silver and gold (SLS 137 I, 1). Some human observers have compared the dwelling of the troll to a well-stocked shop (*Budkavlen* 1924: 85), or to a manorhouse or a posh building decorated with silver and gold (R II 175; SLS 22, 4). However, certain trolls are content with a moss-covered hut (SLS 202 Sagor II, 28). For the curious, one record reveals the trick to be employed in identifying the haunt of the troll: when on rocky ground, you should stamp your feet to see whether a hollow sound, like that produced by pounding on an empty barrel, can be heard. If so, a troll castle is definitely situated underneath (SLS 56: 151–152).

The trolls also possess ornate vehicles and excellent horses. A wedding procession travels in fine glass carriages ornamented with gold and hitched to agile horses (SLS 56: 153), and a female troll is known to have left its hill in a carriage drawn by a huge black horse (SLS 280: 132). The pets and servants of the troll are similarly of the stunning sort: an old troll cherished a creature, not unlike a cat, with glittering eyes (SLS 65: 45), and a troll prince had a large bird with a feather the size of a tree trunk at the back of its neck, and with an equally prodigious appetite; four barrels of wheat was its standard fare (SLS 202 Sagor II, 1). Another troll cared for three big, ugly dogs with one, two and three heads respectively, and the last breathed fire out of its maw as well (SLS 31, 146). Royal trolls may also equip armies of snakes, dragons, dogs, wolves and other repellent animals (SLS 137 I, 1; SLS 31, 146), and their horses are swift, running 300, 600 and 900 miles per hour (SLS 137 I, 1).

Magical ointments and objects are a defining feature of the otherworld, and they figure rather prominently in my material. Some ointments serve to resurrect the dead (*Nyland 1887*, 19; SLS 37, 6; SLS 137 I, 1; SLS 202 Sagor I, 8), while others may confer second sight (SLS 28, 12). An ointment of the former kind is present in a tale narrated by the elementary school teacher Sandholm; a girl has been abducted by a troll, but unlike her sisters who rejected the troll's advances and were killed in a fit of pique, she survived, but lives a rather tedious life:

so ende se á in da, at e in bokk foll in i bärji. me sama va gobbn o ogd nakkan á an o kasta an i tjellari toá börja flikkan groáta o sa: "to skoa leti an liva, so sko ja a avi nogon ti líéka me líka". "no e jár inga", sa trollgubbn, "no foár ja ono ti liva alti". so to an ein bork me nogo sors smörjo i o smörga po bokknakkan o passa owo in po sama stelle, o so fikk botjin liv. "á", tengkt flikkan, "no veit ja or ja ska jöra me systrona mina jag entoá". so for trolle bort ein da, o flikkan to opp syskona frá tjellarn o smörga poá ota smörjon o sat owona poá dom, o so fikk dom liv. (SLS 202 Sagor I, 8: 46–47)

It happened one day that a he-goat fell into the hill. At once the old man beheaded it and threw it in the cellar. Then the girl started crying and said: "You should've let it live, so that I'd have someone to play with as well." "Oh, that's no bother," the old troll man said, "I can make him live, to be sure." He took a jar with some kind of ointment and rubbed into the neck of the he-goat and put the head in the same place, and the he-goat was resurrected. "Oh," the girl thought, "now I know what to do with my sisters, after all." Then the troll was away one day, and the girl took up her siblings from the cellar and rubbed on the ointment and put the heads on them, and they were resurrected.

An old troll sports a wand possessing the power of disenchantment (*Nyland* 1896, 129), and several trolls own swords so tremendously heavy that humans cannot even make them budge without imbibing a drink giving them superhuman strength (SLS 31, 146; SLS 137 II, 1). The superiority of troll weapons is evidenced in the tale of a human prince, who is being helped by a troll prince. He receives a sword of solid, supranormal make, for anything of lesser quality would be useless against the formidable troll king (SLS 202 Sagor II, 1). Nevertheless, not only trolls find themselves threatened by these mighty weapons; they can also be turned against humans, like the rapier vanquishing the enemy in a single stroke (R II 427). More mischievous an object is the pin employed to induce sleepiness in a boy (*Nyland* 1887, 77), and straight out of a fantasy comes the purse of an old female troll; it has the wonderful characteristic of being inexhaustible for ten years (SLS 202 Sagor II, 28).

3.3 Interaction between the Realms

3.3.1 Conflicts

Many texts portray the conflict between man and troll, often triggered by the latter's abduction of human women and children. Sometimes the abduction is preceded by a violation of a prohibition, as in the case of the princesses walking bareheaded under the sky (SLS 137 I, 1; SLS 137 II, 1; SLS 31, 146; cf. chapter 3.1.2). The abduction may also be motivated by more romantic considerations. One troll steals the domestic animals of a farm, and when the girls of the household go looking for them, it spirits them away to its domain, where it proposes to them in its own quaint way:

tå tar trulli inar å fört un nedst et in stega, sãm hadd tri hundra trappsteg dom kãm til en grann byggning tå fråga truli av flickkun "vill du bliva min ven?" – nej, sa un tå hugd truli huvu av flickkun. (SLS 37, 6: 23)

Then the troll took her down a ladder which had 300 steps. They came to a splendid building. The troll asked the girl: "Will you be my friend?" —["No"], the girl said. Because of this the troll beheaded her.

Another troll takes revenge for the spurning of its amorous advances by transforming the hapless girl into a rat, along with everything she owns:

de lör a vari en trollprins, som fria til on ti först, o so to on int an, o so trola an on ti rotta o vagnen ti et silværfat o hestar o altsammans, va on hadd, ti rottór. (SLS 202 Sagor II, 15: 462)

It is said that it was a troll prince that courted her first, and she did not accept him, and then he transformed her to a rat and her carriage to a silver plate, and her horses and everything she owned to rats.

Yet the troll does not always succeed in its stratagems. Trying to abduct the fiancée of a boy endowed with thrice the strength of a bear, swiftness of a dog and minuscule frame of an ant, the troll finds itself beaten at its own game, lying defeated on the floor (R II 11). Even more luckless is an old troll living in a cairn in the village of Panike in the Ostrobothnian archipelago: it commissioned one of those “strange things” called women by the other trolls, as it desired to have such an object for its pleasure, but the bride would ever remain a virgin until it managed to find a priest able to reverse her inaccessible condition. The troll was willing to do this, and left its bride in the care of a fellow troll which had undertaken to search for such a priest, but the woman was turned into a fox by a jealous female troll, and was lost to the old troll, although she still visits it in the shape of a fox (*Hembygden* 1917–18: 122–123).

In the village of Mäkipää in the parish of Vörå a troll abducted a girl herding her cows close to its dwelling (SLS 28, 3; SLS 213, 184). The troll in the Troll Hill, situated in the village of Koskeby in the same parish, did the same (SLS 280: 635). An old woman looking for her cows on Midsummer's Eve was detained by revelling trolls until the church bells tolled; she was bereft of her sense, continually talking of her experience, but she was incapable of articulating it clearly and coherently (R I 86). On Midsummer's Eve the supernatural creatures were abroad, and it was dangerous for humans to encounter them (Stattin 1992: 53). To be drawn into their dance—the motif is best-known in connection with the fairies—often resulted in madness (cf. Klintberg 2002: 178–179).

Trolls may also exhibit considerable long-term planning in their politics of abduction. In Peter Ragvalls' story, recorded by Jakob Edvard Wefvar, some trolls stole a one-year-old girl in order to be able to marry her off to one of their own fourteen years later; their superb planning failed them, however, as the girl's father, prompted by an old beggar woman, managed

to intrude on the wedding and save his daughter by throwing an axe over her head:

He va' ingang i bundfolk, som hág en gröbb, som va 1 ár gámbel o so föla mären e grott hástfól, som dom lova' at gröbbun sku' fá om e sku' vál stórt. Men gröbbun försvann so int dom hitta un, o va bot i 14 ár. To va e in kvéld en böjsartjelg, som kom o böjst ligg' der o he lova' dom un. To dom sku' gá ligg so byrja hástin stamp' o dunder i stalle, men böjsartjeljin sa' át bundin at an sku' kle' op sé, o ta liyxen op armin o gá ut o säss' op hástryddjin o lét hástin gá hvart an vil utan tömar. Han júl som tjeljen vila. To an kóm op ryddjin so strekt hástin ti skogs tér di kom át en skogsbast. Tér hót an spelas o dansas men to hástin vrenstja, so fleög dören upp. In i stugun va brölop o gobbin kasta yxen sin uvi hóve óv brúden so un fasna i vädjen, o to fór dem óv allihóp, so brúden lömna ömsand in me althóp. Bruden va gobbinas dóter, som sku' jift se me e bergtroll, ter hág dom bo gull o silvertjeril, som dom to' allihóp o so säis dom op hástin, o so bar e óv me sama fart hajm tebák. (R II 328; cf. Klintberg 2002:174)

Once there was a peasant couple who had a girl who was one year old, and then the mare foaled a grey foal which they promised the girl would get, if it grew up. But the girl disappeared so that they didn't find her, and was missing for 14 years. Then one evening there was a beggar woman who came and asked to sleep there, and they promised her that. When they were going to sleep, the horse started pawing the ground and making a racket in the stable, but the beggar woman told the peasant to dress up and take the scythe-axe on his arm, and go outside and mount the horse and let it roam wherever it wanted without reins. He did as the woman wanted. When he had mounted, the horse ran into the forest where they came near a forest bath-house. There he heard music and dancing, but when the horse was restive the door flew up. There was a wedding in the cottage, and the old man threw his axe over the bride's head so that it was stuck in the wall, and then all of them disappeared, leaving the bride alone inside with everything. The bride was the old man's daughter who was going to marry a hill troll; there they had both gold and silver vessels, all of which they took, and they mounted the horse, and they returned back home with the same speed.

The family became wealthy overnight after rescuing the gold and silver vessels left behind by the trolls. The axe, being made of steel, is a classic protection against supranormal beings (Raudvere 1993: 194).

The distress caused by supernatural abductions is illustrated in another story in which a woman has brought her child along as she goes to work in the forest. The child disappears, and the mother falls into despair and starts searching for it, but fails to find it. When she catches sight of two footprints in the sand on a hill, she realizes that the troll has been about, and makes the parson retrieve the child by preaching outside the troll's dwelling (R II 325).

A boy who was picking berries in the woods was taken by a troll which looked like a woman. The troll brought him over fields and meadows, and made him jump over the ditches with the aid of its stick. For three days he had to stay with the troll before he was released (SLS 319: 31–32).

Children being lost in the wilderness were not always saved, though. A tragic occurrence is described in a record of a story told by Johan Grönholm, made by the collector V. E. V. Wessman in 1917:

För sex år sedan kom en fyra års gosse en sommar bort i Töjby. Hela socknen var upp-bådad att söka, men man hittade an inte. Till slut hade man ringaren att ringa i kyrk-klockorna, emedan man trodde att barnet var bergtaget. Prästen sa nog att det inte finns bergtroll, men lät nu dem ringa ändå, när de så ville. Först året efteråt hittade man det vid en buske vid en ängslada. Och där låg det dött, och man hade inte sett det förut, fast man flera gånger hade gått förbi. (SLS 280: 295)

Six years ago a four-year-old boy disappeared in [the village of] Töjby one summer. The whole parish was mobilized to search [for him], but they did not find him. Finally they made the bell-ringer ring the church bells, since they thought the child was abducted. The parson did say that hill trolls do not exist, but let them ring [the bells] anyway, when they so wished. Not until the next year did they find it by a bush close to a barn in the meadows. And there it lay dead, and they had not seen it before, even though they had passed by several times.

A young man was likewise detained by two young female trolls, and no matter how much he howled and shrieked and pleaded and scratched, they refused to let him free. Not until the hour of midnight had passed was he able to get away, and he was sweating profusely, and felt limp and tired (SLS 80: 46–47). The witching hour between midnight and one o'clock was especially dangerous, and anyone walking about at that time of night could encounter all sorts of horrors. Another man was returning home from courting early in the morning, and as he was tired he lay down to sleep on the road. He slept for three days, and it was generally believed that some local trolls had taken him, but that they had to let him go when he did not want to eat their food. The man himself thought he had been sleeping only for a few hours, and had noticed nothing of the villagers' search for him (*Hembygden* 1912: 120). The motif of a three-day sojourn in the otherworld recurs here. Adult men could thus be abducted as well; one man who was taken by a female troll was forced to marry it, and he also sired many children. Nevertheless, he yearned for his human wife, and

when he was allowed to go to church, he crept under the parson's cloak and was thereby liberated from the troll (SLS 280: 136).

Another young man was harassed by a troll girl wishing to marry him, and he could not rid himself of the troll except by allowing his father to manhandle it. The troll, which suddenly turned into an old woman, exacts its revenge by making the boy bald (R II 70). In this case the conception of trolls intermingles with that of witches, a phenomenon partly explained by the influence of the Finnish word *trulli* which denotes a witch (Nirkko 1997: 35).

Animals may be taken by the troll as well, cows in particular. Other animal victims mentioned in the records are hens, roosters and he-goats (SLS 37, 6: 23). The animals are rooted to the ground (SLS 299: 33), and their owners are unable to see them despite hearing the cow-bells testifying to their presence (SLS 59: 49).

Several supranormal beings have a reputation for changing babies; in addition to trolls, the Devil, the earthdwellers and the brownies are associated with this practice. The troll takes its chance when the mother is working outdoors, leaving the unbaptized infant unattended. The abnormal physique of the changeling is often emphasized, as in the following story narrated by Olga Nummelin to V. E. V. Wessman in 1917:

I skogen nära Heiden bodde ett torparfolk, som hade en okristnad flicka. Modern var i nötset eller var hon på arbete, och så kom bergtrollet in och bytte bort on, och gav sitt i stället. Hon växte inte alls på längden utan bara på bredden. (SLS 280: 379; cf. SLS 280: 357; SLS 220: 67–69)

A crofter family that had an unbaptized girl was living in the forest close to Heiden. The mother was in the cow-shed, or she was doing work, and the hill troll came and changed her, and gave its own [child] instead. She did not grow at all in length, only in weight.

There are examples of more moderate differences between the human and the supernatural child. On those occasions when the mother gets to keep both her own child and the changeling—by unwittingly blessing the latter, for example—the human child is slightly taller than the troll child, but otherwise the two of them are impossible to differentiate. Both are baptized, and consequently brought within the sphere of Christianity (R II 76).

The abduction may also function as a prelude to another course of events;

in that case it sets the tone of the narrative, since the conflict between man and troll has already been introduced. In a tale of the stolen drinking-vessel the troll abducted a servant girl from a manor every Easter, and although everyone knew where it was hiding, nobody managed to rescue them. Once the manservant followed the troll and he was warmly received. The abducted servant girls gave him a drink which he did not imbibe; rather he threw the beverage away, and it burned the horse's hide. Then he stole the cup, riding home with the irate trolls in pursuit and throwing the loot to his master. The trolls killed him and the horse before he reached the stable, and proceeded to negotiate with the owner of the manor who decided to keep the cup for himself. Their request denied, the trolls foretold that the manor would burn thrice. Now all the maids returned home, but very soon after that, the manor was ablaze (SLS 226: 150–151). It is interesting to note that the manservant abandons the girls he has explicitly come to liberate as soon as he gets his hands on the valuable cup. Material gain overrides romantic heroism, and this might be the reason why such a gruesome end is accorded him. The rescue motif, as Inger Lövkrona calls it in her dissertation *Det bortrövade dryckeskärlet* ('The Stolen Drinking Vessel'), occurs in some variants from Jutland, Denmark and Halland, Sweden (Lövkrona 1982: 98–99), but the rescue is actually completed in those texts. Here it is more of a pretext for robbing the trolls.

The trolls might abduct humans for more sinister purposes too. Some trolls have a taste for human flesh, and a very obese man called *Smöbuk* (Butterbelly) is repeatedly being taken by the troll to furnish the main ingredient for its festive soup. Butterbelly manages to escape twice, but the third time he is to be slaughtered by the troll's daughter (in the Swedish original, *sm.* is a contraction of *smöbuk*, tr. of *trull*):

nu va an glad å sku hav fremmand. så leng an sku va bårt åsta bjud sku trullis dåutrun slakt *sm.*, men un kunna int. så sku *sm.* vis inar å la inar pu benktjin. *sm.* skar huvu åv inar å kåuka såpun pu in. men tårtil tr. kām heim, la *sm.* dåutrus huvu under feldin, så ansikte ståu åp. *sm.* öyst åp såpun å laga fårdit pu bāuli, men jömd se sölv me dören. tr. kām heim me fremand set å bjöud dem ti bāule tā e va fårdit. dåutrun tråud dem lå å såvd. dem åt duktit å *sm.* [sic] sat bara å smaka å sa "smöbukuks såppa smaka bra" men smöbuk sat innan-fö dörin o sa "dåutrus såpun smaka bra" tr. vart arg å sku ta livi åv *sm.* men *sm.* tåu stābban å kasta ihål truli å tā va e slut me he. (SLS 37, 9: 21–22)

Now he [the troll] was happy and was going to have guests. While he was away giving invitations, the troll's daughter would slaughter Butterbelly, but she didn't know how to

do it. Butterbelly was going to show her and placed her on the bench. Butterbelly be-headed her and cooked soup on her. But in anticipation of the troll's arrival, Butterbelly placed the daughter's head under the skin rug, so that her face was upward. Butterbelly served the soup and made everything ready on the table, but hid himself by the door. The troll came home with his guests and invited them to the table as it was ready. They thought the daughter was sleeping. They ate heartily and Butterbelly [i.e., the troll] sat tasting it and said: "The Butterbelly soup tastes good", but Butterbelly sat inside the door and said: "The daughter soup tastes good". The troll was angry and was going to kill Butterbelly, but Butterbelly took tree stumps and killed the troll, and that was the end of it.

The troll can be vengeful if it considers itself to have been badly treated. Six brothers going on a wooing trip come across a forest troll, and it asks them to find a wife for it as well. The boys agree to try, but when they fail the troll is so disappointed that it turns them and their spouses, with the exception of the youngest girl, into stone (*Nyland* 1896, 129: 151).

The troll may also have other frightful functions. In a tale of a queen desperate to have a girl, the troll takes all her children born to date, twelve boys, in return for giving her the one girl, and transforms the wretched boys into wild ducks by day, while allowing them to retain their human form by night (SLS 202 Sagor II, 66: 908). The queen has violated a norm, and her sons have to pay for it.

The association of the troll to a prohibition is prominent in some texts. Its status as a moral guardian can be combined with its role as the protector of the forest, as in the story of a princess running away on the back of a blue bull, her only confidant. The bull forbids her to touch anything in the forests they are passing, but each time she ends up with a leaf in her hand, and the troll guarding the forest appears and challenges the bull to a duel. The latter wins eventually, but it is so sore after the battle that it can hardly stand upright (*Nyland* 1887, 19: 15).

The three trolls acting as house squatters in the dwelling of three princesses in the White Country seem to be driven by pure malice, or possibly by pure greed. In order to eliminate the rightful owners they have buried the princesses to the neck in the ground, and they cannot escape until some valiant man allows himself to be spanked by the trolls three nights in a row (SLS 202 Sagor II, 8: 377). Such altruism is a rare quality indeed, or so the trolls appear to think. Being plagued by trolls might form part of a test of a suitor, as in a text about a boy seeking to earn himself a wife. The condition for acceptance of his suit is that he can endure a night of harassment

by trolls, and keep the nine knots on his bed-linen protecting him intact (*Nyland* 1887, 77: 91).

Trolls prove to be pranksters in other ways as well. The trolls in the parish of Replot turned the turnips of another supranormal creature, Finn-gubben ('the old man Finn'), into stones (*Hembygden* 1917–18: 122). Angry trolls might block the road so that travellers have to remove them to be able to continue on their way (SLS 280: 312).

In the village of Jörala in the parish of Vörå, the trolls used to sneak around the human settlement for three days and nights on and after the festival of St. Thomas (on December 21st) and steal any food left un-blessed by the farm mistresses. They lived beneath the bridges, and shared their booty there. Once a troll arrived at a homestead in Jörala, holding a stick on which it hoped to impale some titbit. Everything in the house had been blessed by the mistress, though, and when she caught sight of it as she was taking water from a bucket, she blessed the water too. Simultaneously she broke wind, and allowed the troll to take it. The troll impaled the wind on its stick and rushed back to its haunt, where its mates jibed at it for the lousy loot. The trolls of St. Thomas were also connected to a prohibition against leaving tow on the spinning-wheel during the holiday. Transgression of this taboo was punished with getting the spinning-wheel covered with the urine of the trolls, and the housewives were careful to remove the tow properly, not exactly relishing the prospect. Some women even burned off any remaining fibres in order to avoid this disaster (SLS 333: 220–221). Here the trolls are used as a method of intimidation, and the text describes what happens when the appropriate precautions are not taken and the duties of a housewife are neglected. The night of St. Thomas was, moreover, the night of supernatural creatures, not of humans. All work, especially such involving circular motion, like spinning, ought to be avoided (Schön 1989: 130–131). The loss of foodstuff and tools for making clothes had an economic significance as well, and giving away too much to the trolls because of negligence could have a very negative effect on the affairs of the household; in a society entertaining the notion of the limited good (Foster 1965), the portion allotted a farm could be meagre indeed. At the same time the text ridicules the troll when it stoops to chasing wind. As Ulrika Wolf-Knuts has done, one might view this descent into the lower region as an expression of the popular culture of laughter (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 258–263, based on Bakhtin 1968).

3.3.2 Tension-Filled Tolerance

Man and troll can co-exist in some semblance of harmony as well. Marriage to a troll is mentioned in one record from the parish of Björkö, and the descendants of a troll and a human woman (a demi- or semi-troll) could live in peace among men, as another text from Björkö contends. In the former case, a woman is married to a hill troll for seven years and gives birth to a child, but when the seven years have passed, the troll vanishes and is never heard of again (SLS 215, 248: 80). Long-term relationships with trolls are extremely rare in my material; there is only one exception (R II 27, see chapter 6). In the latter instance, a specific person in the local community, recently deceased at the time of collection, is reputed to be the offspring of a hill troll. His mother had met a man by a hill in the forest in her youth, and they had several trysts. Some time afterwards she gave birth to a son, but the man in the forest never appeared again (SLS 215, 249: 80). The relationship is temporary once again. In a narrative with a male protagonist the liaison is not even initiated, yet the man has nothing against the proposition *per se*:

Kvinnor bland trollen hafva stundom också velat locka män bland människorna att ligga när sig för att få barn af mänsklig säd. Mårtis Joss på Svarvarsbacken i Pörtom råkade en gång i skogen ett kvinnligt troll, som på allt vis försökte förmå honom att ligga när sig och lofvade gifva honom så mycket penningar han ville hafva, bara han gjorde henne till viljes. Men han hade hört, att manslemmen skulle förtäras liksom af hetta vid ett sådant samlag, och därför vågade han icke villfara hennes önskan. (SLS 65: 44)

Women among the trolls have sometimes also wanted to entice men among humans to lie with them in order to get children of human seed. Mårtis Joss on Turner Hill in Pörtom once happened to meet a female troll in the woods; she tried to make him sleep with her in every way and promised to give him as much money as he wanted, if he just humoured her. But he had heard that the penis would be consumed as if by heat during such intercourse, and therefore he dared not grant her wish.

The problem is the physically harmful effects of having intercourse with a troll, and that is the only reason the man declines the offer of wealth and riches in compensation for his performance, the narrators Anna Maja Nordbäck and Isak Johansson Nordbäck claim. This racy story was collected by Johannes Dahlbo sometime before 1898.

If we turn to more emotionally neutral relations, the possibility of a conflict may occasionally be tacitly present in a story. A hunter blocking the

path of a supernatural wedding procession refuses to leave the spot at first when the troll asks him to move out of their path, and it has to resort to vicious threats to make him react. The hunter finally does as he is told and realizes that the troll has saved his life: had he stayed, he would have been trampled to death (SLS 220: 240–242). Here the implicit conflict is never actualized, giving way to tolerance.

Another potential conflict is lurking in a narrative of some supernatural beings living under a cowshed, told by Anna Maja Nordbäck's husband, Arstu Jucka:

Arstu Juckas farfar plögade berätta, att en handelsman i Gamla Vasa vid namn Thölberg blef bjuden till underbyggarena en julkväll. Då han kom ut på gården, fördes han till en trappa, som ledde under jorden, hvilken han inte märkt förut. Det var fint i deras boning och där bjöds han på mat och åt också. Men då hästarna i stallet kastade sitt vatten, rann det ned på trollens bord; rummet var nämligen midt under stallen.

Trollen bådo då Thölberg, att han skulle flytta stallet och lofvade, att han skulle få så mycket penningar han orkade bära, om [han] lofvade att göra det. Han lofvade och fick pengarna. (SLS 65: 49)

Arstu Jucka's grandfather used to tell that a merchant in Gamla Vasa named Thölberg was invited to the earthdwellers on Christmas Eve. When he came out into the yard, he was brought to a stair leading down into the earth that he had not noticed before. It was elegant in their dwelling and he was offered food there, and he ate too. But when the horses in the stable urinated it dripped down on the trolls' table; for the room was precisely underneath the stables.

The trolls asked Thölberg to move the stable and promised that he would get as much money as he could carry, if [he] promised to do this. He promised and got the money.

This migratory legend has been linked to a real-life personage, the wealthy merchant Thölberg who lived in Gamla Vasa. This was before the disastrous fire in 1852 when much of the town was ravaged, and the city subsequently moved to its present-day location closer to the sea. *Earthdwellers* and *trolls* are used interchangeably in this text; the former are the supranormal creatures usually associated with this legend type, as they live underground (cf. Klintberg 2002: 170–171). Christmas Eve was, like Midsummer's Eve, a time of great supernatural import, and the habitations of the trolls could become visible, as in this text. To eat the food of the trolls is generally a risky business, but here the offer of victuals is an element in a context of hospitality and mutual trust in the other's goodwill (cf. Tangherlini 1998

on similar motifs as an expression of a popular discussion on economic transactions in a changing social context). In order to strengthen their arguments further, the trolls proffer a considerable sum, a detail that might have represented a wish come true for many rural inhabitants.

In another variant of the story, the maid on a farm is cleaning the cowshed, and all of a sudden the refuse is transformed into shiny silver coins. She is frightened and runs away. At night the troll arrives to tell the master of the house to move the cow standing farthest away in the shed, for each time she pees their table gets wet (SLS 280: 362). Whether the humans accepted the money or lost it remains obscure. In Tangherlini's terms, they might not assent to the economic transaction, and possibly they simultaneously deny the interaction, because nothing is said of the master actually moving the cow.

A third variant of the legend combines it with the story of the pregnant frog. In the village of Vassor in the parish of Kvevlax a troll woman once came to a midwife and wanted her assistance at a delivery. Initially she refused to go, but since she did not get rid of the troll in any other way, she had to give in and go with it. When they had come to the corner of the stable, the troll woman opened a hatch and they descended into the earth. Everything was so fine in there: the table was made of gold, but one end of it was completely black as it was placed directly beneath the horses, and their urine seeped down on it. The troll woman said that if the stable was moved, the owner would receive luck with his horses. The midwife was given a silver jug as payment for her services, and the troll woman led her back home. When she told of her experience, no-one believed her until she showed them the jug. The stable was moved and the owner did have luck with his horses (*Hembygden* 1913:105). The midwife's unwillingness to accompany the troll woman is common in narratives of this type in the Swedish-speaking areas in Finland. Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred has characterized the type as a reflection of the conceptions and customs associated with the mutual exchange of assistance between neighbours, women-folk in this case, extended to the supranormal sphere as well (Skjelbred 1998: 78–83). My material nevertheless suggests that this system of co-operation does not always work smoothly; the trolls are too feared for that.

The text also emphasizes the wealth of the trolls, but it is tarnished. If man can aid in its rehabilitation, he will receive luck with his horses in return. The horse was a symbol of male prestige, the measure of the master's

success and of the prosperity of the farm (Stattin 1992: 62–63). The midwife's fee is paid with a silver jug, a prestige object in the female sphere.

However, the legend of the pregnant frog is generally encountered as a separate story. One such variant to be found in my material actually contains the frog motif: a frog once came to a crofter woman occupied with brewing beer, and when it passed the threshold, its tongue was hanging out of its mouth and it was very fat and black. The woman gave the frog something to drink on a saucer. The next day the frog's husband, a hill troll, arrived to ask the woman and her husband to be the godparents of the child its wife was bearing. At first they did not want to go, but eventually they followed the troll. They came to the dwelling of the trolls, and the troll's wife was lying in childbed. The woman did what she was supposed to do, and she and her husband ate and drank at the house of the trolls. As they were going home, the troll scooped up some chips of wood into the woman's apron, and even though she did not know what to do with them, she silently accepted them. When they had returned home, she threw the chips of wood onto the hearth, but then they turned into silver coins, and the woman and her husband became a wealthy couple (R II 336). Supernatural treasure can often seem insignificant, though it may be transformed into something very valuable at an auspicious moment. Conversely, treasures that appear to be precious might prove entirely worthless. We may also note that eating the food of the trolls causes no harm in the context of hospitality.

In another text the woman, who is home alone, has no fears regarding the intentions of the troll, she happily follows it down some stairs into a hill. She assists at the delivery of the troll's child, and when the baby has been born she pronounces the blessing over it. The troll is somewhat horrified by this lapse, wondering what will happen to this child delivered by a Christian woman. Nonetheless, the troll does not deny the woman her pay, and scoops up enough chips of wood to fill up her apron completely. When she comes home she throws everything into the fire, but when the chips are touched by it, they turn into chains of gold and other valuable objects, and she hurries to rescue them with a poker (R II 339). The sudden acquisition of wealth is a prominent feature in both narratives, and so is the fact that the real value of the gift is disclosed only when it has been discarded. The women generally get to keep their rewards as well, but there are some exceptions, for instance the following record:

Jag har av gammalt folk hört en historia om bergtroll. Det var en barnmorska, som förde korna till skogen. Då kom ett bergtroll fram till henne och bad om hennes hjälp, men hon ville icke gå med trollet, förrän hon fick löfte om att bliva fördd tillbaka till samma ställe. Trollet förde henne genom en mängd underjordiska gångar och rum. Sedan hon uträttat sitt ärende, fick hon en skjorta och en silversked, och sedan blev hon fördd till samma ställe, där hon varit. Skjortan hade den egenskapen, att den icke blev annorlunda, blott hon inte talade om varifrån den kommit. Men hennes man begynte att förundra sig, när skjortan aldrig härdades ... och tvingade hustrun att bekänna, varifrån hon tagit den. Då blev skjortan precis som andra skjortor: den härdades och tog slut. (Hembygden 1911: 114)

I have heard a story of hill trolls from old folks. There was a midwife bringing her cows into the forest. Then a hill troll came up to her and asked for her help, but she did not want to go with the troll, before she got a promise to be brought back to the same place. The troll led her through a number of subterranean tunnels and chambers. When she had done her work, she received a shirt and a silver spoon, and then she was brought to the same place in which she had been. The shirt had such a quality that it did not change, if only she did not say whence it had come. But her husband began to wonder when the shirt never got worn out ... and forced his wife to confess where she had taken it. Then the shirt became like any other shirt: it got worn out and was finished.

In those cases when an injunction of silence applies, it usually ends this way: the receiver is too talkative, or is forced to divulge the secret, as in this example sent in by Uno Sandvik. Sometimes speech is truly silver and silence gold as the saying goes, especially when one fails to live up to it.

The trolls may ask for other services as well. Snåfsfrun ('the Snåfs mistress') in the parish of Solf exchanged letters with several other trolls, and people passing by her hill were sometimes entreated to deliver her mail. A man was once travelling by boat to Sweden, and on the coast he met a troll which wanted to send a letter to its sister living in the Snoffs hill in his home village. He was supposed to deposit the letter by a mill, whence the troll would take it. So it did, when he followed the instructions he was given (SLS 65: 97). Another female troll is said to live in Öjberget in the village of Sundom. The road passed by both hills, and the troll in Öjberget once sent a letter with people going to Snåfs, saying that they should place the letter at the base of the hill, which they did (SLS 280: 129).

Trolls can be very kind to men in financial difficulties. A peasant once went to his brothers-in-law to ask for a loan, but when they refused, he decided to try his luck with a troll living nearby. He cried the troll's name, called it *lord* and used many other fine titles, but no-one was to be seen. Then he started abusing it, and that tactic certainly worked. The troll

rushed out and wanted to punish him for his insolence, but the peasant apologized and explained his predicament. At first the troll was reluctant to lend him any money, but when it realized that his own relatives had left him in the lurch, it agreed. The peasant counted up the money properly, taking only as much as he needed, and voluntarily asked for the acknowledgement of indebtedness and signed it. The troll warned him that it was a strict creditor, and that it expected to receive interest on time. The peasant promised to do so. However, when he was supposed to pay the money back, he could not find the troll anywhere. As a great gust of wind blew through the forest surrounding the dwelling of the troll, he found the acknowledgement of indebtedness, already countersigned by the troll. He could therefore keep his money and went to visit his brothers-in-law, who were no longer prosperous: they had lost everything they owned (*Nyland* 1887, 26). Maybe the troll somehow demanded the repayment of the loan from them, since they would have been the natural creditors?

In another story, a poor crofter benefits from the generosity of a troll, the famous Hobergsgubben ('the old Hoburg man'). Their relationship seems cordial, but when the crofter intends to host a party at the birth of his child, the troll's enormous appetite proves to be a problem. The crofter and the old Hoburg man are described as good friends and close neighbours, and they visit each other frequently. The crofter has received much from the troll, and although he would love to invite it to the feast and make it the godfather of the child, he knows that the troll would devour all the food and leave nothing for the other guests, not out of spite, but due to its nature as a supranormal being. He instructs his farmhand to invite the troll but ensure that it will not come. The farmhand does as he was asked, and the troll is delighted and grateful for the honour, inquiring about the other godparents. St. Peter, St. Michael and St. Gertrude are mentioned, and the troll becomes hesitant. When the farmhand reveals that the drummer (the thunder) has been engaged as a musician, it definitely decides not to attend the feast. Notwithstanding, it understands the duties of a godparent, and measures up three big shovels of money to be given to the proud father. The farmhand hardly manages to carry it all home, and he receives a great reward for helping his master (*Nyland* 1896, 26). Apparently the warm relation between the crofter and the troll endures in this variant; at least no mention is made of a quarrel because of this incident.

Any prior acquaintance does not appear to exist in another variant in

which the father of the child is so poor that he cannot afford to arrange a feast. The farmhand comes to his aid and assures him that if he lets him do the inviting, he will get the means to hold the feast. Thus the farmhand goes to invite the old Hoburg man. The troll wonders who the other guests are, and when the farmhand enumerates the parson and the clerk, the troll does not mind their presence at all, but it asks whether the drummer of the sky is coming, and when the farmhand replies in the affirmative, the troll becomes more doubtful. Nevertheless, it is intent on contributing its share of gifts, giving the farmhand large amounts of food and fresh fish, and three generous cups of money (*Nyland* 1896, 25). The old Hoburg man is not particularly impressed by the church officials, but he has respect for the drummer. The purpose of the farmhand's visit is achieved quickly and effortlessly, and the completed economic transaction furnishes the end point of the narrative. It is the focus of the text, and the exploitation of the troll becomes more pronounced than in the previous story in which the relationship between man and troll is afforded much attention.

3.3.3 From Tolerance to Conflict

All versions of the legend of the woman acting as midwife to the troll do not end as happily as in the texts hitherto adduced. In one subtype the woman breaches a taboo not to smear an ointment conferring second sight, intended for the infant, onto her own eyes, and when the troll realizes that she has disobeyed its command, it blinds her as a punishment (SLS 28, 12: 79–80). She has wrongfully appropriated a faculty she has no right to possess, and she is severely chastised for it.

Another example of a good relationship between man and troll being ruined by the conduct of the human agent is the story of the wedding of the troll. A peasant burning potash in the forest was once invited to a troll wedding, celebrated at midnight on a Friday. He went to the parson to consult him on the matter, and the parson gave him some sacramental wine that he was supposed to pour into the food at the feast. The peasant turned up at the wedding at the appointed time, and was as well received "as a priest in hell". When the festive dinner was to be prepared, he volunteered to do the cooking, and the trolls had no objections to that proposal. Secretly he poured a few drops of wine into the food, and the trolls were so intoxicated by this concoction that they started brawling among themselves. Eventually one of the trolls said that the man who was the

cause of all this mischief ought to leave the party, and the bridegroom asked the peasant to depart. He did not wish to leave before the wedding was over, and the groom had to bribe him with nine shovels of silver coins to get rid of him. The peasant was satisfied, of course, and gladly returned home (SLS 71: 32–34). The conflict with the trolls has more fortunate consequences for man in this narrative than in the story of the disobedient midwife. The peasant can even profit economically from the controversy (cf. Klintberg 2002: 144).

The peasant's discussion with the parson illustrates the dual function of the clergy: on the one hand, they wielded social authority and could be consulted in critical situations, and on the other hand, they acted as sorcerers, supplying protection against trolls and other supranormal creatures. Perhaps the social interaction with the trolls poses a threat to the peasant's salvation? The formulation "There he was as well received as a priest in hell" might imply that the trolls considered him to have betrayed his humanity and religion when entering their sphere. The trick of using sacramental wine in the food is related to its status as a particularly potent substance in folk medicine, a reputation it shared with holy water and the wafer (Tillhagen 1977: 82, 133). The wine wreaks total havoc among the trolls, and it seems as if they are incapable of containing the symbol of the blood of Christ in their veins, its symbolic significance is too overwhelming.

A movement from tolerance to conflict and back to tolerance is exemplified in a text about the female troll Mari becoming the godmother and later foster mother of the daughter of a poor crofters' family. One day the girl is prohibited to go into a specific room while Mari is away. Naturally she cannot contain herself and enters the room, and refuses to confess when Mari confronts her. The troll expels her from the house, and she wanders around, finally meeting a prince whom she marries. Each time she gives birth to a child, Mari arrives to cross-examine her, and when she stubbornly denies her transgression, Mari takes the child from her. Eventually the girl admits her failure to comply with Mari's command, and all her children are returned to her (SLS 22, 21). The problem does not appear to be that the foster daughter has made a transgression, but that she does not assume responsibility for her actions, for as soon as she does, everything is forgiven.

One variant of the story of the old Hoburg man exhibits a somewhat different ending. The general outline is basically the same as in the other narratives, but in this text the troll is not gullible, and although it fails to see

the impertinence of its human friend's, and his farmhand's, actions immediately, it will not be duped for long. Sailors passing by Hoburg have bitterly experienced the wrath of the troll which is giving everyone another ladleful, but not of silver coins: nowadays it is handing out bad weather (SLS 21, 29). The old Hoburg man is exacting its revenge on mankind, and a new, harmonious relationship will hardly have the chance to evolve.

In a text collected by G. E. Lindström, dealing with the theft of the trolls' drinking-vessel, the relationship between man and troll is initially tolerant, but it deteriorates as the narrative progresses. A dragoon from the parish of Helsing in the province of Nyland rode past a hill in Nurmo, situated in the province of Häme, on a Christmas Day:

Här opp i Nurmo finns eit stórt bærg, o inn i de bærgi ä likasom rum, där trollena ska ha bödd i för i värden, o där syns ännu dörnar i bærgi. Ein gong ska ein dragón frá Helsing ha ridi där förbi om júlmonon o sitt jús brinna i alla fönster. Han rider in o sír ä än där bör troll. So bijär 'an drikka, o do häntar dom ot'n me kuddhörn o toko. Do frägar'n, om dom int här bäter drykkiskärild i helviti, o so häntar dom ot'n me ein bågare, men inga drakk an bara kasta de över vänster akslan, o de va so starkt, ä när de full båk po hästryggin, so förd 'e alt hårena bort. So hadd an vändi om o förd bigarn mes sej. O han add ridi so myki hästn hadd för líve orka, men ändo so vild trollena få fast'n. Do hadd'e rópa ot'n frá höjdn, ä an sku ríða po välsignader jörd, po åkorjörd, o do hadd dom int havi makt ti fölg'a'n. Men dom hadd vari so nära reidan, ä dom hadd laga bigarn ti smälta i eina kantn. Han reid sen ti Helsing-körka o fór me sama fártn in i körkan o gá bigarn ot prästn, som just stó för altare, o när han välsigna den, so hadd int trollena nogon makt meiran. (SLS 166e, 2: 745–748)

Up here in Nurmo there is a large hill, and inside the hill are sort of rooms, where the trolls are supposed to have lived in the past, and doors are still visible in the rock. Once a dragoon from Helsing is reputed to have ridden past it on the morning of Christmas Day and seen candles burning in every window. He rides in to look and sees that trolls are living there. He asks for something to drink, and they fetch it for him with cow horns and such things. Then he asks if they have no better drinking-vessels in hell, and they fetch it for him in a cup, but he didn't drink, he just threw it over his left shoulder, and it was so strong that when it fell down onto the horse's back, it singed off the hairs. He had turned around and brought the cup with him. And he had ridden for all the horse could manage for its life, but still the trolls were gaining on him. Then [a voice] had shouted from the heavens that he should ride on blessed ground, on farm-land, and then they couldn't pursue him. But they had been so close already that they had made the cup melt at one end. Later he rode to the church of Helsing and went into the church with the same speed and gave the cup to the parson, who was standing by the altar, and when he blessed it, the trolls had no power any more.

According to Inger Lövkrona, tilled land is protected ground only in this legend type and similar stories with a flight situation (Lövkrona 1982: 74–76).

3.3.4 Tolerance and Conflict

Occasionally there is an ambiguity in the troll's relation to man. A sea troll inhabiting a swamp once helped a man to an excellent catch of fish: the man had been fishing since the afternoon, but he had caught nothing, though the weather was fine and calm. At midnight, when he had lain down to sleep in a barn, the lake started sizzling and bubbling; the reeds were bending and the birds flew up hooting. The man felt something rolling over his body from top to toe three times, and then it was silent and a voice whispered to him to go angling. He obeyed and caught more perch than he could carry. Simultaneously, it is said that dogs fail to fetch seabirds by this swamp (R I 86: 3–4). The troll gives and the troll takes. In the case of the angler, it is benevolent and aids him by indicating the right moment for a good catch, while hunters fare worse. The collector of the text, one of J. O. I. Rancken's pupils, Odo Sandelin, vigorously denies that hunters have bad luck on this spot, based on his own experience of hunting there (R I 86: 4).

Another instance of an ambivalent attitude to humans on the part of the trolls is furnished by the story of the boy earning himself a wife. When he had endured a night of harassment by trolls, he and his mistress were engaged. Then they parted for a while, and agreed to meet in church. The boy started wandering when he was left alone and fell in with some trolls, staying with them where they lived. On Sunday he dressed up and went to church. The trolls sent a boy with him, and this boy stuck a pin in the collar of his jacket to make him fall asleep. He did, and slept so soundly that his fiancée could not speak to him at all (*Nyland* 1887, 77: 91–92). The trolls are apparently hospitable, but at the same time they prevent the couple from talking to each other, for no obvious reason. The dual nature of the trolls and the requirements of the story seem to be the only explanation.

In some narratives involving several trolls one troll may combat man while another assists him. The tale of the princess who was never allowed to walk bareheaded is an example of this; when the hero, a soldier, has killed the master of the house, a troll, his bird helper instructs him to search the troll's pockets. He finds a pipe and blows a signal on it, at which the servant of the troll appears. The soldier threatens to harm the servant which is also a troll, if it fails to comply with his commands, but the troll assures him that it will serve him as well as it has served its previous master, and is

true to its word. The troll will save its new master many times before the story is over (SLS 31, 146).

When twelve princesses have been abducted by a troll king, the king's son helps the hero to rescue them. The troll prince is keen on succeeding to its father's throne, and the hero and his eleven brothers want to marry the princesses, so man and troll enter an agreement to achieve their respective goals. Each time the hero is in trouble, the troll prince sends him aid, and in return the hero lops off the troll king's twelve heads, to the elation of its oppressed subjects (SLS 202 Sagor II, 1: 324–325).

Another text describes the encounter between a boy and an old troll woman:

“va ni i tjörkan i går o, mor?” fråga an. “nej, int va ja”, sa gomman, men hor frågar do så do”, tykt on. “ja va jag”, svara pojkin, “o de lystes, at en prinsessa ha blivi bortföri för ett år sen, o den som sko få reda på on o för on ti kongn, so sko an få stor bilöning”. “no kan do fo reda po on”, tykt gomman, “bara do jer ot mej den besta bessn, som do har”. “no vet ni var hon finns do?” fråga pojkin. “jo no vet ja”, svara gomman. “no int pass ja på do, fast ja jer dem allihopa, för int far ja him sen mer”, tykt an. so sa gomman: “se do hör ska do få et svörd, o de får do holla, int vil ja ha e mer, o gå ner i tjel-larn, o dör sitär gobbn o har prinséssan, o hol svörde innanför jakkan o jör nogo örand til an, o best do talar me an so kap nakkan å an”. “vil ni ha live uta man er?” fråga pojkin. “de kan vara de sama”, svara gomman, “ja har ingin nytto å an heldär. (SLS 202 Sagor II, 28: 603–604)

“Were you too in church yesterday, ma’am?” he asked. “No, I wasn’t”, the old woman said, “[]but why do you ask that?” “I was”, the boy answered, “and it was stated that a princess had been abducted a year ago, and the one who could find her and bring her to the king would get a big reward”. “Well, you could find her”, the old woman thought, “if you just give me the best sheep you have”. “Well, do you know where she is?” the boy asked. “Yes, I do know”, the old woman answered. “Well, in that case I don’t care if I give them all, ’cause I won’t go home any more”, he thought. The old woman said: “Look, you’ll get a sword, and you can keep it, I don’t want it any more, and go down into the cellar, and there the old man is sitting and he has the princess, and keep the sword under your jacket and make the pretext of an errand, and while you’re talking to him, lop his head off.” “Do you want to kill your husband?” the boy asked. “It doesn’t matter”, the old woman answered, “I’ve no use for him anyway[]”.

In this tale narrated by Berndt Strömberg, and recorded by V. E. V. Wessman in 1911, the old troll couple does not have the best of relations, and no wonder, with the male troll keeping another woman in the cellar.

The common denominator of these narratives is that the assisting troll is hierarchically subordinate to the aggressive troll: they represent servant and

master, young and old, woman and man. It has been suggested that the fairy tale might be characterized as an expression of the perspective of the weak rather than of the powerful, and the same can sometimes be said of other genres as well, such as legends, of which the first text cited is a specimen. The other narratives are wonder tales (see Holbek 1995: 72–73).

3.3.5 From Conflict to Tolerance

One record in my material begins with a situation of conflict which develops into a state of harmony. Man proves to be the trouble-maker in this case, and the troll is the object and victim of his actions. As the troll is liberated from its victimized position, it incurs a debt of gratitude to its deliverer. Once a king captured a hill troll and imprisoned it in a house in his garden, forbidding anyone to release it on the pain of death. Soon the king had to undertake a journey, and he left his queen and the young prince at home. One day the boy was playing with a ball in the garden close to the troll's house, and the troll started cajoling him into letting it free. At first the prince resisted, well aware of the punishment awaiting the person disregarding his father's orders, but eventually he relented and did as the troll asked. The troll promised to aid him whenever he needed it. When the king returned home, capital punishment was to be exacted on the prince, but the queen persuaded the men enforcing the sentence to pardon him, and he survived.

He wandered around and was hired as a shepherd by a king who had such a stunning daughter that his castle was virtually besieged by all her suitors. To be rid of them the king decided to arrange a contest, bringing his daughter to the summit of a high and steep mountain, and inviting the wooers to ride all the way up. The shepherd rued the loss of his royal station, for then he would have been able to compete with the other kings and knights for the hand of the princess in marriage. An old man appeared beside him and provided him with a horse and splendid attire, and told him to wait until the others had made their attempts. He was not permitted to touch the princess; he was supposed to return to his cows. The shepherd obeyed the old man, and he did succeed in riding to the very top of the mountain. The contest lasted for three days, and the shepherd was the only one to succeed each time. On the third occasion he was instructed to kiss the princess and ask for the apple and the ring without dismounting, and

to return to his cows. The shepherd followed the orders he was given. Since no-one knew who the lucky winner was, the king issued a royal proclamation to the effect that everybody of the shepherd's age had to present themselves at court. The old man came to the boy and brought the finest garments to him, and made him dress in them underneath his ordinary clothes. The apple and the ring were to be placed in his pockets. The troll revealed its identity and said that it could do nothing more for him, and then it walked away (SLS 1, 3: 14–20).

Thus the troll comes back to help the prince, as it promised, and the prince is reinstated in his former estate and gets to marry the princess thanks to the intervention of the troll. The condition for his happiness is that he agrees to follow the troll's instructions once more, just as he did when he rescued it from its captivity. It is worthy of note that the hierarchical relation of the enemy and the friend of the troll is similar to that of the aggressive and the friendly troll: the king is in a dominant position, whereas the prince is in a subordinate one. The conclusion drawn previously is therefore valid for the inverse case as well.

3.3.6 The Troll and Christianity

The troll's relation to Christianity, its representatives and phenomena connected to it is touched upon in some texts, and I have been able to discern three types of relationships: firstly, an explicit antagonism to Christianity and all things Christian; secondly, an implicit conflict evident in the fact that Christian symbols can be utilized to protect against or attack the troll, and thirdly, an observed difference in religion which does not result in any major tension, i.e., relative tolerance. As for explicit conflict, the troll expresses or is presumed to entertain negative feelings about Christians or Christian phenomena in seven texts. In three of them the hostility felt by the troll is concentrated textually in the line "It smells of Christian blood" (SLS 137 II, 1: 52; SLS 137 I, 1: 9; R II 394; cf. Amilien 1996: 54, 57, 93 who states that "l'extrême sensibilité du troll à l'odeur du sang humain peut être perçue comme une atténuation d'une ancienne forme de cannibalisme").²² In another narrative humans in their capacity as Christians cannot trespass on the troll's domains, for then it would turn them into some sort of ugly

²² "The extreme sensibility of the troll to the scent of human blood might be perceived as a diminution of an old form of cannibalism."

animals, or something worse (SLS 31, 141:109). The aggression of the troll is said to be directed at Christian folk on the basis of their religion. The building of a church may also dismay the trolls, as in a story of the erection of the first church in the parish of Vörå, according to one tradition recorded by Jacob Tegengren sometime before 1922:

Platsen för Vörå första kyrka förlägges av folktraditionen oftast till Kirksalbacken i Lomby. Dock angives även ett par andra ställen. Det ena av dessa är Hiideso eller Hidersö, en kulle i Tuckur. En gammal gumma berättade, att när man här började med kyrkbygget, hörde man trollen ropa och jämra sig:

“Gud nåde oss i detta år,
de bygger kyrka på Hiideso!”
(SLS 333: 223)

The site of the first church in Vörå is most often placed by the folk tradition on the Kirksal Hill in Lomby. Nevertheless some other sites are mentioned as well. One of these is Hiideso or Hidersö, a hill in Tuckur. An old woman told that when they started with the church-building here, the trolls were heard to cry and lament:

“God have mercy on us in this year,
they are building a church on Hiideso!”

The invocation of God is somewhat inconsistent in this context, since the construction of a church for His worship is the cause of their distress (cf. Klintberg 2002: 132 on the same motif linked to giants). Some other trolls in the same parish moved away when the present church was built (SLS 65: 48). The church bells are mentioned as the real problem in one record; if a church is erected so close to a troll dwelling that the inhabitants can hear it tolling, they move away (SLS 65: 48).

Several protective measures against trolls are founded on Christian premises (cf. chapter 3.4). Church officials (R II 325) and the ringing of the church bells (R I 86: 2; *Hembygden* 1910: 145) might force the trolls to release abducted persons, and the enchantments of the trolls lose their efficacy in the confrontation with the Lord's Prayer (*Hembygden* 1916: 62–63; SLS 324: 299), the sign of the cross (R II 305) or the blessing (SLS 28, 3: 69–70; Freudenthal 1889: 197; SLS 280: 635–636; SLS 338: 21–22). In these instances the trolls do not display an explicit aversion to Christianity; rather the opposition remains implicit and becomes apparent in the possibility to employ Christian rites and symbols to counteract the schemes of the troll.

Some texts merely comment on the difference in religion and leave it at that. In one story the female troll denies having attended mass the day before (SLS 202 Sagor II, 28: 603), tacitly for the simple reason that she is not a Christian, and in another the troll is prepared to marry off its daughter to a Christian man who declines the offer because he wants a Christian spouse (SLS 202 Sagor II, 1: 325). The human is the one to uphold the distinction between Christians and non-Christians, while the troll can dispense with such conceptual and confessional boundaries.

3.4 Breaking the Contact

In the preceding sections we have seen that the troll tradition is very diverse, and there seem to be few common denominators shared by a large number of narratives. One factor that is common to most or all of the stories is that at least one character transgresses the boundary between the human and the supernatural world, and conversely, one character or agent re-establishes this boundary, separating the two spheres in a process I have called dissociation. In this section I will therefore consider the dissociation of the human sphere and the otherworld, focusing on the agent re-establishing the boundary between them and the means through which the disconnection is achieved. The discussion is based on the assumption that the previous transgression of boundaries has temporarily united the human and the supernatural world, or brought them into contact, and that this union or contact has to come to an end in a renewed separation of the spheres. A special case of encounter, what I have labelled "The Fateful Encounter", will receive a separate treatment (3.4.6). Protective and apotropaic measures against the troll will also be examined (3.4.5).

3.4.1 Men Dissociate

In more than half of the texts, a man is involved in the rupture between the human and supernatural realm; in the rest, the honour is shared by women, children, animals, trolls and impersonal phenomena in roughly equal proportions. The simplest way of achieving a separation is to leave the site of encounter and the world of the troll (Fagerlund 1878: 178; *Nyland* 1896, 26; SLS 21, 29; SLS 65: 45; SLS 202 Sagor II, 1; SLS 220: 240–242; SLS 280: 503–504). This strategy is employed in intentional as well as unintentional encounters in which the man has crossed the boundary between the worlds.

The relation between man and troll has been tolerant in intentional encounters (*Nyland* 1896, 26; SLS 21, 29), while it may be both tension-filled and peaceful in unintentional ones (Fagerlund 1878:169–178; SLS 65:45; SLS 202 Sagor II, 1; SLS 220:240–242; SLS 280:503–504).

The man may be motivated by fear or the thought of self-preservation (SLS 280:503–504; Fagerlund 1878:169–178), he may be trying to extract himself from a dangerous situation created by his own violent behaviour (SLS 65:45), or he is simply longing for home (SLS 202 Sagor II, 1). In some instances, he is carrying off the generous christening gift of the troll, fearing that it might decide to revoke it (*Nyland* 1896, 26; SLS 21, 29).

He might also effect the dissociation at the request of the trolls, if they lack the power to perform it themselves and are eager to disentangle the worlds. In narratives of the supernatural wedding procession, the man is asked to move out of the way, but being reluctant to heed the trolls' wish immediately, he leaves only after being threatened or cajoled into it. Had he stayed, the man would have run the risk of being trampled to death (SLS 220:240–242), or he might have obstructed the procession, as the trolls are unable to walk over a Christian body (SLS 65:152–153). A peasant wreaking havoc at a troll wedding feast was likewise entreated to depart; the trolls were indeed so anxious to get rid of him that they were prepared to pay a substantial sum, nine buckets of silver, for the favour (SLS 71:32–34). Since the peasant has been invited to the otherworld, it is his responsibility to leave when he is no longer welcome. The same goes for the men straying to the *rå's* or troll's cottage; through their inhospitality, the trolls provoke him to effect a disconnection of the realms (R II 175. See chapter 3.4.6).

A definitive separation is accomplished in the most violent variants of rupture, which are usually dictated by a rescue mission: the man is freeing abducted princesses or common girls (*Nyland* 1887, 180; SLS 1, 11; SLS 31, 146; SLS 137 I, 1; SLS 137 II, 1; SLS 202 Sagor II, 8; SLS 202 Sagor II, 21), his brothers and their wives along with his own bride-to-be (*Nyland* 1896, 129), or himself from captivity (*Nyland* 1887, 77; SLS 37, 5). Often the man acts as traverser of boundaries, intentionally as well as unintentionally, but occasionally he happens upon the abducted woman without having any previous design to search for her, and the crossing does not depend on her. However, his visit to the otherworld receives a specific goal when he can labour to restore her to the human world, to which she was lost. The breach

is complete when the man and his ward leave the supranormal sphere and resume their own, human existence. In texts featuring several trolls, one of which is positive to humans, the contact between the worlds can be more protracted (SLS 31, 146; SLS 137 I, 1).

Semi-trolls (half human, half supernatural) are also prone to be the targets of human hostility. One variant lets the semi-troll be slain in its own church (R II 295), while another magnanimously allows it to escape to its own sphere (R II 62). Humans disapprove of such a sexual mixing of the two realms.

Sometimes the man may content himself with hurting the troll physically (R II 70), or merely demonstrating his superiority (R II 11). In the former case, this restraint is somewhat disastrous, as it exposes the human world to the continued intervention of the otherworld. The man in command, the master of the house, relinquishes an object belonging to this world, a hair plucked from the head of his son, who is loved by the troll, to the supranormal sphere, and the troll can use the connection thus contrived to harm the boy through witchcraft. Yet this is a rarity in the texts comprising my material.

The dissociation can be achieved by performing a magical act as well, for example by throwing an axe over the abducted girl, whereby the trolls are dispersed (R II 328). Occasionally it is enough to break the enchantment imposed on a girl by the troll; this is imperative when the enchantment makes her totally subservient to the troll, and hostile to her own kind. In the following excerpt from a longer tale—a variant of AT 505 The Grateful Dead Man, narrated by Karl Gustaf Lång and collected by Jakob Edvard Wefvar—a princess has promised to marry the man who can guess what she is thinking about. With the aid of his helper, the hero has managed to guess her thoughts twice. This is the third attempt:

To dom kóm ti slotti, ter prinsessun bodd, sá gobbin át pojtjin: “nár du nu jissar kva prinsessun tänker: sá séj at un tänker op skoan sin, men vái it rádd, för hun förvandlar se jinast ti viljúr o ormar o maskar, anna gå o rist i kors op bröste henars, so vái un ti in menisk tibák!” Nár mönin va’ o prinsessun kóm úr kamarin sen o froga kva’ un tänker op, svara’ pojtjin: “et tänker op skoan dín” Som an ha sakt kva’ un tänker åp, vór un straxt sen en gród o fall nér op golve. Sedan förvandlast un ti all slags júr o maskar; ti sist vór un in hást. To jí pojtjin til un o dro’ i kors op bröste henars o straxt vár un in prinses tibák. Pojtjin ji to in i kamarin me’ un o tom álika kvaráder o vór jift. (R II 305)

When they came to the castle in which the princess lived, the old man said to the boy: "Now, when you guess what the princess is thinking: say that she is thinking about her shoes, but don't be afraid, 'cause she'll immediately transform herself into wild animals and snakes and worms, but go and draw a cross on her chest, and she'll become human again!" When it was morning and the princess came out from her chamber and asked what she was thinking about, the boy answered: "You're thinking about your shoes". As he had said what she was thinking about, she soon became a frog and fell down on the floor. Then she was turned into all kinds of animals and worms; finally she became a horse. Then the boy went to her and made a cross on her chest and soon she was a princess again. The boy went into the chamber with her and they liked each other and were married.

A fisherman begins the process of separation by speaking rudely to the troll, which completes the process by withdrawing to its hill (SLS 374:10–12). The humans function as traversers of boundaries, and the encounter is unintentional.

The parsons in some narratives nurture the ambition of effecting a permanent breach between the spheres, when the trolls distinguish themselves by excessive misanthropy or womanizing (SLS 22, 11; SLS 213, 184; SLS 280: 635–636; SLS 338: 21–22). Here the clergymen achieve a double dissociation: first on the personal level, as the abducted girl is liberated from the unwholesome influence of the troll, and later on a collective level, when the trolls are banished from the proximity of humans. After such an expulsion, the human and the supernatural world can no longer come into contact.

Another priest is confronted with a somewhat different situation; he needs to retrieve an abducted child from the domain of the troll. The abducted women are at least granted the privilege of moving outside the supernatural sphere, in the human world during mass, while still under the influence of the troll, but the child is wholly confined to the otherworld. It is not an easy task, but eventually it succeeds, as the power of the parson is great; the abducted child, and all other children taken for the last century or so, are rescued. In order to incorporate them completely into the human sphere, he baptizes them. The elder children, who have outlived their proper time while staying in the otherworld, crumble to dust and are assimilated into their own time, whereas the younger ones start to live (R II 325). The extraordinary power of the priest does not spring from himself, of course, he is merely the intermediary of God. Yet through him the human, celestial and supernatural sphere intertwine in the reading of the sacred texts, and through him they are disengaged again. Thus, it is the

sacred text, which belongs to the celestial sphere, that causes the transgression of the boundary between the human world and the otherworld, as it is read by the parson, i.e., embodied by him in his reading of it. In the same manner, it effects the dissociation of the human and the supranormal realm, and the parson is the physical instrument of this disengagement.

Clergymen may also assist in consummating a separation initiated by another man lacking the ability to finish it. An abducted man slipping under the parson's coat is thus freed from the trolls (SLS 280: 136), and in contrast to the women in a similar plight, he actively works toward his own deliverance. He sneaks under the coat of his own accord, while the women seem to be rescued more or less by accident. Somehow, they do not appear to be particularly anxious to get away. However, it should be noted that the man has something to spur him on, a wife he loves in the human world; the women have no sweetheart waiting for them at home.

In a variant of the legend of the stolen drinking vessel, a dragoon begins the dissociation, since he is physically leaving the otherworld, but being pursued by a host of trolls, he fails to complete it. The trolls lose their power only after the intervention of a priest, and the two spheres are disentangled (SLS 166e, 2). Humans need the aid of the divine sphere, momentarily joined to the human world through the benediction, in order to withstand the onslaught of the trolls.

3.4.2 Women, Children and Animals Dissociate

The separation of the worlds is often effected for the benefit of a woman, but she rarely performs it herself. Nevertheless, there are some examples of female initiatives to disconnection. One girl departs from the world of the troll without the help of a male hero, but the breach is incomplete as the troll still moves freely between the spheres, inspiring great fear in the girl and her mother. The dissociation is completed by the sun, which causes the troll to explode, and the women can finally feel safe. The girl's encounter with the troll was unintentional, and it occurred while she was looking for the family's lost animals (SLS 202 Sagor I, 8).

Another girl executes a separation by saving her brothers from an enchantment. Her patience and courage are all the resources she has, but they are sufficient to ensure her success (SLS 202 Sagor II, 66). The initial contact was induced by her mother, who attracted the attention of the troll by voicing her resolve to abandon her boys in favour of giving birth to a daughter.

A woman being harassed by an amorous troll commences a disengagement by shrewdly persuading it to reveal the best method of ridding her of it, and then she brings about a dissociation by following the advice she is given (SLS 215, 250). Whether she or the troll was the original traverser of boundaries, the tale does not tell.

Accidental disjunctions are also in evidence, like the one innocuously performed by a woman chancing upon the children of the troll on the roadside. As she speaks to them, the link between the human and the supernatural realm is severed, and the children withdraw to their own world, since they disappear before her eyes. The woman begins the separation, but it is completed by the trolls (SLS 56: 153).

A rather unusual pattern of association and dissociation is found in the story of a changeling. A woman, who has been raising her own child as well as the offspring of the troll for many years, effectuates a disconnection by ritually banishing the changeling, but when she learns of the wretched conditions suffered by the child in its own sphere, she takes it back through a new ritual. She thereby establishes a contact with the otherworld prevailing until the death of the changeling (R II 76). In most texts concerning changelings, a strict separation of human and supranormal is enforced (Skjelbred 1998: 69–70), but here solicitude and affection triumph, and the woman is not punished for her action. She demonstrates her moral integrity, a trait probably appreciated in her community (see Wolf-Knuts 1991), but her conduct might not be construed as ideal in the sense that all other women with changelings ought to imitate her.

Only one record mentions a child as an agent of disengagement. As the trolls endeavour to abduct a young child, one of the older girls manages to accomplish a temporary rupture by inflicting injury on an old troll. This is done at the instigation of the children's father, who also furnishes the girl with the weapon, an axe. Still, the disconnection is defective, for the trolls return soon afterwards. Not before they find it fitting is the interaction ended (R II 338).

All animals are not capable of effecting separations, but the talking animals of wonder tales have many talents, including this one. They tend to favour violent dissociations, an inclination dependent on the textual context; charged with the protection of their human wards, they must defend them from the aggressions of the troll. The bull accompanying the heroine through the forest of the troll is forced to kill it to protect the girl (*Nyland*

1887, 19), and a lion must dance the troll to death to help his human friend to save a princess from captivity (*Nyland* 1896, 141).

3.4.3 Trolls Dissociate

Trolls may act as dissociators either when they have traversed the boundary to the human world themselves, or when humans have trespassed into otherworldly territory, consciously or unconsciously. A troll functioning as a creditor, for example, begins the separation of the two spheres by cancelling the debt of the human protagonist, a poor peasant. As the repayment of the loan is the only reason for continued interaction, further contact becomes superfluous; hereafter the peasant and the troll may each live in their own world without interference from the other. The initial contact was intentionally established by the peasant, who had been denied a loan by his miserly brothers-in-law, and turned to the troll in his desperation (*Nyland* 1887, 26).

In narratives of women acting as midwives to the trolls, the troll both initiates and ends the interaction. The human and the supranormal realm are disjoined as the troll brings the woman and her husband back to the road (R II 336) or returns her to her home (R II 339). A troll appearing during the festival of St. Thomas is also responsible for the association and dissociation of the two spheres: the encounter is part of a pilfering spree, and the connection between the human and the supernatural world is severed when the troll slinks back to its haunt beneath a bridge (SLS 333: 220–221).

A separation in a double sense is accomplished by those trolls deserting the human woman they have been courting. One abandons his wife (SLS 215, 248), another his lover, with whom he has enjoyed trysts in the forest (SLS 215, 249). In the former instance, the conditions of the first encounter is not mentioned, while the initial meeting seems to have been unintentional, with the woman acting as traverser of boundaries, in the latter.

The tale of the imprisoned troll is another example of a disengagement performed by a troll. The relations in this text are rather complicated (see chapter 3.1.4), but as long as the troll has not discharged its moral debt to the boy, it entwines their respective worlds. When the troll has done everything in its power to assist the boy, the contact can finally be broken, and the dissociation is achieved through the departure of the troll (SLS 1, 3).

In another variant of the legend of the stolen drinking vessel, a priest

does not complete the disjunction of the human and the supernatural sphere; the separation is still begun by the human thief, and it is equally deficient as in the former variant. However, the trolls are now assuming the status of dissociators. After killing the perpetrator and his horse, they have an altercation with his master, demanding their cup back. The man is indisposed to surrender it, and opts to keep it. Then the trolls utter a curse, predicting that the manor will burn thrice, and disappear. Their prophecy is soon fulfilled (SLS 226: 150–151).

3.4.4 Impersonal Phenomena Dissociate

Time is the most common impersonal phenomenon effecting a separation. Dawn appears to banish the trolls in one narrative (*Nyland* 1887, 77), and the boy enthralled by two beautiful female trolls is not released before the witching hour has passed (SLS 80: 46–47). An abducted boy must spend three days in the domain of the troll until he is set free (SLS 319: 31–32). These times and periods are all accorded a special importance in folk tradition: dawn is the boundary between night and day, and the hour between midnight and 1 a.m. marks the transition to a new date; Jochum Stattin has argued that their symbolic significance derives from their intangibility and vague definition (Stattin 1992: 53). The number three possesses magical qualities, which extend to the disconnection of worlds.

The extraordinary power of church bells springs from their association with the Christian faith, but it may also be attributed to the fact that the church bells dominated the soundscape of agrarian society. An old woman being held by the trolls does not escape them until the bells usher in the Sunday service (R I 86: 2–3), and an abducted boy is liberated from the troll when his parents let the bells toll for him in the belief that he is dead (*Hembygden* 1910: 145).

The sun may complete or perform a dissociation in some texts. A girl who has been living with a troll finally runs away to her native home, and is liberated from the troll with the aid of the sun:

när trolle sen va borta, for flickan sjelv bort o im ti modron. so va flickan redd för trolle, o gomman mä. o so stoppa dom opp alm o klädär kringom spisständarn so en e likna gomman. när trolle kom, so sparka e til e tär o sa: "är är ti eta, o dotron din lidär injin nöd!" som an sparka til almgomman, so rykt almn o klädren opp i tatji, o trolle börja ondersöka e tär an o drögd so lengi, en solen rann opp, o so sprakk an (SLS 202 Sagor I, 8)

Later when the troll was away, the girl herself went away and home to her mother. The girl was afraid of the troll, and so was the old woman. And they stuffed hay and clothes around the poker so that it looked like the old woman. When the troll came, it kicked that and said: "Here's to eat, and your daughter has nothing to complain of!" As it kicked the straw woman, the hay and the clothes flew up into the roof, and the troll started investigating that and tarried so long that the sun rose, and it exploded.

A cat similarly leaves the final execution of the troll to the sun in K. P. Pettersson's record, a variant of AT 545 The Cat as Helper:

Tå e blej mörkt sán, så gaf se kattn áf i väg ti slotte, för han visst án trolle brúka va bort om nättena, men huld se i slotte om dagana; för si han vá, som all troll pa vá, rädd för dagsljúse. Tå kattn kám ti slotte, så vá e som'n hadd trott: trolle va bort o hadd, tå int e anság se behöf va rädd föri án ná'n sku koma di, lämna dörar o pórtar ppy på vid gáf-vel. Kattn gick så in o stängd pórtana fast ett 'se inifrån, o stoppa en limpo, som'n hitta i slotte, i nykylhole, o så sástist'n sjölf innanför pórtu vänt tært trolle sku koma heim. Kattn visst nó han án inga trolle sku tola solen o fundéra bara på ti fá trolle drögt utanföri tært solen sku stick opp, so sku e nó vá slút mé'n tå.

Alldejlis ríktit! Som kattn hadd birákna så gick e á. Om moron i gråningen så kám trollkárn, en ryslít stóran gubb, hejm o sku in fórt, för han hadd vari o försinka se lite för lángi bort: men så va pórtu faststängd o i lås, så án'n blej stá utanföri. Trolle burja sen sök i fickona sin, om'n sku há ná'n nykyl ti ypn mé. Han lyckast há á, som'n hitta tislút, men så va nykylhole faststoppa, så án int nykyln gick in, o i bráskon o ífvern sán ti fá ppy o slipp in, so blej'n drögd bara mejr o märkt int sjölf – arg som'n vá – án solen just stack se opp o gé nast som un skejn på'n så to hejla troll-fán o sprack "tvársáf midti-klyf", som Háfri Ville så tå byxorna sprack, o tär blej'n. (SLS 31, 141: 110–111)

When it became dark, the cat went off to the castle, for he knew that the troll used to be away at night, but stayed in the castle during the day; 'cause it was, as all trolls tend to be, afraid of daylight. When the cat came to the castle, it was as he had thought: the troll was away and had, as it didn't think it needed to be afraid that someone would come there, left the doors and gates wide open. The cat went in and closed the gates behind himself from the inside, and put a loaf he found in the castle in the key hole, and then he sat himself inside the gate to wait 'till the troll would come home. The cat, he knew that the troll wouldn't stand the sun and just pondered getting the troll detained outside 'till the sun rose, and then it would certainly be finished.

Quite right! Things did turn out as the cat had calculated. In the morning at dawn the troll man, an awfully large old man, came home and needed to get in fast, fast, as it had lingered a bit too long; but then the gate was closed and locked, so that it remained to stand outside. The troll started searching its pockets, if it'd have some key to open with. It managed to have [one] too that it found eventually, but then the key hole was blocked, so that the key didn't go in, and in the hurry and eagerness to open and get inside, it just lingered more and didn't notice itself—angry that it was—that the sun just rose and immediately as it shone on it the whole troll-devil exploded "divided, split in two", as Háfri Ville said when his pants split, and there it remained.

The cat does not have the physical strength of a bull or a lion, and must trust in its own ingenuity in disposing of its enemy; the cat furnishes the intention, while the sun actualizes it. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether a true separation is achieved, as the cat and its owner take up residence in the otherworld; yet it is possible that the former troll castle is incorporated into the human domain. Virginie Amilien has spoken of the rehabilitated wonderland flourishing under human rule (Amilien 1996: 106), and perhaps this is an instance of such a revival.

In the texts assembled under the present heading, the human party is usually the traverser of boundaries, and the encounter is unintentional. In one case, though, the trolls encroach on human territory (*Nyland* 1887, 77), and in another, a cat is the prime, highly conscious agent of association.

3.4.5 Protective and Apotropaic Measures

Protective and apotropaic measures are instrumental in ending and wholly avoiding a supernatural encounter. Some of them have already been mentioned in the course of this chapter, but I will rehearse and complement them here. Several are associated with the Christian faith, such as the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, the benediction and the invocation of the name of Jesus. Usually they are applied when the damage is done, rather than functioning as pre-emptive actions. The Lord's Prayer or a call for God's assistance can break an enchantment, as may the benediction of the priest, which protects stolen goods from their rightful, supranormal owners as well (*Hembygden* 1916: 62–63; SLS 28, 3; SLS 213, 184; SLS 280: 635–636; SLS 338: 21–22; *Nyland* 1887, 271).

The church bells may stir an abducted person from the enchantment, partially or completely (SLS 28, 3; R I 86: 2; *Hembygden* 1910: 145); in the former case, the ringing of the bells can be supplemented with the parson's benediction and the laying on of hands (SLS 28, 3). The minister's coat is similarly charged with power (cf. Klintberg 2002: 40): the abducted man stealing under the parson's coat regained his visibility to human eyes and escaped the influence of the troll (SLS 280: 136). Another enchantment was broken by making the sign of the cross on the breast of the enthralled princess (R II 305), although this simple act had to be preceded by thrice guessing the thoughts of the princess. The sacred word and the divinely sanctioned authority of the priest are also efficacious in retrieving abducted

children or banishing trolls from their abodes (R II 325; SLS 22, 11; SLS 213, 184; SLS 280: 635–636; SLS 299: 33–34; SLS 338: 21–22). If the trolls are in a capricious mood, and decide to delude a human walking in the wilds, the illusion can be dispelled by saying “Jesus, bless me”, as in the story of a woman thinking herself stranded on a rock so high and steep she hardly dared descend it. Yet when she uttered the name of Jesus and asked for his blessing, the rock vanished and she found her feet were planted on level ground (Freudenthal 1889: 197). Other supernatural beings are likewise fond of such pranks (Granberg 1935: 91–93). One woman unintentionally banished the trolls by mentioning the name of Jesus (SLS 56: 153), and the mere act of addressing the troll may have a similar effect (SLS 374: 11–12).

Being a pilfering breed, trolls steal both humans and cattle. One way of getting the latter back is to cast the collar of the bell cow and three ignited sticks into the oven; then the troll can no longer detain the cow, and it will return home (*Bygdeminnen* 1912: 56–57). Things belonging to the bell cow were generally important in rituals aimed at recovering cattle stolen by supernatural beings (Forsblom 1926).

A woman pursued by a troll absolutely smitten with her finally managed to fend it off by ingesting particular herbs, e.g. asafoetida and castor (SLS 215, 250; cf. Granberg 1935: 183–198). Another girl barely escaped being married to the troll by guessing its name on the morning of the wedding:

En flicka blev en gång bortrövad av ett troll, som förde henne till sin boning i ett berg. Trollet fattade behag till flickan och sade, att hon måste gifta sig med honom. Hon tiggde och bad att slippa fri, men han lät icke beveka sig; varken böner eller tårar hjälpte. Slutligen sade han dock till henne: “kan du gissa mitt namn innan vår bröllopsdag, skall jag återge dig friheten.” Flickan gissade gång på gång. Hon nämnde namn på både fåglar och djur, men det rätta fann hon ej. På morgonen av den dag, bröllopet skulle stå, hörde hon trollet, som trodde, att hon sov, säga:

Min hustru kan gissa både fåglar och djur,
men icke kan säga herr Vippumbur.

Då bad hon att få gissa ännu en gång, vartill trollet samtyckte. Hon nämnde då hans namn, och trollet måste giva henne friheten. (*Bygdeminnen* 1910: 41–42)

A girl was once abducted by a troll that brought her to its dwelling in a hill. The troll started fancying her and said that she had to marry it. She begged and pleaded to be released, but it did not relent; neither pleas nor tears helped. Finally it nevertheless said to her: “if you can guess my name before our wedding day, I will give you back your freedom.” The girl guessed again and again. She mentioned the names of both birds

and animals, but she did not find the right one. On the morning of the day of the wedding she heard the troll, which thought she was sleeping, say:

My wife can guess both birds and animals,
but cannot say Mr Vippumbur.

Then she asked to be allowed to guess once more, and the troll agreed. She mentioned its name, and the troll had to give her her freedom.

In this variant of AT 500 The Name of the Helper, narrated by Lena Stenlund and recorded by Else Tegengren, the troll makes the mistake of disclosing its name, thus furnishing the girl with the means of her salvation. This motif is otherwise most prevalent in legends of the construction of churches, in which supernatural creatures undertake to build them in exchange for the heart of the commissioner of the building, unless he succeeds in guessing their name (Klintberg 2002: 135–136).

The enchantment suffered by twelve brothers metamorphosed into wild ducks could only be broken by a somewhat peculiar method. Their sister had to take fragments of old stone walls in the forest, spin them and knit them into shirts, while refraining from speaking, laughing and crying; this is an international fairy tale motif (SLS 202 Sagor II, 66). Less exacting conditions are stipulated for the disenchantment of three princesses, who merely have to find someone willing to be spanked by the trolls three nights in a row (SLS 202 Sagor II, 8).

In order to retrieve a child stolen by the trolls, you should get a good fire burning in the oven, and taking the changeling into your arms, standing in front of the naked flame, you swing the child from side to side and say that you intend to hurl it into the fire. At this threat the troll mother will take pity on the changeling and reclaim it, leaving the human baby in its place; the exchange may be made unawares to the person holding the child (SLS 65: 44). In narratives of other supranormal creatures, the otherworldly parent is not always so discrete. Some, like the Devil in the following quotation, reproach humans for the harsh treatment of their babes, saying: "When have I mistreated your child thus that you mistreat mine in this way" (SLS 166: 687, published in *Nyland* 1896, 148; cf. Skjelbred 1998: 61, 70; Swahn & Lundwall 1984: 37). If a child was branded as a changeling, all its rights to good treatment were forfeit, as Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred and Carl-Herman Tillhagen have pointed out (Skjelbred 1998: 68; Tillhagen 1983: 221). The supernatural status of the changeling has been emphasized

by Bolstad Skjelbred, and she regards stories of changelings as a tool for categorizing human versus non-human characteristics (Skjelbred 1998: 74), in the same vein as Bo Lönnqvist (Lönnqvist 1996).

The apotropaic measures touched upon in my material are concerned with preventing the exchange of human and supranormal children. For example, a candle should always be burning in the room in which the infant resides, and it should never be left alone or unwatched by a wakeful eye. To diminish the power of the troll, steel ought to be placed in the cradle (Thurman 1891: 111). A gold ring could also be put in the cradle at the child's feet (SLS 226: 462), or a hymnal might be laid in its cradle and above its head. In addition, the baby should be carefully watched (SLS 220: 67–69; cf. SLS 192a: 141). Furthermore, some pieces of coal ought to be placed in the water used to bathe a newborn child, as it protects against trolls and other evil creatures. It is also advisable to spit in the first shirt in which the child is to be dressed, and to lay a hymnal and a pair of scissors under the pillow in the cradle (SLS 320: 80). The first bath of the child and the handling of the bath water were surrounded by many taboos. The text does not say whether the custom of spitting into the child's first shirt applied to both sexes; in some areas, a boy was first dressed in girls' clothes and a girl in boys' garments to make them interested in the other sex as adults *Finlands* 1952: 66–67).

3.4.6 The Fateful Encounter

Some texts depict a particular form of confrontation, which merits our attention as it brings the common framework of encounter into sharp relief by focusing on its collapse. I will quote and analyze two of these narratives, both of which were recorded in the parish of Vörå:

Storberget beläget i skogen mellan Karfsor och Kimo byar är beryktadt för bergtroll, "rådan", som tid efter annan skall hafva visat sig derstädes och skrämt folk, hvilka kommit att färdas förbi detsamma. Så berättas om en man som för något 50 år sedan träffade på en vacker stuga "rådstugu" i närheten af nämnda berg, då han skulle gå genom skogen från Karfsor till Kimo följande: "Ejngang to in kår från Karfsor fy 50 år sidan sku gå jinast från Karfsor ti Kimo jinom skåojin o kom til Ståorbjerji, so så an in 'råstugu', som va römåla me vit fönsterkarmar o fåoderbre. Alt så iut som e sku a vari in stior herrgål. Kårin jig in, o alt va snygt o tår va ba silver o kopar. Injin mensk så an iutom in pigu, som ståo me spisin o kåoka o rörd i grytun. Hun tala int e åol til an, annan ståo o knöjt navan åt an so an tårijinom sku fysta ti ga iut. Me dörin ståo in kopar-söv me skåopun i tåri drakk an förr än an ji bort. To an jig iut o vendis okring, so tåo

kniváoddin, som stáo iut iur stjidun i hande sóvin. Som an kom på gálin, o sku gá tid-an, so kom sóvin dansand bak et an o sláo an i bejnin, o tár lemna an ligg. To an kom ti Kimobriuk, sá táo an tedan folk me se o jig tibák ti skåojin fy ti ta nembran rejdu på han di 'rádstúgun' Dem sá injin stugu mejr, men kopar sóvin lå på ti stelle tár an lemna to an sláo an i bejnin. Sóvin táo dem ti Kimo ... briuki. Från tan tídin so va handi sama kárin, som treffa på hun di 'rádstugun' halvpjasu ... o he sku an a váli óv he kniváoddin hans táo i koparsóvin, o han tárfyri kom ti slá an i bejnin. (Han fálast sidan o hengd kattuna o kallast vanligen tárfyri ti 'Kattjohan'.) (R II 175)

The Great Hill situated in the forest between the villages of Karfsor and Kimo is notorious for hill trolls, "rå", who are said to have shown themselves there time after time and scared people who have come to pass by the same. Thus it is told of a man, who some 50 years ago happened upon a splendid cottage in the vicinity of the aforementioned hill, when he was to walk through the forest from Karfsor to Kimo the following: "Once when a man from Karfsor 50 years ago was to take a shortcut from Karfsor to Kimo through the forest and came to the Great Hill, he saw a 'rå cottage', which was painted red with white window frames and ledges. Everything looked as if it were a large manor. The man went inside, and everything was tidy and there were only silver and copper. No one did he see except a maid, standing by the hearth cooking and stirring in the pot. She spoke not a word to him, but stood shaking her fist at him to make him understand to leave. By the door stood a copper tub with a ladle in it. There he drank before he left. When he departed and turned around, the point of his knife, protruding from the sheath, touched that tub. As he came out onto the yard and was going away, the tub came dancing after him and hit him on the legs, and there it was left lying. When he came to the Kimo works, he took people thence with him and went back to the forest to find out more closely about that 'rå cottage'. They saw no cottage any more, but the copper tub lay on the spot where it was left when it hit him on the legs. They took the tub to the Kimo ... works. From that time onward the same man who had encountered that 'rå cottage' was half addle-brained ... and that he was supposed to have become because the point of his knife touched the copper tub, and it therefore came to hit him on the legs. (He then roamed around and killed cats and was therefore most often called 'Cat-John'.)"

This text portrays the fateful encounter, or the breakdown of the relation between this world and the otherworld. On some level, the meeting of the worlds is nearly always conscious, either on the part of man or on the part of the troll. Although a crossing of the boundary between the two spheres might be made unawares by a human, intentionality is generally present in the wish of the troll to open up its world to man. Here intentionality is entirely lacking on both sides, rendering it an occasion of deep crisis; the banishment of the danger cannot even be performed with curses, it requires silence. Rather than heaping abuse on the man, the troll girl must restrict herself to shaking her fist at him; anything else might compromise the integrity of her realm.

After drinking the water of the otherworld, in itself a perilous act, the man prepares to dissociate the spheres by leaving the cottage. As the steel in the point of his knife binds the copper tub to him—the use of cold iron in usurping the fabulous riches of the otherworld or in fending off noxious supranormal creatures is widespread in folklore (cf. Raudvere 1993: 194), although its employment is accidental in this case—the tub flies through the air and hits him on the legs. When he arrives to the Kimo works, he assembles a group to accompany him in a second crossing of the border to the supernatural domain, but it fails. The trolls do not wish to be found. Yet they do find the copper tub, lying on the spot where he left it, marking out the erstwhile site of the otherworld, and the tub is wholly incorporated into the human sphere through its removal to the Kimo works. The fate of the man is tragic; delirium, imputed to the contact with the tub, seizes him. Though physically in this world, his mind still resides in the other. He is contaminated, imbued with the otherworldly; in one sense, he now belongs to the supranormal realm.

The protagonist of the second narrative fares somewhat better:

me isámetsjibjárji brúkar e vis se túku de spökri. he va in þájk in gang, sám gikk et handi véijen, sám gar i närheiten áv isometsjibjárji he va seint ám kvéldi nárapá mitt i nátin. tá an kám tár mittföri, sá sá an in stáur váker bygging, tár e förr a vári bára bjárji á skáug, á sá sá an in flikku, sám va ett váttni ti tsjéldun me i silverémbur. han föld bákett un, á jikk in i stúgun á tár va na sá vákert: gull á silvertsjárild överallt á tsjárngrjin i gálin stáu me spísín á káuka gröytin. – á bötismáur va tár ti frémman. þájtjin sku ján ha vila hav náinting, men int fikk an na int. ti slút kám þájtjin ti nemn jísu namn á sá fösvánn e álltiháup, á þájtjin lemna sitt þá bjárji þá in rútin stubb. (SLS 22, 4: 11–12)

By the Great Hill ghosts use to show themselves. Once there was a boy, who walked along that road passing in the vicinity of the Great Hill. It was late in the evening, almost in the middle of the night. When he came right in front of it, he saw a large splendid building where there used to be only hills and forest, and then he saw a girl going for water to the spring with a bucket of silver. He followed behind her and went into the cottage, and there it was oh so beautiful: gold and silver vessels everywhere and the mistress of the house stood by the hearth cooking porridge—and the Lady of the Böte hill was there as a guest. The boy would have loved to get something, but he didn't get anything, he didn't. Finally the boy happened to mention the name of Jesus and it all vanished, and the boy was left sitting on the hill on a rotten tree stump.

The boy enters the sphere of the troll at a time conducive to supernatural encounter, the night. He receives as uncharitable a treatment as his counterpart in the former story: his cravings for food or drink remain unsatis-

fied, for which he should be grateful as it saves him from the dire fate of Cat-John. Once again, an interaction is perceived as highly inappropriate. In the invocation of the name of Jesus, a third sphere, the divine, briefly intertwines with the human and supernatural world to dissolve the unhappy union with its might, whereby this world and the otherworld are abruptly severed from each other. The divine powers are potent dissociators, as we have seen. In the end, the boy finds himself seated on a rotten tree stump, coming unscathed out of the ordeal, with his wits intact.

3.5 Encountering the Troll

In this part of my dissertation I have tried to delineate the relationship between man and troll as evidenced in my material. I have restricted myself to a largely descriptive approach, without any extensive references to the sources on other supernatural beings or on other kinds of folklore. Nevertheless, a broader perspective is needed in the discussion of my findings, and in accordance with the overall theoretical framework of my thesis, it will be intertextual. The corpus of material presented here can be regarded as a large-scale intertextual network, and as such the interrelation between the texts constituting it is characterized by association and disagreement; sometimes they agree with each other, sometimes they disagree. The varying construction of the relationship between man and troll in terms of conflict and tolerance in different ratios is an example of this, as each text enters into complex relations of agreement and dissonance with other texts. Together they create a multi-faceted mosaic of divergent and convergent points of view on troll and man, and on their interaction.

The texts also form intertextual networks with folklore, culture and society as a whole, and the gender and age-specific relations between humans and the supernatural are interesting in this respect. As stated before, only men intentionally traverse the boundary between the human and the supernatural world, and they are often more active in their dealings with the otherworld, while women and children are portrayed as more helpless and passive. Thus, women and children are perceived as more vulnerable and open to attack, whereas men are depicted as more fearless. If this represents the ideal in the narrative construction of gender in the Swedish-speaking areas in Finland, two observations can be made. Firstly, if that is the case, it is precisely an ideal, and not necessarily a description of real-life relations

between the sexes and age groups. The sexual division of labour required women to be active in their own spheres of responsibility, and, as the stories testify, those responsibilities demanded that they left the shelter of their own home, working in the forest and the wilds. Children also had their duties outside the farm, herding animals in the forest, for instance. They had to be able to take initiatives and react to unexpected events, or the prosperity of the farm would suffer for it.

Secondly, the narratives could be interpreted in such a way as to expose the limitations of this ideal, as it surrenders women and children to the whims of the supernatural. Without the social and cultural permission to be strong and to be able to defend themselves against aggressors, they have to wait for someone, or even something, to come and rescue them. Occasionally, they have to wait for a long time; some children taken by the troll waited for a century until a rescuer came along, and by then they had no life to return to—they turned into ashes as soon as they were baptized. This situation is untenable, but whether the narrators actually intended to point to this fact is difficult to determine.

4 INTERTEXTUALITY AS IDEOLOGICAL CRITIQUE

In this and the following chapter I propose to scrutinize intertextual relations between the corpus of troll texts and other folk narratives recorded in the parish of Vörå in Ostrobothnia, and the religious literature, Biblical stories in particular, used in the area in order to investigate the texts and discourses going into the construction of the image of the troll. Two groups of texts have been selected as particularly suited for this purpose, as they represent the closest equivalent to a *thick corpus* (Honko 2000: 15–17) to be found in my material, as mentioned in chapter 1.2. Both groups consist of narratives of abduction, but the second also incorporates the motif of the expulsion of the culprits. My aim is to illustrate the interconnection of various traditions, or, in other words, to demonstrate that folk belief and religious traditions are not such separate entities in the sense that it is not possible to disengage them from each other. The pioneers of the discipline of folkloristics frequently attempted to remove the Christian elements of folk tradition in order to bring out its ancient, pagan characteristics, while present-day scholars have often neglected the Christian dimensions of folklore in their analyses. Few have denied the influence of Christianity on folklore—Gunnar Granberg, for example, readily acknowledged it (Granberg 1971: 218–219)—but equally few have demonstrated its profound impact on folklore. Here I want to emphasize the necessity of taking Christianity into account, even where apparently pagan elements are involved, when discussing folk belief in particular, and folklore in general.

As stated in chapters 1.1 and 1.4.1, the concept of intertextuality was first introduced by Julia Kristeva in her inaugural essay “Le mot, le dialogue et le roman” (Kristeva 1978: 82–112), originally published in 1969. Before I continue with the analysis, I will give a more thorough introduction to relevant theory than I was able to provide in the research history. Proceeding from the works of Mikhail Bakhtin and Ferdinand de Saussure, Kristeva achieved an intermingling of their ideas that is in essence independent of her predecessors (cf. Allen 2000). Taking the Bakhtinian word as a point of departure, Kristeva focused on the text as generated in relation to another structure; the word “n’est pas un *point* (un sens fixe), mais un *croisement de surfaces* textuelles, un dialogue de plusieurs écritures: de l’écrivain, du

destinataire (ou du personnage), du contexte culturel actuel ou antérieur” (Kristeva 1978: 83; see chapter 1.4.1 for a translation of this quotation). The status of the word is defined both horizontally (the word of the text belongs to both writer and addressee), and vertically (the word is oriented toward another literary corpus) (Kristeva 1978: 84). Since the addressee is only discursively present in a book, Kristeva argued, he merges with the other discourse, and the horizontal axis (subject – addressee) fuses with the vertical axis (text – context).

I explore these aspects of her theory at some length, as they are fundamental for the very notion of intertextuality, and because they are somewhat problematic from a folkloristic point of view. The relationship between writer, addressee/character and context proves to be complicated. In this essay Kristeva mostly operates with a conflation of writer and addressee, and of addressee and context. The logic of this procedure seems simple at first glance: through the word, the text is situated within history and society, which are viewed as texts read by the writer and into which the writer inserts himself by rewriting them. In this way diachrony is transformed into synchrony (Kristeva 1978: 83). History and society, or, in folkloristic parlance, context, are seen as texts, available for reading and rewriting. The problem of viewing context as text is of course the textualization of everything extratextual; there is nothing but text, and there is no way out of the text. The ambiguity between context as history and society on the one hand, and context as an anterior or synchronic literary corpus on the other, makes for an occasionally peculiar oscillation between graphocentrism (an almost exclusive concentration on written discourse) and historical awareness in Kristeva’s text. Contextuality in the folkloristic sense is affirmed only to be rejected in favour of an entirely textualized universe, based on a limited selection of texts labelled literary. Critics have indeed noted that while emphasizing context and the insertion of text into history and society, Kristeva does very little to employ this apprehension in practice; it remains a theoretical statement (Clayton & Rothstein 1991: 20; Frow 1986: 128).

Thus “le mot (le texte) est un croisement de mots (de textes) où on lit au moins un autre mot (texte)”, for “tout texte se construit comme mosaïque de citations, tout texte est absorption et transformation d’un autre texte. A la place de la notion d’intersubjectivité s’installe celle d’*intertextualité*, et le

langage poétique se lit, au moins, comme *double*" (Kristeva 1978: 84–85).²³ Intertextuality implies that no text is an island, isolated from other texts. However, it should not be reduced to mere source-hunting or deliberations on authorial influence, since the concept of influence is usually understood to imply that the relations between texts are rather static and unidirectional. Kristeva's English editor, Leon S. Roudiez, strongly disapproved of this abuse of the term (Roudiez 1980: 15). The replacement of intersubjectivity with intertextuality is, apart from a rejection of the humanist tenets of existentialism (Friedman 1991: 156), the natural consequence of the textualized addressee; no intersubjectivity can exist where the writer merges with the addressee. The only reader that exists in Kristeva's essay is the writer, and her theory is therefore far removed from that of reader response critics. Moreover, intertextuality in Kristeva's early version is very much a theory of writing, and Derridean grammatology is an important intertext to "Le mot, le dialogue et le roman" (Clayton & Rothstein 1991: 18–19); later, in *La révolution du langage poétique*, first published in 1974, Kristeva developed the concept in a psychoanalytic direction (Kristeva 1985). The theory she elaborated in *La révolution du langage poétique* is more suited to other types of material than those constituting my corpus, and I will therefore refrain from utilizing it in this context.

Nevertheless, the merits of the notion of intertextuality outweigh the liabilities. For the folklorist, intertextuality encourages a return to the study of texts, without necessarily relinquishing the insights gained in the analysis of context and performance. Simultaneously, the basic assumption underlying the theory of intertextuality is a significant corrective to contextual studies: context is already within the text, and cannot be separated from it, since it exists within the word. Especially in the case of archived texts, where contextual information is generally missing, the concept of intertextuality enables an interpretation of them despite these shortcomings by emphasizing the connection of the individual text to the whole of folk tradition, and to other traditions as well. In effect, the conception of context as

²³ Thus, "the word (the text) is an intersection of words (of texts) where one reads at least one other word (text)", for "all text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations, all text is the absorption and transformation of another text. Instead of the notion of intersubjectivity that of *intertextuality* installs itself, and poetic language can be read as at least *double*" (my translation; cf. Kristeva 1980).

inherent in the text relieves these texts of the burden of being regarded as contextless, and hence useless. Intertextuality posits a dimension of context previously overlooked.

In folkloristic research, the most comprehensive theory of intertextuality has been advanced by Lotte Tarkka, beginning with the essay "Intertextuality, Rhetorics and the Interpretation of Oral Poetry" (Tarkka 1993; see also Tarkka 1994; 1998a; 1998b). For Tarkka, intertextuality, construed as "the idea of the text as a meeting point of different texts" (Tarkka 1993: 171) represents the escape route from the dead ends of performance theory and structuralism which have focused too much on a single aspect of folklore, either the mental process involved in text production or on the text itself. In her view, performance studies overstress the extratextual while disregarding the textual, and structuralism emphasizes the textual to the detriment of the extratextual (Tarkka 1993: 169–170). She establishes dialogue and reciprocal relationships as the basis of interpretation, dismissing the quest for "historical meanings", origins and, in the vein of Roland Barthes (Barthes 1977), the inclination to give primacy to one dimension of interpretation only. Tarkka advocates a mutual structuring of the relation between texts, text and context, and text and subjectivity, the last of which will not concern us here (see Asplund 2001 for further discussion). In this way, neither the textual nor the extratextual is privileged; the construction of a text is dependent on other texts existing in a community, text and context mutually influence each other, and the text is shaped by the performing subject which in turn is affected by the text and its message.

Recalling Kristeva's horizontal and vertical axes (the word belongs to both writer and addressee, and is oriented to another literary corpus), without mentioning the terms, Tarkka describes the subject (writer or performer), the receiver (reader or listener), and the cultural context, history and reality as the focal points in the construction of meaning (Tarkka 1993: 171). The merging of the horizontal and the vertical axis is expressed in the form of the subject as receiver, creating the text in relation to already existing texts (Tarkka 1993: 171). The receiver, not part of Kristeva's theory as an empirical being outside the writer, but certainly appearing as such in this case, correspondingly interprets the text against the background of all he has previously heard and read. Tarkka stresses the dialogically constructed character of reality (Tarkka 1993: 178–179).

Like most advocates of intertextuality, Tarkka celebrates the multiplicity

of meanings generated by the plurality of texts going into the production of a text. Yet the attribution of meaning is not wholly random and free of constraints; Tarkka contends that a “relatively stable core of meaning” must be assumed (Tarkka 1993: 173). This is to ensure intelligibility: utterances must refer to a common stock of meanings in order to be understandable at all.

The main contribution of folkloristics to intertextualist study is the understanding of context as intertext, for context, like text, is but one aspect of the production of meaning, and they can be difficult to differentiate (Tarkka 1993: 178). Performance creates a link between the text and the social and cultural context (as well as between the text and the subjectivity of the performer). It also has a restraining effect on the web of intertextuality, narrowing down the intertexts relevant to the interpretation of the performance. This is because performance affects the text and thus unites the textual and the extratextual in the process of its realization. Similarly, the performer may be said to identify with the subject of the text, and this identification, or filling of the subject position, grounds the text in reality, i.e., in context (Tarkka 1993: 180–181). As an example of how this grounding works, Tarkka mentions that a text containing a description of a magical incantation being performed often results in a real-life performance of the incantation. In other words, the performer assumes the role of the character in the text, identifying with the powerful sage portrayed in the text. This development is facilitated by the fact that many singers of Kalevala-metric poetry were healers and sages as well, and that they possessed a competence in both fields (Tarkka 1993: 183).

The aspects of intertextuality considered thus far are mainly theoretical and impossible to prove, or disprove, in an empirical analysis, but they are essential for an understanding of how intertextuality works. In this and the following chapter, however, I will employ Lotte Tarkka’s notion of metaphor and metonymy, and particularly of a series of metaphors, to investigate some of the intertextual relations to be found in my material; relevant intertexts will be sought in part from the store of local folklore, in part from the Bible and other religious writings, indubitably popular reading among the “folk” during this period. In her examination of the images of the otherworld in Karelian Kalevala-metric poetry, Tarkka utilizes the concept of metaphor, coupled with that of metonymy, to elucidate the symbolic processes whereby this world and the otherworld are connected to each other. Diverging from the common usage of the term which usually signifies a

word or phrase employed instead of another to express an idea more vividly by the comparison, but nevertheless representing an extension of it, metaphor refers to the differences and similarities between a pair of opposites belonging to separate conceptual spheres—the village and the forest, for example—which are linked by metonymy, i.e., the combination of elements of the same conceptual order into a sequence, and bridging the distance between the poles of the metaphor (Tarkka 1994: 293–294). In my own use of Tarkka's theory, I have identified the metonymic element with that component of a narrative which effects the transition from one pole of the metaphor to another. This might be the working of a disenchantment, an act of healing etc. A series of metaphors standing in an analogic relation to one another, being comparable but not identical, is generated by the use of common themes and epithets. This circumstance depends in part on the characteristics of the poetic language, like stereotyping, formulaicity and parallelism, but the series of metaphors is also perceived to have something in common. The series of otherworlds thus created, forming different levels of the otherworld, gains meaning only as part of that series (Tarkka 1994: 294, 292). Tarkka's conception of a series of metaphors will be deployed in the analysis to demonstrate the interrelation of folk and Biblical tradition, as already mentioned, by showing how they create mutually dependent levels of the otherworld within a narrator's network of associations. The identification of an intertext, defined as a text giving another text its meaning (Tarkka 1993: 171), is chiefly based on the exhibition of an expression or theme common with the text under study.

The intertextual relations analyzed here may be divided into three types: agreement with the intertext; inversion or reversal of the intertext; and negation of the intertext (cf. Wolf-Knuts 2000 for a rather similar division). In the case of agreement, it is seldom complete in all its details, and the scrutiny of it consequently requires nuancing.

Some texts under discussion could be associated to the Bible merely because of their theme, for example tales of the dissolution of enchantment or narratives of banishments of trolls, where the active doer is a parson, a representative of the heavenly powers. Italics in the quotations denote features common to several records or associations between them.

The theme of abduction and liberation from the troll should be construed as one possible basis for the exploration of the relations between folk narratives and religious texts; other themes and stories could be just as reward-

ing to study. Notwithstanding, in the course of my work I have found that the theme I picked out for scrutiny more or less at random, though with a definite goal in mind (see chapter 1.5 on the selection of material), is connected to a much larger complex of themes that appears to have been of great significance in 19th-century rural culture; all of them centred on the motifs of blindness and illumination, or some aspect thereof. In chapter 4.2, I treat this topic more thoroughly.

What I hope to demonstrate in the following chapters is that narratives and narration, the worlds portrayed in them and the supernatural beliefs connected with them, as well as folklore as a whole, are constructed in relation to other texts, discourses and domains of culture, and that they gain their meaning within this larger frame of reference. I believe that intertextuality is a vital aspect of folklore and culture, and that it is instrumental in creating the sense of the coherence of culture and society that human beings seem to crave. I also want to stress that 19th-century rural culture was permeated by the Christian tradition, and that the folklore of the period cannot be understood in isolation from religion. The impact of Christianity on folklore exists even where you do not expect to find it, and it is my hope that the reader will be able to see this too in the course of my discussion. For this reason, it is my ambition to broaden the scope of folkloristic intertextualist studies to include the religious sphere as well; this approach is not entirely unprecedented (see Wolf-Knuts 1991; Wolf-Knuts 2000; Stark 2002), but it ought to be taken into account more frequently.

Concerning the depiction of the otherworld in narrative, I want to show how the image of the supernatural sphere may represent an ideal unattainable in the human world, and how it can be utilized as a tool for criticizing aspects of the human sphere, either ideological shortcomings (chapter 4) or social inequality (chapter 5). Scholars have pointed to this function before (Tarkka 1998b; Stark 2002), but I wish to confirm and reinforce this hypothesis as I think it is very important for the understanding of folk belief.

4.1 Blindness and Illumination

The first narrative of abduction to be treated derives from Jacob Tegengren, and it is recorded some time before 1916 when it was published in *Hembygden*:

1) Bergtrollen sägas gärna locka till sig unga personer, i synnerhet flickor, som de kvarhålla i berget. Det händer ibland, att de bergtagna får tillåtelse att besöka kyrkan, dock på villkor att lämna denna, innan prästen läst välsignelsen. – *En gång hade trollen rövat en ung flicka. Hon fick god mat och fina kläder. Nu och då tilläts hon även att bivista gudstjänsten i kyrkan. Hon var då alltid iförd granna kläder. Vid ett sådant kyrkibesök inträffade emellertid, att flickan glömde sig kvar medan prästen läste Herrans bön. Då detta skett, föllo hennes fina kläder sönder i idel trasor, så att hon skamsen icke visste, vart hon skulle taga vägen. Men hon hade genom bönen blivit befriad ur trollens våld; människorna igenkände henne och hon blev förd till sitt gamla hem.* (*Hembygden* 1916: 62–63)

1) The hill trolls are said to gladly entice young people to come to them, especially girls that they keep in the hill. Sometimes it happens that the abducted get permission to visit the church, though on the condition of leaving it before the parson has pronounced the benediction. —*Once the trolls had abducted a young girl. She got good food and fine clothes. Every now and then she was also permitted to attend mass in church. Then she was always wearing splendid clothes. During such a visit to church it nevertheless happened that the girl forgot to leave while the parson was saying the Lord's Prayer. When this had occurred her fine clothes fell apart into mere rags, so that she, ashamed, did not know where to go. But through the prayer she had been liberated from the troll's power; people recognized her and she was taken to her old home.*

Tegengren's record begins with an explanatory introduction for the benefit of *Hembygden's* readers, providing the context for the text following it. The perspective is generalizing, and the narrative appears as an example of the observations stated previously. In Gérard Genette's parlance, it functions as a *paratexte* (Genette 1992: 10) aiding the interpretation of the text. Good food and fine clothes is a recurring theme in the stories of this kind recorded in Vörå and its neighbouring parishes; five of the six narratives containing the motif of the abduction of a girl by the troll and the subsequent liberation from it as effected by the parson mention this theme. It is stressed that "*she got good food and fine clothes*" from the trolls, "*she was always wearing splendid clothes*" during her church visits, and as the parson says the Lord's Prayer in her presence, "*her fine clothes fell apart into mere rags, so that she, ashamed, did not know where to go*". The sumptuousness of her existence in the world of the troll is palpable, and therefore the degradation experienced in the withdrawal of it is so intense that the girl would prefer to go and hide somewhere.

Resplendent dress is something the girl shares with poor crofter's daughters and abused princesses who have lost their station in life due to the machinations of jealous people, and it is connected to a rise in social status, either through the conferral of a dignity not previously enjoyed, or through

a restoration of inherited privileges. It is important to remember that clothes were of great significance as a marker of social status, as they were one of the few things immediately distinguishing members of the upper and the lower classes in a local community. There is also an element of alienness and indeterminacy in these girls, resting on the fact that they remain unrecognized by their social peers or superiors.

In a tale narrated by the shoemaker Svendlin living in the village of Lotlax in Vörå, these ingredients receive an expressive articulation. The princess is being mistreated by her stepmother, the queen, but in her moment of distress, she is aided by an old man:

2) Var sondasmorun to dem fâor ti tsjyrtsjun, so la dem in kappa gryn och in vakka (fyra kappar) sand i la me som un sku lag rejnt o kâok, tert dem sku kom frân tsjyrtsjun. Sidan so hend e se in sondas morun to ti áder ha fari ti tsjyrtsjun, he in gubb kom in til in, tär un sat o grét i stugun o fréga va un grâter át. Hun birätta to fyr an va un sku mott jer o int vist hur e sku vál jáort. Gubbin gáv in to in tsjepp, o sá he un sku gá på gálin o slá i stejnin so sku un fá önsk se *grann kléder o e par gullskåor, so sku un fá gá ti tsjyrtsjun, men kom tedan, förr än prästin leser "Herren velsine oss"*. Hun jáol som gubbin bád in: tåo tsjeppin an gáv in, o jig o klappa i stejnin på gálin, *o fig se grann klénin o gull skåor. Sidan so jig un i tsjyrtsjun* o sestis i bentsjin framfyr drottinjin. *All fyrundra se yvi hennar, fy in so grann kvinnu ha dem aldri sitt i tsjyrtsjun, o injin tsjend in. Förr än prästin las "Herren velsine oss", so jig un iut.* To un kom heim, so klédd un óv se tem di klénin, o gull skåor, o tåo gambel klénin sín tibák o på se. (R II 188)

2) Every Sunday morning when they went to church, they put one peck of grain with one bushel (four pecks) of sand added to it that she was to cleanse and cook until they returned from church. One Sunday morning it so happened, when the others had gone to church, that a man came to her, where she sat crying in the cottage and asked what she was crying for. Then she told him what she had to do and she didn't know how it was to be done. The man gave her a staff, and said she had to go out onto the yard and rap on the stone, and she would be allowed to wish for *splendid clothes and a pair of golden shoes, and she would be allowed to go to church, but [she had to] return from it, before the parson pronounces "Lord bless us"*. She did as the man asked: took the staff he gave her, and went rapping on the stone in the yard, *and got splendid clothes and golden shoes. Then she went to church* and sat down in the pew in front of the queen. *Everyone marvelled at her, for such a fine lady they had never seen in church, and no-one knew her. Before the parson pronounced "Lord bless us" she left.* When she came home, she removed those clothes, and [the] golden shoes, and took her old clothes back and dressed in them.

The helper ensures that the princess acquires the raiment appropriate to her station and withheld by her wicked stepmother; the outer splendour is also a confirmation of her inner virtue. Nevertheless, the exaltation is subject to a condition: she is not to stay in church while the parson

pronounces the benediction. In this respect the intertext agrees with the troll text. We may assume that a breach of this taboo would result in her finery falling apart into mere rags, as in the troll text, or something far worse. She is fortunately spared that ignominy—thereby negating the catastrophe of the troll text—and she enjoys great admiration, “for such a fine lady they had never seen in church”, and no-one recognizes her, as is the case with the girl in the folk narrative. Later in the story a prince sees her in church and falls in love with her, and eventually they marry.

In the stories church-going is an occasion for flaunting one's Sunday best. Unlike her equivalents in other tale types however, the girl in the first text is not allowed to keep her finery, as it has been bestowed on her due to the abduction, a negatively charged event. Other heroines may also acquire their apparel from supernatural beings, but the circumstances of their reception are characterized by a less intimate relationship between donor and recipient—the heroines are not integrated into the supranormal world like the abducted girl is, and the encounter of the women and their supernatural helpers is brief. The trolls in the first text, the adversaries, fill a function (not to be understood in the Proppian sense as “l'action d'un personnage, définie du point de vue de sa portée significative dans le déroulement du récit” (Propp 1970: 36)) appropriate to their structural opposites, the helpers. This inversion of roles, enacted on the level of conventions, might help to partly explain the sorry outcome of the girl's elevation; it comes from the wrong quarter. The structural rules of the folk narrative are subverted as the adversary assumes the place of the helper; in a way the two categories meld in the image of the troll, but the effect is not eternal. The invocation of the divine realm in the uttering of the benediction and the prayer effectively disrupts the power of the troll and annuls its encroachment on tasks proper to other characters. All troll texts of this type have such a reversal and conflation of roles in common.

The second of Jacob Tegengren's records was made in 1921 and reads as follows:

3) En flicka från Rökio by i Vörå *vallade kor* i närheten av Boberget. *Hon blev tagen av trollen och förd in i berget där hon kläddes i fina kläder. Trollen gävo henne tillåtelse att alla söndagar besöka kyrkan, blott hon lovade att avlägsna sig härifrån innan prästen läst Herrans bön. En gång tyckte flickan att hon gärna kunde dröja i kyrkan tills gudstjänsten var slut. När prästen läste välsignelsen föll de fina kläderna av henne och hon satt i samma trasiga dräkt, som hon haft den gången hon vallade kor.* (SLS 324: 299)

3) A girl from the village of Rökiö in Vörå was *herding the cows* in the vicinity of the Dwelling Hill. *She was taken by the trolls and conducted into the hill where she was dressed in fine clothes. The trolls gave her permission to go to church every Sunday, as long as she promised to leave it before the parson had said the Lord's Prayer. Once the girl thought she could well linger in church until mass was over. When the parson pronounced the benediction the fine clothes fell off and she was sitting in the same tattered dress she had worn that time she was herding the cows.*

This text is more precise in the indication of time and place. The girl has been given a definite birth place and she is herding her cows in a specified area of Vörå's topography. Contrary to the first example, which takes the narrative a step further by focusing on the advantages of the liberation from the trolls, this girl does not experience any redress of her humiliation in losing her splendid attire; on this point Tegengren's second record negates the first. The story ends on a note of disgrace, perhaps not only a coincidence: it might be intended as a rebuke of her extravagance. Vörå, like many other parishes, was touched by the religious revivals of the period, which naturally influenced the conceptions of morals current in the parish (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 49–52). Vanity was not encouraged, and it was an object of censure in the narrative tradition as well. Greta Mårtens of the village of Rejpelt depicted the hazards of vanity thus in her story of "Muster Maja och Lill Maja" ('Aunt Maja and Little Maja'). Aunt Maja forbids Little Maja to enter a specific room of the house while she attends a wedding:

4) So snast Muster Maja ha gá, o Lill Maja lemna emsend hejm, so jig un o sí i all riumin, som fanns i gálin. To un kom i he di fybudi riume, so va tár in ståo spejl på veddjín. *Lill Maja så se i han di spejlin, o to tykt un se va häolöst vaker, so un int ha sitt najn, som va so vaker som hun.* To un sidan vendis okring, so så un in tiddjargubb, som ståo bákóm in o grét. Vidari so merkt un he e va in luku på golve; hun táo opp en, o to sláo bara blå eldin undan golve, so un brend fingre sett. He di säre vast aldri beter, so un motta bind in lapp på e, so int Muster Maja sku få sí e, to un kom hejm. (R II 32)

4) As soon as Aunt Maja had gone, and Little Maja was left alone at home, she went looking in all the rooms of the house. When she came into the forbidden room, there was a large mirror on the wall. *Little Maja looked into the mirror, and then she thought she was so incredibly beautiful that she hadn't seen anyone as beautiful as she.* Then, when she turned around, she saw an old beggar standing behind her crying. Moreover, she noticed there was an opening in the floor; she opened it, and nothing but blue flames rose from the floor, so that she burned her finger. That wound never got better, and she had to bind a patch onto it, so that Aunt Maja wouldn't get to see it when she came home.

Little Maja refuses to confess her transgression to Aunt Maja, and she is banished from the house. She marries a king and gives birth to three children; after each delivery Aunt Maja arrives to question her about her finger, and when she persists in her stubborn silence, Aunt Maja takes her children from her. The king tires of the constant disappearance of his heirs and imprisons Little Maja in a tower, where Aunt Maja visits her:

5) To drottinninjin va i tånin, so kom Muster Maja til in o fréga va un va [sic] få i fingre sett, o sá he un sku jálþ un tedan bara un sku sej. Drottinninjin sá to va un ha få i fingre sett, o birätta he un a vari i he di fybudi riime. Hun sá to un kom tíð in, so va tár in stáor spejl på veddjín, o to un sá i han, o vend se om, so stáo in gambel gubb bákom in o grét. Víðare sá un va in luku på golve, o to un tåo opp henn, so sláo blá elðin undan golve o tár so brend un fingre sett. "*He va fäst syndin dö jáol, to dö tykt he dö va grann*", sa Muster Maja, o fástfáor, "han di gambel tiddjargubbin va frelsarin, som grét to dö synda, o undi tsjellarin tedan elðin sláo opp, va helviti." To drottinninjin ha sakt hur un fi sjiukt finger, so vast e frískt, o Muster Maja gáv in all trí bânin hennas tibák, o hun vast áter drottning o slapp tibák ti slotte. (R II 32)

5) When the queen was in the tower, Aunt Maja came to her and asked what she had got on her finger, and said that she would help her get away if she just said it. Then the queen said what she had got on her finger, and said that she had been in the forbidden room. She said that when she entered, there was a large mirror on the wall, and when she looked into it, and turned around, an old man was standing behind her crying. Moreover, she said there was an opening in the floor, and when she opened it, blue flames rose up from the floor and there she burned her finger. "*That was the first sin you committed, when you thought yourself pretty*", Aunt Maja said, and continued, "that old beggar was the Saviour crying as you sinned, and underneath the cellar where the flames rose up, was hell." When the queen had told her how she got an injured finger, it healed, and Aunt Maja gave her all three children back, and she once again became queen and was allowed back to the castle.

Vanity is explicitly labelled a sin, grave enough to make the Lord mourn the girl's loss of innocence. Thus, Greta Mårtens' tale agrees with the negative evaluation of vanity in Tegengren's second record. This view is also congruent with an intertext that will be discussed shortly, although its focus has been altered, moving from vanity to shame (see text 7).

The food and the clothes surface in a record made by Mårten Thors as well, and in this respect it agrees with Tegengren's two texts (texts 1 and 3), but the accent is somewhat shifted to another theme, metaphorical blindness and invisibility:

6) he va in gang i metsjipe in flikku, *sám vala káur á sá táu trulli inar á fört un ti se*. hun va leng tár o hadd e bra. *matin va á bra*, bara un int velsina an, men tá vart e bara ti maskar o elur. int hadd un drygt á int kâm un ihåg na helder, men eingang sá hört un tsjyrklákkuna. tá vila un ga ti tsjyrtsjun. ti slut fikk un láv, *men un sku int fá va tár, tártíl prestin sku les velsinelsin*. föst gangun va e allt svart un fö öguna á un tsjend int nain. *adrún gangun va un in tártíl prestin lás velsinelsin*. tá vart un synli för fálktsji á un byra á tsjenn fálktsji. *tá sá un at un hadd bara slarvuna på se*. *prestin la hendrin på enar*, sá trulli fikk int un na meir. (SLS 28, 3: 69–70)

6) Once upon a time in Mäkipää there was a girl *who was herding the cows, and then the troll took her and brought her home*. She stayed there for a long time and managed well. *The food was good too*, as long as she didn't bless it; then it turned into worms and lizards. She didn't pine for home nor did she remember anything, but one day she heard the church bells. Then she wanted to go to church. At last she was given leave to go, *but she wouldn't be allowed to stay while the parson pronounced the benediction*. The first time *all was dark before her eyes and she knew no-one*. *The second time she stayed for the benediction*. Then she became visible to the people and *she began to recognize the people*. *Then she saw she was wearing nothing but rags*. *The parson laid his hands on her*, so the troll didn't get her any more.

The carefree existence portrayed in the phrases “[s]he stayed there for a long time and managed well [...] she didn't pine for home nor did she remember anything” associates the folklore text to the Bible and the description of the Garden of Eden provided by the contrast to the conditions prevailing after the Fall of Man:

7) *Dá öpnades bægges deras ögon och de wordo warse, at de woro nakne; Och de bundo tilhopa fikonalöf och gjorde sig skörte. Och de hörde Herrans Guds röst gångandes i lustgårdenom, då dagen swalkades; och Adam undstack sig, med sine hustru, för Herrans Guds ansikte, ibland trån i lustgårdenom. Och Herren Gud kallade Adam, och sade till honom: hwar äst du? Och han sade: Jag hörde dina röst i lustgårdenom, och fruktade mig, ty jag är naken, derföre undstack jag mig. (1 Mos. 3: 7–10)*

7) *And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons.*

And they heard the voice of the LORD GOD walking in the garden in the cool of the day; and Adam and his wife hid themselves amongst the trees of the garden.

And the LORD GOD called unto Adam, and said unto him; where art thou?

And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked; and I hid myself.

(Genesis 3: 7–10)

Before the Fall, Adam and Eve are blind to their nudity and blissfully

unaware of the hardships constituting normal human reality. Up to that point, they know no misery, and desire entered their life only through the Temptation of Eve. They did not “pine”, nor did they remember any previous existence, for rather obvious reasons—they had no previous existence. As God expels them from the Garden of Eden, he says to Adam:

8) ... förbannad ware marken för din skull, med bekymmer skalt du nära dig på henne i alla dina lifsdagar. Törne och tistlar skall hon bära dig, och du skalt äta örter på markene. Du skalt äta ditt bröd i dins anletes swett, till dess du warder åter till jord igen, der du af tagen äst. (1 Mos. 3: 17–19)

8) ... cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life;

Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;

In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.

(Genesis 3: 17–19)

The herd girl is intimately acquainted with the world depicted in this passage; it is her everyday existence, eating her bread in the sweat of her face, in sorrow, from all of which she finds relief in the realm of the troll during her abduction. Food is supplied without any service in return and she enjoys a life free of concern. She merely has to take care not to bless the food, since it breaks the illusion of good fare. In one respect the first part of the folklore text is a reversal of the Fall: the girl goes from want to luxury, from awareness to oblivion. The second part represents a fall from grace in line with the story of the Fall in Genesis, a reversion to the state before the reversal, so to speak, ending in agreement. Yet the connotations of the girl's paradisaical existence and those of the Garden of Eden are highly divergent; the former depends on illusion and is located in a sphere normally construed as excluded from the blessings of Christianity. As the parson releases the girl from the enchantment by reciting the benediction, she attains knowledge: “*Then she saw she was wearing nothing but rags*”, in parallel with the apple from the Tree of Knowledge conferring illumination on Adam and Eve: “*And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked*”. The fundamental significance of illumination is a common feature of both Thors' record and Genesis, implying agreement, yet another reversal is at work here. Illumination in Genesis was of evil, a step away from

innocence and an all-pervasive trust in the righteous judgement of God, whereas it is transformed into something positive in the folklore text: the divine sphere, via the mediation of the parson, brings the girl back to her own world and allows her to recognize her proper place in it. Illumination refutes the delusion of otherworldly riches, only hinted at through the emphasis on her tattered dress in the end of the narrative; the girl was still wearing the same old ragged clothes even while her garments seemed costly. In the intertextual clash between the permanence of an elevated social status in the folktale and the inevitability of the loss of Paradise in Genesis, the latter emerges as the victor. The sense of shame permeating the narrative confirms it.

A text collected by Jakob Edvard Wefvar from Erik Kock living in the neighbouring parish of Oravais furnishes an intriguing counterpoint to the three preceding texts.

9) He va' ejngang in flikku i Sordavala, *som va' fýskretsjeli' höfálu*. Sidan so hend' e se' in sondá, to 'un sku' gá ti' tsjyrtsjun, he 'un skoda' se' i spejlin, to 'un ha' klédd se', o to vart 'un vár, he 'un há' in orm ókring halsin me' huvu' på ejn axil o stjertin på tan annan fy' pälband. To 'un sá' 'an, so vart 'un fýskrekt, o dem frejsta' me in tang ta' 'an om huvu', fy' ti' fá bort 'an, men to ormin sá' he, so snärt 'an se' so hárt flikkun om halsin, so 'un blána', o dem nödgast let 'an va' i fred. Alla tíder va' 'an tár. To e va' kalt, so huldis 'an undi' klénin némbrastr kroppin, men to e va' vakert veder o varmt so to lá' ovanpå. Han va' tár, fast 'un jig ti' tsjyrtsjun o ti' nattvadin. To 'an vila hav' matin, so snärt 'an se' hárdari o'kring halsin hennas, so 'un motta' jev 'an mjólk o naun tsjöttsmulu. Va' e tukan mat, som 'an tykt' om, so snärt 'an se' hárdari o'kring halsin o to motta' 'un let 'an smak' föst iur stjejdin. So va' i mang ár, fast flikkun vart emsend gudsfruktu, ti sliut fy'svann 'an som 'an kom hennar áovitandes, so 'un int' vist' vart' 'an tåo vejín. (R II 36)

9) Once upon a time there was a girl in Sordavala [Finnish Sortavala in eastern Finland] *who was terribly haughty*. Then it happened one Sunday, when she was going to church, that she looked into the mirror when she had dressed, and then she perceived that she had a snake around her neck, with its head on one shoulder and its tail on the other, as a pearl necklace. She was horrified, and they tried to take it by the head with a pair of tongs to remove it, but when the snake saw it, it twisted so tightly around the girl's neck that she turned blue, and thus they had to let it be. It was always there. When it was cold, it stayed under the dress close to the body, but when the weather was nice and warm, [it] lay on top. It was there even though she went to church and to Communion. When it wanted food, it twisted around her neck so that she had to give it milk and some morsel of meat. If there was such food as it liked, it twisted tighter around her neck, and then she had to let it have a taste first from the spoon. So it was for many years, although the girl became humble and pious. Eventually it disappeared just as it had arrived, unbeknownst to her.

The theme of vanity recurs here, but with a twist (no pun intended). The girl, humbled by the humiliation of having a snake curled around her neck wherever she goes, becomes a modest and unpretentious person, implicitly acknowledging her transgression in the end, like Little Maja did overtly (texts 4–5). Both narratives agree on the ruinous influence of self-conceit, but the girl from Sordavala seems to repent her sins more wholeheartedly than Little Maja does. The former truly turns into a reformed creature; in a sense she recovers what Adam and Eve lost. This interpretation is based on the image of the snake: it comes to her and attaches itself quite literally to her when she has fallen prey to narcissism. Whether it has somehow led her into temptation, like the snake in the Garden of Eden, is not stated, though it might be tacitly assumed:

10) Och ormen war listigare än all djur på jordene, som HERren Gud gjort hade, och sade til qwinnona: Ja, skulle Gud hafwa sagt, I skolen icke äta af allahanda trä i lustgårdenom? Då sade qwinnan til ormen: Wi äte af de träs frukt, som är i lustgårdenom; Men af frukten af det trät, som är midt i lustgårdenom, hafwer Gud sagt: Äter icke deraf, och kommer icke heller derwid, at I icke dön. Då sade ormen til qwinnona: Ingalunda skolen I döden dö. Förty Gud wet, *at på hwad dag I äten deraf, skola edor ögon öppnas, och warden såsom Gud, wetandes hwad godt och ondt är.* Och qwinnan såg til, at trät war godt att äta af, och ljufligit uppå se, och at det et lustigt trä war, efter det gaf förstånd; *Och tog utaf fruktene, och åt, och gaf desslikes sinom man deraf, och han åt.* (1 Mos. 3: 1–6)

10) NOW the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?

And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden:

But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die:

For God doth know *that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.*

And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, *she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.*

(Genesis 3: 1–6)

The serpent is the most subtle of the animals God had created, and in the

folklore text (text 9) it remains on its post until it decides to leave. As a mark of sinfulness, and of a fall from grace, it refuses to let anyone remove it by force. Church-going and reception of the sacraments exert no power over it, perhaps because these acts lack sincerity. They do not function as mere instruments of exorcism; they are entirely ineffective in that capacity. The fact that the girl has to feed the snake and give it food before she has had some herself may be a trope for her urge to continue to nurture her pretensions, or it may be a monstrous image for her vanity which has been fed and fattened for so many years, and she might not escape nourishing it a while longer.

The snake, the tormentor of mankind, is transformed into the medium of the girl's salvation—inverting the traditional image of it—just as it might have been of her fall, and when she is sufficiently purified by faith and mortification, there is no longer any reason for it to linger. It can accomplish nothing, neither good nor evil, and it becomes superfluous. It cannot touch her, for without sin, she has regained Paradise. The story of the Fall is inverted, and in this case the reversal appears to be permanent.

The benediction and touch of the parson gains its efficacy from its connection to the powers of its Biblical exemplar, Christ curing the ill and possessed, and several Gospel texts resonate within the folklore narrative (text 6). The most prominent is a passage from Mark, describing an event similar to the one portrayed in Märten Thors' record:

11) ...och han kom till Bethsaida; och de hade fram för honom en blindan, och både honom, at han wille taga på honom. Och så tog han den blinda wid handena, och ledde honom utu byn; och spottade i hans ögon, *och lade händer på honom*, och frågade honom, om han något såg. Då såg han up, och sade: Jag ser folket gå, lika som det wore trä. Sedan lade han åter händerna på hans ögon, och gjorde det så, att han fick synen igen; *och wardt så botad, at han sedan såg klarliga alla.* (Mark. 8: 22–25)

11) And he cometh to Bethsaida; and they bring a blind man unto him, and besought him to touch him.

And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town; and when he had spit on his eyes, *and put his hands upon him*, he asked him if he saw ought.

And he looked up, and said, I see men as trees, walking.

After that he put his hands again upon his eyes, and made him look up: *and he was restored, and saw every man clearly.*

(Mark 8: 22–25)

The image of blindness, concrete in the quotation from the Gospels, metaphorical in the traditional text (text 6) and in Genesis, provides the common denominator associating them all. The herd girl (text 6) is in a sense blind: “*The first time all was dark before her eyes and she knew no-one*”. However, the second time “she became visible to the people and she began to recognize the people”, or, speaking with the words of the Gospel, she “was restored and saw every man clearly” through the benediction and the laying on of hands. The method used in the Gospel to achieve the same effect is spitting and putting hands upon the blind man; the techniques of healing and restoration are slightly different in these two texts, but the condition of the girl and the blind man prior to the intervention of the parson and Christ respectively is quite similar. Metaphorical blindness in the guise of moral innocence also surfaces in Greta Mårtens’ tale of Aunt Maja and Little Maja (texts 4–5). Before looking into the mirror and discovering her own beauty, Little Maja is untainted, an Eve in the Garden of Eden, but as soon as she falls prey to vanity, she falls from grace as well. Regarding herself in the mirror is a temptation she cannot resist, and like the apple from the Tree of Knowledge, it makes her aware of herself for the first time. She gains a new sense of herself, but the price she pays is a plunge into sin, part of the hardships of ordinary mortal existence. The story of the girl from Sordavala (text 9), on the contrary, reverses the sequence of events, beginning with conceit and moving through a kind of illumination in the form of repentance and atonement, to a state of sinlessness.

In the New Testament passage (text 11), the evaluation of the achievement of illumination agrees with that of the troll text (text 6) and the narrative of the girl adorned with a snake (text 9), while the assessment of Little Maja’s enlightenment (texts 4–5) is more akin to the one evident in Genesis (texts 7–8). A representation of the structure of the stories might more adequately bring out the oppositions thematized and mediated in them:

<i>The Garden of Eden</i>	–	<i>The Fall of Man</i>	–	<i>The everyday world</i>
<i>The world of the troll</i>	–	<i>Disenchantment</i>	–	<i>The everyday world</i>
<i>Physical blindness</i>	–	<i>Healing situation</i>	–	<i>Sight</i>
<i>Moral innocence</i>	–	<i>The mirror</i>	–	<i>Vanity and sin</i>
<i>Vanity and sin</i>	–	<i>Repentance</i>	–	<i>Moral innocence</i>

The vertical column displays metaphorical relations, making the domains commensurable, but not identical (Tarkka 1994: 293–294). Otherness and the other is depicted in the first part of the horizontal sequence, the human and conventional in the third section, with the exception of the fifth entry in which the order is reversed, as mentioned. The second element functions as the agent transmuted otherness into normality, it is the mediator between the opposites. Just as the Fall of Man leaves Adam and Eve deserted in a world full of toil and anxiety (text 8), the disenchantment of the girl restores her to her original condition (text 6), and Little Maja is incorporated into the vain, sinful world of man by admiring her own image (text 4). Correspondingly, the act of healing grants the blind man of the Gospel the experience of seeing the world with his own eyes for the first time (text 11). The girl with the snake continues to live in the everyday, human world physically, but spiritually she exists in another place and time (text 9). Primeval time, the lifetime of Christ and the present of the narrators merge. In this way, folklore and Biblical texts enter a common web of associations, created through the thematic and structural similarities between the two types of narrative. Here I view structure as a loosely defined course of events represented in the stories, not as an elaborate set of functions or as a formalist model of the construction of the text. The concept of structure is needed to explore the affinities between narratives, it is not an object of study in itself.

The blind man in Mark chapter 8 (text 11) is not the only one to be healed from his disability. The apostle Paul had a similar experience, preceded by a series of events that were to change his life:

12) Men Saulus hade ännu i sinnet trug och slag emot HERrans lärjungar; och gick til öfwersta presten; Och han beddes af honom bref til de synagor i Damasco, at hwem han finna kunde af denna wägen, män eller qwinnor, dem skulle han föra bundna til Jerusalem. Och wid han war i wägen, och nalkades intil Damascum, då kringsten honom hasteliga et sken af himmelen. Och han föll ned på jordena, och hörde ena röst, sägandes til sig: Saul, Saul, hwi förföljer du mig? Då sade han: ho äst du, HERre? Sade HERren: Jag är JESus, den du förföljer; dig är swårt att spjerna emot udden. Då skalf han och bäfwade, och sade: HERre, hwad wilt du jag skall göra? Sade HERren til honom: Statt up, och gack in i staden, och der skall dig warda sagdt, hwad du göra skalt. Och de män, som woro i sällskap med honom, stodo förskräckte, hörande wäl röstena, och dock likwäl sågo de ingen. Då stod Saulus up af jordene, *och uplät sin ögon, och kunde dock ingen se*; utan de togo honom wid handena, och ledde honom in i Damascum. Och han war i tre dagar, så at han såg intet, och intet åt, ej heller drack.

Så war uti Damasco en lärjunge, benämnd Ananias; til honom sade HERren uti en syn: Anania. Och han sade: HERre, här är jag. Och HERren sade til honom: Statt up, och gack in på den gaton, som kallas den Rätta, och sök uti Juda hus en som heter Saulus, af Tarsen; ty si, han beder. Och han hafwer sett i synen en man, som heter Ananias, inkomma, och lägga handena på sig, at han skulle få sin syn igen. Då swarade Ananias: HERre, jag hafwer hört af mångom om denna mannen, huru mycket ondt han gjort hafwer dinom heligom uti Jerusalem: Och här hafwer han nu magt af de öfwersta presterna, til at binda alla de som åkalla ditt namn. Då sade HERren til honom: Gack; ty han är mig et utkoradt redskap, at han skall bära mitt namn inför hedningar, och för konungar, och för Israels barn: Och jag skall wisa honom, huru mycket han lida skall för mitt namns skull. Och Ananias gick åstad, och kom i huset, *lade händer på honom*, och sade: Saul, käre broder, HERren hafwer sändt mig, JESUS, som syntes dig i wägen som du kom, *at du skalt få din syn igen*, och uppfyllas med den heliga Anda. *Och strax föllo af hans ögon såsom fjäll, och han fick sin syn*, och stod up, och lät döpa sig. (Apg. 9: 1–18)

12) And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest,

And desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem.

And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus: and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven:

And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?

And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.

And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do.

And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man.

And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus.

And he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink.

And there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias; and to him said the Lord in a vision, Ananias. And he said, Behold, I am here, Lord.

And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the street which is called Straight, and enquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul, of Tarsus: for, behold, he prayeth,

And hath seen in a vision a man named Ananias coming in, and putting his hand on him, that he might receive his sight.

Then Ananias answered, Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he hath done to thy saints at Jerusalem:

And here he hath authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name.

But the Lord said unto him, Go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel:

For I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake.

And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost.

And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales: and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized.

(Acts 9:1–18)

Paul, still known by his old name, Saul, has a vision of Christ on the road to Damascus, and he is blinded. For three days he lives in darkness, fasting, until Christ exhorts the disciple Ananias to come to him in the house of Judas. There Ananias puts his hands on Saul, "*and immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales, and he received sight forthwith*". The first part of the text is therefore an inversion of Mark chapter 8 (text 11), while the last, being a reversal of the inversion, agrees with it. Saul's blindness is temporary, inflicted upon him at the conversion; rather than connoting the Fall, blindness represents the opposite, some kind of hallowing. Saul used to be evil, but he has repented and become a new man, a disciple of Christ. Another vision presages his healing by Ananias, and eventually it is achieved in the flesh. Saul returns to the normal, everyday world, but transfigured, and he assumes a new place in it. In contrast, the girl in the troll text simply resumed her lowly existence after the disenchantment (text 6), and Adam and Eve were thrust into a similar position (text 8). Saul, on the other hand, is at least partially exalted from his fallen status.

The structure might be rendered as:

Sight – blinding in the vision – blindness – healing – sight

A metaphorical blinding with quite different connotations and performed for slightly other reasons is mentioned in Mårten Thors' 1891 collection. A boy affronts two "fine damsels" and must suffer his punishment for it:

13) in ánnan þájk ráka tvá gránna mámselder tár på vejin [vid Isomäkiberget]. tá an ha gá ám dem, så táu an ápp in stein á kasta bákett dem. mámseldran vart tá föárga på an á lága, så an int hitta heim élu vita vart át e var an jikk in i skáujin, men hitta int ut tí-bak, fö an va skáuks taji. an hört kérrjuli á fáltsji, sám ráupa ett an; men an va int stánd til svar éli se dem. tá an ha gai in pa dagar, så ráka an mámseldren ijénn tá bad an dem, he dem sku vis an på véjin. tem sa tá: “du sku int ha vári ílak, så sku du int ha bihöva va jár. men tá du béder nu, så ska du slipp jan, á så fösvánn dem, á þájtsjin va bára fast i lánnsvéjin. (SLS 22: 16–17)

13) Another boy met two fine damsels there on the road [by the Great Hill]. When he had passed them, he picked up a stone and threw it after them. The damsels were then angry with him and made sure he didn't find a way home or know in which direction it was. He went into the forest, but couldn't find his way back, for he was taken by the forest. He heard cart wheels and the people calling for him; but he wasn't able to respond or see them. After he had walked a couple of days, he met the damsels again. Then he asked them to show him to the road. Therefore they said: “you shouldn't have been naughty, then you wouldn't have had to be here, but since you're asking now, you'll get out of here[”], and they disappeared, and the boy was just stuck on the main road.

Like the girl abducted by the trolls (text 6), the boy can hear the sounds of the everyday world, but he is unable to see it; in this respect the texts agree. Yet his longing for home is undiminished; the enchantment brings nothing positive, it is rather the opposite of Paradise, and it is more related to the physical blindness in Mark chapter 8 (text 11) due to the negative evaluation. The boy finally abases himself and asks the fine damsels to guide him home when he meets them in the forest. Somewhat grudgingly they grant his request after reproaching him for his uncouth behaviour, and as they once enchanted him, they also disenchant him—they fill the function of the parson and Ananias as well—and he finds himself standing by the road. Whether his experience has converted him into a polite gentleman is left unsaid, but it is apparent that he enjoys no hallowing of the Pauline sort; he returns to the human world with the same status as he left it, but if he was indeed reformed, he becomes a better man. In any case, he has received forgiveness for his transgression.

The prime similarity between Saul and the boy consists in their position as the harassers of their respective enchanters: Saul persecuted the followers of Christ, and thus Christ himself (text 12), the boy tried to stone the damsels. The scheme of the latter narrative might be:

The everyday world – Enchantment (Retaliation) – Taken by the forest

Taken by the forest – Disenchantment (Forgiveness) – The everyday world

Focusing on the theme of illumination rather than the element of paradisi- cal existence, further texts may be associated with this cluster of narratives. The central metaphor is the consumption of the apple from the Tree of Knowledge, and if we return to and once again quote the story of the Fall, the Genesis text reads thus:

10) Och ormen war listigare än all djur på jordene, som HERren Gud gjort hade, och sade til qwinnona: Ja, skulle Gud hafwa sagt, I skolen icke äta af allahanda trä i lustgårdenom? Då sade qwinnan til ormen: Wi äte af de träs frukt, som är i lustgårdenom; Men af frukten af det trät, som är midt i lustgårdenom, hafwer Gud sagt: Äter icke deraf, och kommer icke heller derwid, at I icke dön. Då sade ormen til qwinnona: Ingalunda skolen I döden dö. Förty Gud wet, *at på hwad dag I äten deraf, skola edor ögon öppnas, och warden såsom Gud, wetandes hwad godt och ondt är.* Och qwinnan såg til, at trät war godt att äta af, och ljufligit uppå se, och at det et lustigt trä war, efter det gaf förstånd; *Och tog utaf fruktene, och åt, och gaf desslikes sinom man deraf, och han åt.* (1 Mos. 3: 1–6)

10) NOW the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?

And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden:

But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die:

For God doth know *that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.*

And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, *she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.*

(Genesis 3: 1–6)

Here the knowledge bestowed is the ability to distinguish good and evil. In folklore, the skill generally acquired is second sight. This is a form of extra vision that does not exclude ordinary sight, nor does it imply blindness

to the everyday world in the manner of the previous examples. Nevertheless, it is not without its dangers, as this record from the nearby parish of Munsala attests:

14) Den som tager själavatten utur en död människas ögon när hon själas och smäter med det uti sina ögon då faller ett töcken ifrån hans ögon och han börjar se allting hvad som sedan skall vederfaras honom uti detta och det tillkommande lifvet och den blir en medlare emellan de döda och deras anhöriga så att till den komma de döda om de ha något att säga åt någon lefvande och den har makt att framkalla de döda som den vill.

Men en ogudaktig skall ej göra det där. Det var en man som var en stor drinkare, och hans hustru hade hört omtalas det här, och så tänkte hon att om han skulle få ögonen öppnade, så skulle han upphöra att supa och därför gaf hon honom af dessa droppar att supa, och han fick ögonen öppnade och såg huru det skulle gå med honom uti evigheten, och därför så var han rädd allting och slutade med att han gick och dränkte sig. (SLS 220: 167–168)

14) If one takes soul water from the eyes of a dead man, at the moment of death, and smears it onto one's eyes, then a haze falls from one's eyes, and one starts seeing all that will befall one in this life and in the afterlife, and one will become a mediator between the dead and their relatives, so that the dead come to [such a person] if they have something to say to the living, and one has the power to call forth the dead as one wishes.

But an impious [person] should not do that. There was a man, who was a great drinker, and his wife heard about this, and she thought that if his eyes were opened, he would stop drinking, and that's why she gave him these drops to drink, and his eyes were opened and he saw how he would fare in eternity, and therefore he was afraid of everything and [it] ended with him drowning himself.

The man's prescience is not much of a blessing; it drives him to commit suicide rather than being an incentive for him to mend his ways, as his wife had hoped for. The process of gaining this visionary proficiency is described in detail: "*If one takes soul water from the eyes of a dead man, at the moment of death, and smears it onto one's eyes, then a haze falls from one's eyes, and one starts seeing all that will befall one in this life and in the afterlife*". Normal sight takes place through a haze, blocking the view of things beyond (cf. 1 Corinthians 13: 12: "For now we see through a glass, darkly"; 2 Corinthians 3: 18: "With open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord"). It is the reverse of the case in the Acts, where "immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales" when Saul regains his normal sight and drops out of his visionary state (text 12). The text is contradictory in one respect, as the *paratexte* mentions application of the soul water onto the eyes of the recipient as the primary means of assimilation, while the

story itself speaks of imbibing the soul water. The utilization of the remains of the dead in both harmful and beneficent magic is reported in many records, but they are usually employed to ensure hunting or fishing luck, to cure diseases, or to cause people or cattle harm (cf. *Finlands* 1931: 57–60). As a manner of achieving second sight it is a parallel to other supernatural methods current in the popular explanations of how wise men and women procured their knowledge (see Tillhagen 1977: 56–63). Structurally, it exhibits the following sequence:

The everyday world – Consumption of the soul water – Second sight – Death – ?

This is a complicated text, containing many mysteries. The final stage for example can only be represented by a question mark; a deprivation of second sight is unlikely in light of the introduction, which specifies that the potency of the soul water is dependent on its collection at the moment of death, the instant when the sight of the everyday world is transformed into the vision of the afterlife. The poor man would not lose his second sight, but he would relinquish his normal vision. Hence he would have to grapple with only one form of sight.

The position of mediator between the living and the dead is depicted as a fairly prized one in the *paratexte*, but in the narrative it evolves into a curse. Examining the world the man is cast into, it is an existence of doubleness and superimposition he is not prepared to handle. The gift of foresight demands a strong psyche in the encounter with the otherworld, and the piety required of the seer or seeress functions as a safeguard for his or her mental health, quite in line with the words of hymn 116, written by Martin Luther, in the Finland-Swedish hymnal of 1886:

15) *Wår Gud är oss en wåldig borg,*
 Han är wår sköld och wårja,
 Han hjälper oss af nöd och sorg,
 Som wilja oss besnårja.
 Nu mörkrets furste wred
 Han will oss trampa ned;
 Stor magt och mycken list
 Hans rustning är för wisst:
 På jord ej fins hans like.

A mighty fortress is our God,
 a bulwark never failing;
 our helper sure amid the flood
 of mortal ills prevailing:
 for still our ancient foe
 doth seek to work us woe;
 with power and malice great,
 and armed with cruel hate,
 on earth he has no equal.

Wår egen kraft är här för swag,
Wi wore snart nedgjorda;
Men för oss går till strid och slag
Wår hjelte, Herrens Smorda.
Spör du hwad namn han bär,
Det Jesus Kristus är,
Wår Herre Zebaot.
Hwem kan stå honom mot?
Han fältet skall behålla.

Och wore werlden än så stor
Och full af mörkrets härar,
Så länge Gud ibland oss bor,
Platt intet oss förfärar.
Må werldens furste då
Förgrymmad mot oss stå,
Han skadar dock ej här,
Ty dömd han redan är;
Ett ord kan honom fälla.

Guds ord de måste låta stå,
Det få de ej om handa;
Med oss skall Gud i striden gå
Med wäldig kraft och anda.
Wi fritt och gladt till mods
Ge ära, lif och gods:
Det allt de taga må,
Stor winst de icke få;
Guds rike wi behålle.

Did we in our own strength confide,
our striving would be losing,
were not the right man on our side,
the man of God's own choosing:
dost ask who that may be?
Christ Jesus, it is he;
Lord Sabaoth his name,
from age to age the same,
and he must win the battle.

And though this world, with devils filled,
should threaten to undo us,
we will not fear, for God hath willed
the truth to triumph through us:
the prince of darkness grim,
we tremble not for him;
his rage we can endure,
for lo! his doom is sure,
one little word shall fell him.

That word above all earthly powers,
no thanks to them, abideth;
the Spirit and the gifts are ours
through Christ, who with us sideth:
let goods and kindred go,
this mortal life also;
the body they may kill:
God's truth abideth still,
God's kingdom is forever.

(Translation by Frederick H. Hedge 1853,
Voices 1996)

For the unfortunate man in the folklore text (text 14), the bulwark provided by God has indeed failed. He has had to confide in his own strength, and his striving has been losing. His body has been killed—by himself—but there is no sense of God's truth prevailing. Luther's hymn enjoyed a long-standing popularity in Sweden and Finland (Olsson 1967), and was well-known among the narrators. It may therefore be regarded as associatively linked to the folklore text, expressing and emphasizing the necessity of a sense of divine providence at work in the individual's life; the consequences of the lack of it are perfectly clear in the narrative above, which may be viewed as a negation of the hymn.

All possessors of second sight are not as traumatized by it, however. The midwife in one of Márten Thors' other records from the parish of Vörå does not appear to mind her ability at all; the problem is rather that it is unjustly obtained, and hence not meant to last. The story represents an inversion of both the Pauline scheme (text 12) and that of Mark chapter 8 (text 11):

16) he va in kvinnu, sãm vart taji áv i trull á fört ti trullstugun. trullis tsjærngdjín sku jyst fá bãn á tãrfö va trulli et hundi kvinnun. trullis tsjærngdjín föd bãn á kvinnun löuva e sã gav trulli inar in smörju, sãm un sku smit pu bãnis ögun, men un sku int fá smit pu sin ögun. men kvinnun kunna int hald se, *utan smita pu sin ögur á*. tã un ha laga allt i åning i tullstugun [sic], fikk un mytsji pengar á trulli fört bãrt inar sölv, men int visst un, hur un kãm se heim. nain tid bakett sã un rådi i in handilsbãud. hun helsa på e. sã frãga rådi: "hur si tu me?" – "ja smãurt öguna me hundi smörjun, sãm du gav me", sa kvinnun. rådi vart arg *á stakk öguna kvinnun ur huvu. á blind vart un*. (SLS 28, 12: 79–80)

16) There was a woman who was taken by a troll and brought to the cottage of the troll. The troll's wife was just about to give birth and that's why the troll fetched that woman. The troll's wife gave birth and the woman bathed it [sic]. Then the troll gave her an ointment that she was supposed to smear on the child's eyes, but she was not allowed to smear it on her own eyes. But the woman could not contain herself, *and smeared onto her own eyes as well*. When she had put everything in order in the troll house, she received a lot of money and the troll itself escorted her home, but she had no idea how she got home. Some time afterwards she saw the rå in a shop.²⁴ She greeted it. Then the rå asked: "How can you see me?" — "I smeared my eyes with that ointment you gave me", the woman said. The rå was angered *and poked the woman's eyes out of her head. And blind she became*.

The point of departure is the everyday world, which is converted into a variety of otherness, second sight, through the application of the ointment. This gift is then in turn withdrawn in the blinding; the narrative reverses the sequence of the Gospel text (text 11). Notwithstanding, it is important to remember that while the woman benefits by her supernatural vision, she retains her normal sight, negating the story of Saul (text 12) and agreeing with that of the inveterate drunkard (text 14). In this case, the original state cannot be regained—the woman is trapped between different versions of otherness, first a supranormal otherness, then a socially defined alienness. Both the supernatural and the normal human world are beyond her reach. Schematically, the chain of events may be represented as follows:

²⁴ I.e., the troll; the designation varies in this narrative.

Persons otherwise not endowed with supernatural abilities may catch isolated glimpses of the beyond by performing a ritual. I will give an example related to witchspotting on Easter Eve:

17) För att få se trollkäringar om påsknatten, så *skall man sätta sig på ett hus, som blifvit tre gånger flyttadt, samt tillika hålla sig tyst*, om man ser hvad som helst. Skrattar man åter så faller man ned till jorden, om stället der man sitter än är huru så högt.

Ejngang so samblast ungdäomin på in kvänvíppu (bommen) fy' ti' lyss på trulltsjern-guna. To dem ha' siti' in stond, so kom in gubb ríðand' på in suggu oppneder (fötterna voro opp) o há' in smörgås i handin. Som 'an rejd jint fyr 'un di kvänvíppun, so sláo' 'an smörgásin suggun i endan. To tem som sat på vippun så he, *so kunna' dem int' hald' se', annan byra' gap skratt; men me' ti sama föll dem neder alliháop, o to va' alt fy'svonni'*. (R II 178)

17) To get to see witches on Easter Eve *you should seat yourself on a house that has been moved three times, and you should keep quiet*, even if you get to see just about anything. On the other hand, if you laugh, you fall down to earth, regardless of whether the spot you sit on is high [above the ground].

Once the youth gathered on a mill beam to listen to witches. When they had sat for a while an old man came riding upside-down on a sow (his feet were upward), and he had a sandwich in his hand. As he rode just past the beam, he hit the sow on the butt with the sandwich. When those sitting on the beam saw it, *they couldn't contain themselves, but started laughing; but immediately they all fell down, and then everything disappeared*.

The place of the achievement of illumination is carefully designated, the thrice-moved house, as is the time, Easter Eve. The notion of favourable circumstances is articulated in the injunction of absolute silence. Thus, time, space and human behaviour meld into a ritual perfection temporarily enabling clairvoyance. But as soon as the silence is broken, the ritual moment is deconstructed, "and then everything disappeared". Illumination is palpably volatile, wholly dependent on the proper fusion of factors both external and internal to the individual, and the maintenance of the balance between them.

Neither the object of curiosity nor the experience itself evoke particularly paradisaical associations, in agreement with the story of the midwife. This is a different sort of topsy-turvy world, in which trolls ride their sleigh up the hill in the heat of summer (SLS 324: 296), bathe when the sun shines while it is raining (SLS 56: 153), and men ride upside-down on sows. Another

story on the same topic, collected in the neighbouring parish of Oravais, recalls the metaphorical blindness of SLS 28, 3 (text 6):

18) sússas matt á ja jikk eingang i jepu in pásk-natt ásta hör på trúlltsjárngan *vi kleiv áþ pá i föustak sáam a vali flytta tri gangur. vi satt áldeiles tyst ti mit i náttin náu fikk vi hör, men int sá vi nu na int.* e föfasilit vesen va e: tem jikk á dráu jinom páurtin á timra o vesnast pá fleira sett.

máut pensal hödis e föst huru e susa á sá hödis in stáur klákku tá byra e sedan skrál i föfasilit jud á sáma pásk kört tsjengu-heik i hál se. (SLS 22, 26: 83–84)

18) Sussas Matt and I once went to listen to the witches on Easter Eve in Jeppo. *We climbed onto the roof of a byre, which had been moved three times. We sat completely quiet long into the night. We did get to hear, but we didn't see anything, we didn't.* It was a terrible noise: they pulled [things?] through the gate and hammered and made noise in many ways.

Toward Pensala it was first heard how it whistled, and a large bell was heard. Then it started bellowing a horrible sound, and the same Easter Kengu-Heik was killed in a driving accident.

Here knowledge is attained through the sense of hearing: aural impressions of people pulling things through the gate, doing carpentry and making noise are portrayed, and a whistling sound, followed by the tolling of a church bell and a terrible noise presage a person's death. Presumably, "all was dark before [their] eyes", just as we may surmise the herd girl "got to hear", but not see, anything in church (cf. text 6). The difference is of course that the girl is unable to see her own world, while the men are blind to the otherworld.

The ritual time-space is once again Easter Eve and the thrice-moved building, in this case a byre. Contrary to the previous example (text 17), there is no suggestion of a failure to abide by the rules of the game; the narrator and his companion are still listening in on the supernatural sphere when the narrative ends. Thus the schemes of these two ritual illumination narratives diverge on this point, the latter being the negation of the second part of the former:

The everyday world – Ritual – Second sight – Breach of silence – The everyday world

The everyday world – Ritual – Prescience

The blindness to the supranormal world emphasized in this text is rather curious, since the visual dominance in stories of prognostication is so

marked. It is a reversion of Saul's predicament (text 12); he both sees and hears in the otherworld, but is confined to aural perception in the real world, while Sussas-Matt and the ego of the text are fully equipped for their own sphere, but disabled in the other. The situation is reminiscent of the circumstances of those supernatural encounters taking place in the everyday environment, without any ritual elements, involving visions, auditions or merely a vague sense of the presence of some other, like in the following account from Vörå:

19) En gubbe trodde ej, att det finns tomtar. Han byggde en ny stuga och flyttade sitt bohag från sin gamla förfallna bostad till den nya. När han fått det sista flyttningslasset färdigt, tyckte han, att han gärna kunde bränna upp sin gamla stuga, som var så eländig och bofällig, att den ingenting var värd. Tänkt och gjort. När stugan började brinna, sade gubben, i det han satte sig upp på lasset: "Finns det någon tomte där, som folk tror, så nog brinner han upp." *I detsamma hörde han en röst bakom sig.* "Vi slapp undan i lagom tid." *När gubben såg sig om, syntes dock ingen på lasset.* (SLS 324: 292)

19) An old man didn't believe brownies existed. He built a new cottage and moved his furniture from his old run-down house to the new one. When he had got the last van-load ready, he thought he might as well burn down his old cottage, which was so lousy and decayed that it was worth nothing. No sooner thought than done. As the cottage started burning, the old man said, as he climbed onto the load: "If there is a brownie in there, as people think, he will surely burn." *At that moment he heard a voice behind him.* "We escaped just in time." *When the old man turned around, though, no-one was visible on the load.*

The old man is moving to a new home, and sets his old ramshackle house on fire. The provocation inherent in denying the existence of brownies leads to a response affirming their presence in audible, but not visible terms. Invisibility rather boosts the impression of an other, intangible to man. Here the presumptions of the old man are refuted in a gentle, but highly efficient way.

Although the association of the second witchspotting text (text 18) to tales of more accidental encounters with the supranormal is distinct, the notion of hearing yet not seeing recurs in a context much closer at hand—it is another variation on the witchspotting theme:

20) he va två karar, sãm va å hørt pu påsktrulluna pu i lidertak, sãm a vali flytta tri gangur tã dem a kumi se åp pu tatsji, sa dem: "*nu vill vi hör, men int si.*" maut klåkkun tãlv hørt dem, hur e stsjãstsja i stsjin å in stãnd bakett hørt dem hur kãm ein åp ett knutin. *karan byra skratta. sã mätta dem håpp neder å fik int hör na meir hun gangun.* (SLS 37, 11: 35)

20) There were two men, who were listening to the Easter witches on the roof of a shed that had been moved three times. As they had made their way up to the roof, they said: "*Now we want to hear, but not see.*" By twelve o'clock they heard how it whistled in the air, and a moment later they heard how one came up along the corner [of the shed]. *The men started laughing, and then they had to jump down and didn't get to hear anything more that time.*

These men request blindness to the otherworld while preserving the capacity of hearing it. Hence sightlessness may be a matter of choice, induced by uttering a petition during the ritual. The next five Easter Eves pass in the state of both seeing and hearing, or, more accurately, the next four; the sixth year they sense nothing, and consequently seem to draw the conclusion that Easter witches are extinct, as it is no longer necessary to believe in them. Structurally, it basically conforms to the pattern of the first text of this kind (text 17).

Arcane knowledge of a dissimilar sort is the theme of another record from the parish of Vörå: the understanding of bird language. The lengthy narrative moves from Finland to Russia and back again, and the unusual skill is achieved in the household of a Russian officer:

21) Samma tid [husartiden] hände det sig en dag, att två gossar lekte vid en boddörr på Luoma gård i Storkyro i sagda by [Luokka by], då ryssarna kommo till stället. Vid des- ses ankomst *hann den äldre gossen springa undan, men den yngre blef fasttagen och förd djupt inne i Ryssland, ända till trakten af Don. Der blef han först springgosse (löuparpojck) och sedan betjent hos en general och fick börja laga mat åt honom.* Hvarje gång maten skulle kokas och tillredas, vägdes den, och gossen vägade icke smaka en smula af den- samma, då den var färdig att inbäras och framsättas på bordet. Sedan hände det engång att gossen var en dag med generalen i trägården, der alla slags foglar sjöngo och qvittrade. Generalen frågade då af gossen om han förstod något hvad desse foglar sjöngo. "Nej" svarade denne. När gossen sedermera började på med sin matlagning, *smakade han litet af maten*, då den var färdig. Först åt han obetydligt, men sedan började han äta mer och mer för hvarje gång. Från den tiden *begynte han förstå foglarnes sång*, såsom då hönan genom kacklanlande [sic] tillkännagifver för sine kycklingar: "komin hit ja ha hitta måt!" *När gossen i hela tretton år tjent generalen, utan att glömma sitt fädernesland, beslöt han en dag, då generalen var borta, att rymma. Han tog med sig så mycket, han kunde salvéra (medföra), af pennningar* han fann i huset, begaf sig på väg och kom slutligen lyckligt till sin hemort i Storkyro. När han inträdde i sine föräldrars gamla boning, så höll värdinnan, som ensam var hemma, på att baka bröd. Utan att säga hvem han var, begärde den ankomne främlingen nattqvarter, som han ock erhöill. När han sedan satt och hvilade sig på bänken, kom en höna intrippande och trampade på ett ogräddadt bröd och sade med detsamma: "Aj, aj, foutin men, nu trampa do i kakkan" Om aftonen kom husbonden hem från sitt arbete och frågade af den resande mannen, hvadan han var. "Söderifrån svarade denne och började visa sine pennningar och sitt dyrbara

guldur. Då husbonden såg penningarne, upptändes han genast af onda begär efter desamma. Om morgonen frågade främlingen af husbonden, om han icke visste, hvar han kunde få arbete för någre dagar. "Nou får to arbejt me ås", svarade husbonden, som visade sig särdeles vänlig. Den resande var nöjd med anbudet, och de följdes båda åt till en afsides skog för att gärda en gärdesgård. När de höllo på att arbeta kom en korp flygande och skrek: idåg, i dåg ska brór ta líve åv brór!" Allt detta förstod den hemkomne brodern, men ej den andre. En stund derefter flög åter en annan korp öfver dem och skrek förfärligt samma ord: i dåg, i dåg ska brór ta líve åv brór!" Detta förstod blott främlingen, men sade ingenting derom åt sin broder. Middagstiden kom åter en korp flygande öfver dem och skrek förfärligare och häftigare än de två förra samma ord. Nu mera kunde icke den hemkomne brodern hålla sig, utan sade: "är de sant du tänker ta líve åv me?" "Hur vejt to he?" frågade husbonden. "Korpin ha fluji jär trí gangor å roupa: brór ska ta líve åv brór", svarade den andre: "Å do men brour?" frågade husbonden och bekände, att han ärnat hugga honom yxen i hufvudet och röfva bort hans penningar. "ja, ja ä tenn brour o minns do int, to ja vart täji åv Ryssan o to henda spring undan; nu ä ja hejm kumi från Ryssland." När han sagt detta, vandrade båda bröderna hem och höllo der ett dugtigt hemkomstkalas. (SLS 275: 87–88)

21) In the same period [the time of the hussars] it happened one day that two boys were playing by the door of a shed on the farm of Luoma in the above-mentioned village [the village of Luokka in the parish of Isokyrö (Storkyro)], when the Russians came to the place. At their arrival *the older boy managed to run away, but the younger one was captured and brought deep down into Russia* all the way to the vicinity of the river Don. *There he was first made an errand boy and later a servant of a general* and he had to start cooking for him. Each time the food was to be cooked and prepared, it was weighed, and the boy dared not taste a morsel of it, when it was ready to be carried out and placed on the table. Then it once happened that the boy was with the general in the garden one day, where all kinds of birds were singing and chirping. The general then asked the boy whether he understood anything of what the birds were singing. "No", he replied. When the boy started with his cooking later on, *he tasted a little of the food* when it was ready. At first he ate only a trifle, but later he ate more and more each time. From that time [onward] *he began to understand birdsong*, as when the hen cackling announces to its chickens: "Come here, I've found food!" *When the boy had served the general for thirteen whole years without forgetting his native country, he decided one day, when the general was away, to escape. He brought along as much as he could carry of money* he found in the house, went on his way and eventually arrived safely at his home in Storkyro. As he entered the old dwelling of his parents, the mistress, who was home alone, was baking bread. Without saying who he was, the stranger who had arrived asked for accommodation, which he was granted. While he later sat resting on the bench, a hen came tripping in and stepped into an unbaked piece of bread: "Uh-oh, my foot, now you stepped into the dirt!" In the evening the master of the house came home from work and asked the travelling man whence he came. "From the south", he answered and started showing his money and his valuable gold watch. When the master of the house saw the money, he was immediately inflamed by a wicked desire for them. In the morning the stranger asked the master of the house if he didn't know where he might find work for a few days. "You may certainly work with us", the master of the house replied and was

exceptionally friendly. The traveller was content with the offer, and the two of them kept company to a remote forest to make a fence. While they were working, a raven came flying, crying: "Today, today, brother shall kill brother!" The returned brother understood all this, but not the other one. A moment later yet another raven flew over them and screamed awfully the same words: "Today, today, brother shall kill brother!" Only the stranger understood this but said nothing about it to his brother. At midday a raven came flying over them again and screamed the same words more awfully and vehemently than the previous two. Now the returned brother could no longer contain himself but said: "Is it true that you intend to kill me?" "How do you know that?" the master of the house asked. "The raven has flown here three times crying: 'brother shall kill brother'", the other replied. "Are you my brother?" the master of the house asked *and confessed that he had intended to bury the axe in his head and steal his money.* "Yes, I'm your brother, and do you not remember when I was taken by the Russians and you managed to run away? Now I've returned from Russia." *As he had said this, the two brothers walked home and held a proper homecoming festival there.*

It is the food served that induces this marvellous ability, similar to the consumption of the apple in the Garden of Eden (text 10) and the "soul water" in the record from Munsala (text 14). Other variants of this narrative feature a white snake as the ingredient effecting illumination, which may also imply a veritable apotheosis, achieving omniscience—and only God is omniscient (see *Finlands* 1931: 606).

The notion of receiving linguistic proficiency through a miracle is chiefly associated with a New Testament text, the descent of the Holy Ghost in Acts 2. The quotation below was read in Finnish churches at Pentecost in the first year of the lectionary cycle, here quoted according to the text in the hymnal of 1886:

22) Då pingstdagen fullkomnad war, woro de alla endrätgeligen tillsammans. Och wardt hastigt ett dân af himmelen, såsom ett mäktigt stort wäder kommit hade, och uppfyllde allt huset, der de sutto. Och dem syntes sönderdelade tungor såsom af eld; och blef sittande på hwar och en af dem, *Och de wordo alla uppfyllde af den Helige Ande och begynte till att tala med andra tungomål*, efter som Anden gaf dem att tala. (Apg. 2: 1–4)

22) AND when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place.

And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.

And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them.

And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

(Acts 2: 1–4)

The primeval apple mingles with the effusion of the Holy Ghost in the folk narrative, and the mastery won in all of them is of a permanent nature. On this point they agree, yet the illumination of Acts is mostly concerned with communication, with speaking and teaching; the enlightenment of the boy is related to comprehension, as is that of Adam and Eve. Structurally, the relation of the narratives may be thus depicted:

The everyday world – Consumption of particular food – Comprehension of bird language

The Garden of Eden – Consumption of the apple – Moral illumination

The everyday world – Descent of the Holy Ghost – Speaking in tongues

The folklore text (text 21) also evokes a multitude of other intertextual relations, particularly to the Bible. For example, the capture and captivity of the younger boy by Russian soldiers is associated with the story of the fall of Jerusalem and the Babylonian captivity. The scope of the folk narrative and the Old Testament texts differ: the former focuses on the misfortune of an individual, the latter on a collective disaster, but all leave survivors behind in the homeland. In 2 Kings, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, has just conquered Jerusalem after a siege, the king of Judah has been blinded, his children have been slain, and the Temple as well as all other buildings of the city have been burned to cinders:

23) Och hela de Chaldeers magt, som med hofmästarenom war, bröt omkull murarna, som omkring Jerusalem woro. *Men det andra folket, som qwart war i stadenom, och de som til Konungen af Babel fallne woro, och det andra meniga folket, förde NebusarAdan hofmästaren bort. Och af de ringesta [i] landet lät hofmästaren blifwa til wingårdsmän, och åkermän.* (2 Kon. 25: 10–12)

23) And all the army of the Chaldees, that were with the captain of the guard, brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about.

Now the rest of the people that were left in the city, and the fugitives that fell away to the king of Babylon, with the remnant of the multitude, did Nebuzar-adan the captain of the guard carry away.

But the captain of the guard left of the poor of the land to be vinedressers and husbandmen.

(2 Kings 25: 10–12; cf. 2 Chronicles 36: 17–20, Jeremiah 39: 8–10)

The elder brother of the Storkyro boy may not be counted among the lowly, but he fills the same function as the Biblical humble folk, continuing the cultivation of the fields and taking over the farm (text 21). The fate of the younger brother also recalls another Biblical tale of servitude, namely that of Joseph. As we enter the story, Joseph has been sold by his jealous brothers to some passing Ishmaelites:

24) *Joseph wardt förđ neder i Egypten:* Och Potiphar, en Egyptisk man, Pharaos hofmästare, köpte honom af de Ismaeliter, som honom hade fört der ned. Och HERren war med Joseph, så at han wardt en lyckosam man: Och war i sin herras dens Egyptiens huse. Och hans herre såg, at HERren war med honom: Ty allt det han gjorde, lät HERren gå lyckosamliga til med honom: *Så at han fann nåd för sinom herra, och wardt hans tjenare:* Han satte honom öfwer sitt hus, och allt det han hade lät han under hans händer. (1 Mos. 39: 1–4)

24) *AND Joseph was brought down to Egypt:* and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the hands of the Ishmeelites, which had brought him down thither.

And the LORD was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master the Egyptian.

And his master saw that the LORD was with him, and that the LORD made all that he did to prosper in his hand.

And Joseph found grace in his sight, and he served him: and he made him overseer over his house, and all that he had put into his hand.

(Genesis 39: 1–4)

Joseph reaches a position in the household of his lord that is not granted the boy, but both are trusted servants, more or less deservedly. Joseph would do nothing to harm his master, he is a wholly devoted servant, but in the folklore text the image of the good servant as represented by Joseph has been overridden by the folk ideal of the clever peasant or crofter boy, duping lords and more well-off members of the community (text 21).

As the boy tires of his service with the general, he pulls a trick reminiscent of that of Joseph's father, Jacob, in his flight from his uncle Laban in Mesopotamia. Jacob, escaping from the wrath of his brother Esau whom he has wronged, has worked for Laban for many years, tending his herds, and he has married Laban's two daughters, Leah and Rachel. He has served his uncle for twenty years, amassing wealth for the both of them, but when Laban denies him his promised share of the herd and Laban's children turn

his father-in-law against him, Jacob feels unsafe. Exhorted by God, he leaves Mesopotamia:

25) Så gjorde Jacob sig redo, och satte sin barn och hustrur på camelar; Och förde bort all sin boskap, och alla sina häfwor, som han hade förwärfwat i Mesopotamien; *på det han skulle komma till sin fader Isaac i Canaans land. Men Laban war gången bort til at klippa sin hjord. Och Rachel stal sins faders beläter.* Alltså stal Jacob Laban af Syrien hjertat, at han honom icke tilsade, då han flydde. *Så flydde han,* och allt det hans war gjorde sig redo, och for öfwer älfwena, och stämde åt Gileads berg. (1 Mos. 31: 17–21)

25) Then Jacob rose up, and set his sons and his wives upon camels;

And he carried away all his cattle, and all his goods which he had gotten, the cattle of his getting, which he had gotten in Padan-aram, *for to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan.*

And Laban went to shear his sheep: and Rachel had stolen the images that were her father's.

And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not that he fled.

So he fled with all that he had; and he rose up, and passed over the river, and set his face toward the mount Gilead.

(Genesis 31: 17–21)

Jacob with his companions and the Storkyro boy flee from their master, whom they have attended for a long time, at a moment when the latter is absent. Likewise, the boy cannot forget his home in Finland, just as Jacob longs to return to the land of his father Isaac. Thus far they agree; however, Jacob has property of his own, but the boy is not as fortunate; neither are Jacob's wives, who dispassionately contend that they no longer have a share in their father's estate nor a right to inherit from him. The boy steals money from the general to be able to support himself during his journey home, Rachel takes her father's images, for reasons that remain obscure. After this point, the narratives diverge: the boy arrives at the family farm safe and sound, and unmolested, while Jacob is pursued by his uncle, who is searching for his lost possessions and wishes to say goodbye to his daughters and their husband. In the end Jacob is released and allowed to go back whence he came.

The theme of homecoming in the folk narrative has numerous parallels in the Bible. Jacob's is one of them; in fear of his brother Esau and his retinue of 400 men, he sends forth a gift to appease him. Jacob's apprehen-

sions prove groundless, though, and he is heartily greeted by his brother who welcomes his return (Genesis 32–33). Similarly, the people of Judah go back to Jerusalem on the decree of Cyrus, king of Persia, whose spirit has been moved by the Lord to assist in the rebuilding of the ruined temple (Ezra: 1). Nevertheless, the intertextual association I have in mind is a New Testament text, the parable of the Prodigal Son:

26) Och han sade: En man hade två söner. Och den yngre af dem sade til fadren: Fader, få mig den parten af ägodelarna, som mig tilkommer. Och han bytte ägodelarna dem emellan. Och icke många dagar derefter, då den yngre sonen hade lagt all sin ting tilhopa, for han långt bort i främmande land; och der förfor han sina ägodelar, och lefde öfwerflödeliga. Och sedan han allt förtärt hade, wardt en stor hunger i det landet; och han begynte lida nöd: Och gick bort, och gaf sig til en borgare der i landet; och han sände honom til sin afwelsgård, at han skulle sköta hans swin. Då begärade han upfylla sin buk med draf, der swinen med föddes; och honom gaf ingen. Då besinnade han sig sjelf, och sade: Huru många mins faders legodrängar hafwa bröd nog, och jag förgås här i hunger. Jag will stå up, och gå til min fader, och säga til honom: Fader, jag hafwer syndat i himmelen, och för dig: Jag är icke nu wärd kallas din son; gör mig såsom en af dina legodrängar. Och så stod han up, och kom til sin fader. Och då han ännu långt ifrå war, såg honom hans fader, och begynte warkunna sig öfwer honom, och lopp emot honom, föll honom om halsen, och kyste honom. Och sonen sade til honom: Fader, jag hafwer syndat i himmelen, och för dig, och är icke wärd härefter kallas din son. Då sade fadren til sina tjenare: Bärer fram den yppersta klädningen, och kläder honom deruti; och får honom en ring på hans hand, och skor på hans fötter. Och hafwer hit den gödda kalfwen, och slagter honom; *wi wilje äta, och göra oss glada*. Ty denne min son war död och hafwer fått lif igen; *han war borttappad, och är funnen igen*. Och de begynte göra sig glada. Men den äldre hans son war ute på markene; och när han kom, och nalkades husena, hörde han sjungas och dansas; Och kallade en af sina tjenare, och frågade honom, hwad det war. Då sade han til honom: Din broder är kommen; och din fader lät slakta den gödda kalfwen, at han hafwer honom helbregda igen. Då wardt han wred, och wille icke gå in. Då gick hans fader ut, och bad honom. Swarade han, och sade til fadren: Si, jag tjenar dig i så mång år, och hafwer aldrig gängit af ditt bud; och du gaf mig aldrig et kid, at jag måtte göra mig glad med mina wänner. Men sedan denne din son kommen är, som sina ägodelar hafwer förtärt med skökor, hafwer du til honom slagtat den gödda kalfwen. Då sade han til honom: Min son, du äst alltid när mig, och allt det mitt är, det är ditt. Man måste nu glädjas och fröjdas; ty denne din broder war död, och fick lif igen; och war borttappad, och är igenfunnen. (Luk. 15: 11–32)

26) And he said, A certain man had two sons:

And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of the goods that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.

And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his subsistence with riotous living.

And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.

And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger!

I will arise and go to my father, and I will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee.

And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet:

And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; *and let us eat, and be merry.*

For this my son was dead, and is alive again; *he was lost, and is found.* And they began to be merry.

Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musick and dancing.

And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound.

And he was angry, and would not go in: therefore came his father out, and entreated him.

And he answering said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends:

But as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.

It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.

(Luke 15: 11–32)

The circumstances of the prodigal son's departure are different from those of the Storkyro boy's (text 21); the former goes willingly into a far-away,

foreign land, bringing his riches with him, the latter is kidnapped and becomes a servant. The Storkyro boy continuously prospers in his servitude and returns a wealthy man, the prodigal son squanders his possessions and comes back a starving pauper. Hence the former does not suffer from the shame felt by the latter. Accordingly, the folk narrative (text 21) proves a reversal of the New Testament story in this respect (text 26). The pride, ambition and extravagance at the outset in the Gospel of Luke are transmuted into a more nondescript humbleness in the folklore text; on the whole the motivations of the peasant boy are harder to discern and analyze. In the end, the prodigal son is mortified and realizes he has sinned against heaven and his father, and returns with no great hopes, while the Storkyro boy seems to have preserved a fairly meek attitude: the act of showing his valuables might imply a desire to share them with his relatives, it is hardly an expression of haughtiness.

Unlike the case in the Gospel text (text 26), the peasant boy's parents are no longer alive. He has no father to return to, his brother has taken his place, and he does not deplore the arranging of a feast for a spendthrift lacking in judgement, but he does resent his riches as long as he remains secretive about his identity. Eventually his brother does organize a homecoming festival for him, but prior to that a further complication is introduced.

His brother starts to covet his possessions and decides to kill him. He gets his chance when the incognito guest wants work, and he kindly invites him to stay within the household. The traveller agrees to the proposal, and the two of them set out to work on a fence in the forest. Thrice a raven comes to warn him of the other's deceit, and he finally confronts his brother and reveals his own identity.

The design of the brother recalls, unbeknownst to him, several Old Testament narratives, the most prominent of which is the murder of Abel:

27) Och Adam kände sina hustru Hewa, och hon aflade och födde Cain, och sade: Jag hafwer fått HERrans man. Och hon födde framdeles Habel hans broder. Och wardt Habel en fåraherde, men Cain wardt en åkerman. Och det begaf sig efter några dagar, at Cain offrade HERranom gåfwor af jordenes frukt. Och Habel offrade desslikes af förstlingene af sin får, och af deras talg: Och HERren såg täckeliga til Habel och hans offer. Men til Cain och hans offer såg han icke täckeliga. Då wardt Cain swärliga wred, och hans hy förwandlades. Sade HERren til Cain: hwi äst du wred? Eller hwi förwandlas din hy? Är det icke så? Om du äst from, så äst du tacknämlig; men äst du icke from, så blifwer icke synden säker eller fördold; men städ henne icke hennes wilja, utan råd

öfwer henne. Då talade Cain med sin broder Habel. *Och det begaf sig, då de woro på markene, gaf Cain sig up emot sin broder Habel, och slog honom ihjäl.* (1 Mos. 4: 1–8)

27) AND Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man from the LORD.

And she again bare his brother Abel. And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground.

And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the LORD.

And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And the LORD had respect unto Abel and to his offering:

But unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell.

And the LORD said unto Cain, *Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen?*

If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door. And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.

And Cain talked with Abel his brother: *and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.*

(Genesis 4: 1–8)

Cain slays Abel in a fit of jealousy, as Abel's sacrifice has pleased God, but not his own. In the folklore text (text 21), the fratricide is aborted; it is a negation of the intertext—it quotes Cain's crime, but does not repeat it.

4.2 The Outline of an Intertextual Network

As I hope to have shown, the intertextual relations between the folk narratives and the religious texts constitute a network of associations spanning several thematic clusters: paradisaical existence, vanity, shame, illumination, reform, captivity and fratricide. At the core of these clusters are the motifs of blindness and illumination, and the rest group around them in various constellations. The sheer multitude of texts linked to this agglomeration testifies to the cultural importance of the central theme; I have attempted to find other webs of association of similar extent, but none I have encountered have been of this magnitude. Apart from the stories I have adduced, further texts may be connected to the assemblage. Ulrika Wolf-Knuts' study of the intertextual relationships between the story of the Fall of Man

and folk narratives about women being assisted by the Devil at the birth of their children points to the status of the latter as an inversion of the former. With the help of the Devil, the women can give birth without pain, whereby they return to a paradisaical state, reversing the burden laid on Eve by God at the banishment from the Garden of Eden: to bring forth her children in sorrow (Genesis 3: 16; Wolf-Knuts 2000: 100–101). The Devil, traditionally identified with the serpent in the Garden of Eden, is once more involved in bringing a woman back to the original, pre-Fall condition, but in this case there is no element of sinlessness, rather the opposite. The mothers are all unmarried, and their offspring is therefore illicit. Some contemplate infanticide after the delivery, or have thoughtlessly promised to hand over the child to the Devil, which is why he is interested in the bargain in the first place. In one variant studied the Devil succeeds, in the other his malicious plans are thwarted.

A number of factors may be said to converge to make the time of collection very receptive to actualizations of the key metaphor, if we disregard its general appeal. On the level of concrete blindness, eye diseases were more difficult to treat in those days, not least due to the shortage of doctors. The image of blindness and the blind might have been easy to identify with. Ideologically, an emphasis on knowledge and understanding may be discerned in the secular as well as in the spiritual sphere. The idea of popular enlightenment was being disseminated and implemented in this period through the introduction of elementary schools in the countryside, and through the civilizing efforts of various non-profit organizations, such as youth associations, temperance societies and associations for housewives. Libraries were being instituted in the parishes and villages, and even though the older generation did not always appreciate educational endeavours (Åkerblom 1963: 263), the ideal of the informed individual was here to stay (cf. chapter 2.3.1). Simultaneously, the success of the religious revivals moved the focus from collective worship to individual devotion. The topic of moral and religious illumination might have fallen into fertile soil, touching as it does on the crucial issues of the day. These ideas were “in the air”, and even if people did not share the ideology, sacred or profane, behind them, they had to take a stance on the subject.

In order to attain a personal faith, some kind of illumination or conversion is required. Hymn 38, verse 4 in the hymnal of 1886 neatly captures this line of argument:

28) Öppna mig förståndets öga,
Att jag må din kärlek se,
Som du wille mig bete,
När uppå ditt kors, det höga,
Som Guds Lamm du offrad war
Och all werldens synder bar.

(Haquin Spegel)

Open my reason's eye,
So that I may see the love
That you wished to show me
When you, on your cross so tall
As the Lamb of God was sacrificed
And carried the sins of all the world.

Reason is an instrument for perceiving the grace of God; thus it is not wholly evil, but if it were not for the Fall, reason would be an unnecessary accessory.

More generally, reason is an absolute prerequisite for coping with the dangers of a life outside the safe haven of Paradise, as Ulrika Wolf-Knuts has observed (Wolf-Knuts 2000: 99). The hazards associated with the lack of it are amply demonstrated in the records of jocular tales (*Finlands* 1920) in which daftness can lead to disaster. Similarly, any knowledge obtained in other ways than the purely conventional might be useful, thence the recurrence of the motif of second sight, permanent or temporary. Nevertheless, the attitude to second sight and to the persons possessing it was ambivalent; it could be used for social as well as antisocial purposes (cf. Mathisen 1993: 19). In the texts cited, the stress is, on the whole, on social utilization of this power: the people listening or looking in on the supranormal sphere act in the interests of the community, while the witches they are spying on represent antisocial forces (texts 17–18, 20). The woman smearing a magical ointment on her eye is an ambiguous case—her behaviour could potentially be destructive (Lövkrona 1989: 113–114), but the danger is averted before she gets a chance to do any mischief (text 16).

The related themes of vanity, shame and paradisaical existence are closely interconnected as they function as each other's opposites. Little Maja's vanity (texts 4–5) is preceded by a state of innocence reminiscent of that in the Garden of Eden (texts 7–8), and the shame experienced by the abducted girls is contrasted with a blissful, carefree life in the world of the troll (texts 1, 3, 6). The narrative of the proud girl from Sordavala situates this thematic complex in a context of spiritual reform, a major motif in the cluster examined (text 9). It is also present in the story of the conversion of St. Paul (text 12), and it is the intended effect in the texts about the boy trying to stone the damsels (text 13) and the drunkard imbibing soul water (text 14), even though the success of the latter attempts is somewhat dubi-

ous. An improvement of sorts is achieved in the story of the younger brother returning to Finland from Russia, in which the elder brother abandons his murderous plans when he discovers the familial bonds between himself and the stranger (text 21). This change of heart is conditional, as it is based on the special brand of ethics applicable to relatives. A common feature of these narratives is the element of contrition, or the lack of it, an important aspect of the concept of reform, associated with a persistent need or flat refusal to reconsider one's priorities in life. The events the characters are embroiled in are designed to give them pause, and some take that opportunity, while others resist it vigorously.

In a period characterized by religious revivals, the issue of spiritual growth, as the logical consequence of illumination, might have been a vital one. The last link in the chain of associations, captivity, occurs in both literal and metaphorical form. The captivity of the Storkyro boy in Russia (text 21), the Babylonian captivity (text 23), Joseph's slavery in Egypt (text 24), the imprisonment of Little Maja in her tower (text 5), the captivity of the girls abducted by the troll (texts 1, 3, 6) and the detainment of the impudent boy by the damsels (text 13) are examples of the former. Generally, confinement is viewed negatively, with the partial exception of the abducted girls—their imprisonment is undesirable, but it does have its advantages (the paradisaical component). As for the latter, blindness may be regarded as a kind of captivity; the blind man healed by Christ is freed from this constraint (text 11), whereas the midwife blinded by the *rå* is plunged into lifelong isolation (text 16). The haughty girl is undeniably the captive of the snake curling around her neck, regimented as she is by its whims (text 9). All but one of the characters eventually attain freedom (text 16).

Thus, the themes of captivity, illumination and reform are the central nodes in an intertextual network remarkably focused on moral issues. The individual texts furnish different perspectives on the subject, but despite their dissimilarities they all seem to agree on the significance of the matter. In intertextual terms, the main point of controversy is the possibility or impossibility of regaining Paradise in this world. In other words, the conflict is focused on dogma, a vehicle of ideology, and therefore the narrators of the folklore texts may be said to voice ideological critique of the established doctrine of a Paradise in Heaven only (thence the title of this chapter). The Biblical text emphasizes the pervasive influence of the Fall on human life (texts 7–8, 10), while the folk narratives argue for the attainment

of a paradisaical state on earth (texts 1, 3, 6, 9), either through moral purity as in the story of the self-conceited girl (text 9), or in the otherworld of supernatural beings (texts 1, 3, 6). The latter method represents the non-Christian alternative, whereas the former approach, atonement, is more in line with the Christian tradition. A paradisaical condition as actualized in birth-giving without pain is another variant of Paradise on earth (Wolf-Knuts 2000).

The other instances of inversion or negation of Biblical intertexts are essentially congruent with the religious tradition as a whole. The inversion of the structure of the story of St. Paul (text 12) in the narrative of the unruly midwife (text 16) actually reaffirms the supremacy of the Biblical text since the midwife's conduct is disapproved of. Likewise, the negation of the murder of Abel (text 27) in the story of the Storkyro boy (text 21) is in consonance with the Fifth Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill" (Deuteronomy 5:17). The folklore texts are defending social values as against anti-social ones, and the Biblical narratives as such are not the object of critique.

5 INTERTEXTUALITY AS SOCIAL CRITIQUE

In chapter 4, I examined intertextual relations between troll texts, other folklore texts and Biblical narratives as an outlet for ideological critique, and in the present chapter I retain the categories of material and the theoretical framework, but shift the focus to intertextuality as social critique, centering on the social status and power of clergymen. Thus, I am still concerned with the first level of the construction of the image of the troll, the texts and discourses out of which the portrait of the troll is woven (see chapter 1.1). In principle these two chapters could be merged into one, but it would turn into a very long chapter, and I have therefore preferred to make them separate ones. Chapter 5.2 offers a more thorough and extensive discussion of my findings in both chapter 4 and chapter 5.

5.1 The Sins of an Exorcist

Three texts (SLS 213, 184; text 1: SLS 280: 635–636; text 5: SLS 338: 21–22) prolong the story of abduction studied in chapter 4 by inserting another episode dealing with the banishment of the trolls, and two (text 10: SLS 22, 11: 28–29; text 7: *Hembygden* 1912: 20–21) feature that episode only. The folk-tale reverie of beautiful clothes mingles with darker Biblical associations.

V. E. V. Wessman's record from 1917 states it thus:

1) I Koskeby finns ett berg, som kallas Trollberget. *En gång gick en flicka efter korna, och då tog trollet henne. En söndag beddes (bad) hon att få gå till kyrkan, och fick också, men hon sku inte få vara så länge, att prästen läste välsignelsen. Hon kom till kyrkan, och var så fint klädd, att allt folk skådade på henne. Hon lydde inte sen trollet utan var där när prästen läste välsignelsen, och då vart de där fina kläderna sådana, som de var då hon körde korna.*

Sen var en präst två torsdagsmorgnar och läs bort trollen. *Första morgonen hade prästen skott på sig vänstra stöveln före, och för detta mojtade (förebrädde, klandrade) trollen han. Andra morgonen var det och något fel med an, eftersom dem inte for, men tredje morgon for dem bort och var som svarta korpar. Dem hade frågat, om dem inte sku få fara till något annat berg, men prästen sa, att dem inte sku få lämna i hela konungariket. – I samma berget finns en källa, som kallas Trullkällan. (SLS 280: 635–636)*

1) In Koskeby there is a hill, which is called the Troll Hill. *Once a girl went to collect the cows, and then the troll took her. One Sunday she asked to be allowed to go to church, and was given leave, but she would not be allowed to stay until the parson pronounced the benediction. She came to the church, and was so finely dressed that all the people looked at her. She did not obey the troll in the end but was there when the parson pronounced the benediction, and then those fine clothes turned into such as they had been while she was herding the cows.*

Later on two Thursday mornings a parson was to banish the trolls. *The first morning the parson had put on the left boot first, and for this the trolls chided (reproached, censured) him. The second morning there was also something wrong with him, but the third morning they left and were like black ravens.* They had asked if they could not go to some other hill, but the parson said that they could not be allowed to stay in the whole kingdom. —In the same hill there is a well, which is called the Troll Well.

Thursday was a day of power, perfect for working magic. Witches, sages, supernatural creatures and quite ordinary people used it for their own purposes (Stattin 1992: 52; Tillhagen 1977: 135–136), and the parson is no exception.

In the text, formal features are mentioned as the primary reason for the failure of the parson's attempt at banishment: "*The first morning the parson had put on the left boot first, and for this the trolls chided ... him*". The completeness of ritual preparations is indubitably important, but a Gospel text, read in Finnish churches during the first Sunday in Lent, in the third year of the lectionary cycle, hints at a more profound flaw. The themes of the two narratives are quite similar, focusing on the failure of a banishment of supranormal beings from their abode: the parson proves to be incapable of exorcising the trolls, just as the disciples are exposed as unable to cure a possessed boy:

2) Då han kom til sina Lärjungar, såg han mycket folk omkring dem, och de Skriftlärda disputerade med dem. Och strax allt folket såg honom, wordo de häpne; och lupo til, och hälsade honom. Och han sporde de Skriftlärda: Hwad disputeren I med dem? Och en af folket swarade, och sade: Mästar, jag hafwer haft min son hit till dig, den der hafwer en stum anda: Och då han tager honom fatt, far han illa med honom; och han fradgas, och gnisslar med sina tänder, och förtwinar. Jag talade med dina Lärjungar, *at de skulle drifwa honom ut, och de kunde icke.* Då swarade han honom, och sade: O I otrogna slägte; huru länge skall jag wara när eder; huru länge skall jag lida eder? Leder honom hit till mig. Och de ledden fram til honom; Då anden fick se honom, strax for han illa med honom; och föll neder på jordena, och wälte sig, och fradgades. Då sporde han hans fader til: huru länge är, sedan detta kom honom uppå? Då sade han: Utaf barndom. Och han hafwer ofta kastat honom i elden, och i watnet, at han måtte förgöra honom: Men förmår du något, så warkunna dig öfwer oss, och hjelp oss. Jesus sade til honom: *Om du tro kant; all ting äro möjelig honom som tror.* Och strax ropade drängsens fader, med gråtande tårar, sågandes: Herre, jag tror; hjelp min otro. När Jesus såg, at folket lopp til med, näpste han den orena andan, och sade till honom: Du ande, döfwer och dumbe, jag bjuder dig, gack ut af honom, och gack intet mer härefter in uti honom. Så ropade anden, och for ganska illa med honom, och gick ut: Och han wardt som han hade warit död, så at många sade: han är död. Då tog Jesus honom wid handena, och reste honom up; och han stod up. Och när han kom hem i huset, frågade

hans Lärjungar honom afsides: hwi förmätte icke wi utdrifwa honom? Sade han til dem: Detta slägtet kan med ingen ting utfara, utan med bön och fasto. (Mark. 9: 14–29)

2) And when he came to his disciples, he saw a great multitude about them, and the scribes questioning with them.

And straightway all the people, when they beheld him, were greatly amazed, and running to him saluted him

And he asked the scribes, What question ye with them?

And one of the multitude answered and said, Master, I have brought unto thee my son, which hath a dumb spirit;

And wheresoever he taketh him, he teareth him: and he foameth, and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away: and I spoke to thy disciples *that they should cast him out; and they could not.*

He answereth him, and saith, O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you? bring him unto me.

And they brought him unto him: and when he saw him, straightway the spirit tare him; and he fell on the ground, and wallowed foaming.

And he asked his father; How long is it ago since this came unto him?

And he said, Of a child.

And oftentimes it hath cast him into the fire, and into the waters, to destroy him: but if thou canst do any thing, have compassion on us, and help us.

Jesus said unto him, *If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth.*

And straightway the father of the child cried out, and said with tears, Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief.

When Jesus saw that the people came running together, he rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him, thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him.

And the spirit cried, and rent him sore, and came out of him: and he was as one dead; insomuch that many said, He is dead.

But Jesus took him by the hand, and lifted him up; and he arose.

And when he was come into the house, his disciples asked him privately, Why could not we cast him out?

And he said unto them, This kind can come forth by nothing, but by prayer and fasting.

(Mark 9: 14–29)

Faith is lacking, which is as embarrassing for the disciples as it is for the parson. The preparations as well, rendered as “prayer and fasting” in the Gospel text, are insufficient in a way reminiscent of the folk narrative, or

rather the other way around; on this point the Biblical and folklore texts agree. In the version supplied by St. Matthew, unbelief emerges as the dominant theme:

3) Då gingo Lärjungarne til Jesum afsides, och sade: *hwi kunde icke wi drifwa honom ut?* Jesus sade till dem: *För eder otros skull.* Sannerliga säger jag eder: Om I hafwen trona som et senapskorn, så mågen I säga til detta berget: Gack hädan dit bort, och det skall gå; och eder warder intet omöjeligt. Men detta slaget går inte ut, utan med bön och fasto. (Matt. 17: 19–21)

3) Then came the disciples to Jesus apart, and said, *Why could not we cast him out?*

And Jesus said unto them, *Because of your unbelief:* for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.

Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.

(Matthew 17: 19–21)

The intertextual relations between the folk narrative (text 1) and the two Gospel texts (texts 2–3)—relationships established thematically as well as through the Christian religious sphere invoked by all of them—create a foundation for an implicit critique of clergymen. Less charitable opinions of the moral principles and religious fervour of clerics are certainly compatible with the mixed feelings concerning parsons and clerks current among the parishioners of Vörå. The Devil himself appeared in a parson's form and "lords", the group to which clerics belonged, were not always held in very high regard (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 132; Wolf-Knuts 1992: 113; for the anti-clerical aspects of these texts, see chapter 5.2). Without actually naming unbelief as the cause of the parson's somewhat disgraceful failing, the text resonates with the grave implications of the Biblical intertext, and points to the possibility of such an interpretation. If the audience of the narrative linked it to its Biblical counterparts, the intertextual connection most in line with the folk story would be those Gospel texts describing failed expulsions. This connection made, the listeners might also recall the reason for the failure of the exorcism, the lack of faith, and transpose it to the folklore text. Clergymen were accused of many things in folklore: trickery, greed, fornication and adultery, theft, uncouth manners and stupidity (*Finlands* 1920: 207–210, 236–277), but they were seldom explicitly denounced as godless. It might have been sensitive to openly level this accusation at them, or the collectors may not have gained access to this kind of folklore.

Nevertheless, the parson does eventually succeed in his endeavour, which indicates that he has put his boots on in the correct order, uttered his prayers in the ordained manner and retrieved his mustard seed of faith like the disciples did; later on Peter cured the sick Æneas of Lydda and resuscitated the dead Tabita in Joppe (Acts 9: 32–42).

Trolls are not the only ones exposing the shortcomings of the local parsons: the Devil is equally adept at embarrassing the ministers of God. Again, there is no explicit mention of unbelief, but the inability to exorcise the Devil certainly gives pause for contemplating the reasons why. It is also possible that these clergymen were perceived to lack the supernatural powers sometimes associated with the clergy and often derived from their knowledge of the black book (see below).

4) Ejngang so kom fänin på in dans, men in'jin tsjend' 'an, o han dansa' me' pojkan, men int' me' flikkuna, fast tem o vila dans' me' 'an. Ti' sliut so kom in flikku, som va' höfälu o me' hennar dansa' 'an so leng' test stjinne' fåor óv fötrin hennas, o to jissa' dem 'vem han di kárin va' som 'un dansa' me'. Tem fåor' to et' prästin, *men han fi' int' bost' an*. Dem fåor' sidan et' in annan, *men han fi' int' helder bost' an*. Sliutligen so fåor' dem et' in tredri' präst, o to han kom, so stakk 'an hole' me' in knoppnål i fönsterblyi' o så: "je' e folk, so får 'an dans'; je' e fänin, so ska' 'an iut". *Fänin motta' to iut jinom he di hole'*. (R II 19)

4) Once the Devil came to a dance, but no-one knew him, and he danced with the boys, but not with the girls, though they wanted to dance with him too. Eventually a girl who was haughty arrived, and with her he danced for so long 'til the skin peeled off her feet, and then they guessed who that man with whom she was dancing was. Therefore they went for the parson, *but he could not expel him*. Then they went for another, *but he couldn't expel him either*. Eventually they went for a third parson, and when he came, he made a hole with a pin in the window-ledge and said: "if it is a person, he may dance; if it is the Devil, he must out". *Then the Devil had to [go] out through that hole*.

The point of departure is somewhat different in this text, as the incident occurs at a dance, an activity which, in religious circles, may have been tantamount to summoning the Devil. Dances, card games and similar sinful pastimes were thought to attract the attention of the Evil One, and his appearance in this context is not wholly surprising (Wolf-Knuts 1991:182–191). The record continues with a narrative not quoted here about the hazards of card playing. In her dissertation, Ulrika Wolf-Knuts interprets the Devil's refusal to dance with any of the girls until the proud one comes along as a question of their suitability as dancing partners for him; the

other girls are simply too virtuous to please him, he wants someone utterly prone to vice (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 183). What that implies about the morals of the boys, who are initially favoured as dancing partners, is left to the imagination of the reader. That haughtiness was condemned was evidenced in the tale of Aunt Maja and Little Maja above (texts 4–5 in chapter 4.1), and both Little Maja's and the anonymous girl's transgressions are rebuked in a spectacular manner; the former experiences the more spiritual punishment of seeing Christ weeping for her sake (texts 4–5 in chapter 4.1), the latter the more roughly physical one of dancing with the Devil until the skin on her feet is worn out (text 4).

In this narrative, the failure of the exorcist is distributed among several persons rather than being ascribed to a single character as in the troll text (text 1). The religious power of the first two priests is hence depicted as trifling, if not non-existent, and viewed through the Biblical intertext their faith is also doubtful, whereas the third clergyman possesses the piety, knowledge and powers of sorcery needed to banish the Devil. Forcing the Devil to leave through a tiny hole in the window-ledge is a well-attested form of exorcism in the Swedish folk tradition in Finland (see e.g. SLS 28: 88–89; SLS 65: 8–9; SLS 208: 678–679; SLS 226: 171; SLS 255: 175–176), and in one case it is used to expel a brownie (*Finlands* 1931: 261).

According to Wolf-Knuts, the words of the parson may also have contributed to the success of the banishment: "if it is a person, he may dance; if it is the Devil, he must out". She writes: "The right parson knew the right incantation, and mentioned the right name, and thereby the Devil was weakened..." (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 184). The third parson embodies the intertwining of conceptions of priestly authority with notions of the powers of the sage—in folk narratives a parson may quite literally be portrayed as a sage and wizard in the capacity as owner of the black book (see e.g. R I 74: 26; R I 78: 1–2; SLS 10: 588; SLS 21: 15–16; SLS 220: 248; cf. Mathisen 1993)—and of the marvellous capabilities of Christ, and later of his disciples.

Another Biblical intertext is present in Elna Källbacka's essay and J. Kaustinen's record. The former expounds her case as follows:

5) Det finns många berättelser om tomtar och troll. Jag har hört många gamla sagor om sådant. En gång berättas det *att en flicka blev bortrövad av trollden. Om söndagarna läto de henne gå till kyrkan, men fordrade, att hon skulle lämna kyrkan före prästen hade läst "Herren välsigne oss"*. Hon gjorde detta, men en söndag stannade hon. Då blev förtrollningen bruten och hon blev fri. Hon tyckte förut, att hon var klädd så fint som en prinsessa, men med ens

blev hon så dåligt klädd. När nu prästen fick veta detta, hade han flickan att följa med sig till trollens boning. Han befälde nu trollen att lämna stället, men då började de gråta, *och frågade, om de skulle få låsa dörren, och taga nycklarna med sig.* Då berättas det att *de flögo därifrån som två svarta fåglar.* (SLS 338: 21–22)

5) There are many narratives of brownies and trolls. I have heard many old tales about such [things]. Once it was told *that a girl was abducted by the trolls. On Sundays they let her go to church, but required that she should leave church before the parson had pronounced "Lord bless us".* She did this, *but one Sunday she stayed. Then the enchantment was broken and she got free. Before, she thought she was dressed as finely as a princess, but suddenly she was so badly dressed.* Now when the parson got to know this, he made the girl follow him to the dwelling of the trolls. He commanded the trolls to leave the place, but then they started crying, *and asked if they could lock the door and take the keys with them.* Then it is told that *they flew away like two black birds.*

The girl's shameful loss of dignity is yet again emphasized, and Elna Källbacka's comment captures the situation neatly: "*Before, she thought she was dressed as finely as a princess, but suddenly she was so badly dressed*". The mention of *princess* immediately associates the narrative to the wonder tale and the distinguished apparel so typical for it. Unlike his colleagues, this parson does not experience any diminution of his status: his faith is unshakable and the banishment executed with skill and rapidity. The black birds were also connected to the Devil in the tradition of Vörå. In a tale of The Youth Who Wanted to Learn What Fear Is (AT 326), the king tests the boy by asking him to sleep overnight in a haunted castle, a proposition he readily agrees to:

6) han steig åpp å byra ragas på med jevlan ijen. ti slut fikk han tan gammlast jevulin i tsjellarin. han gammlast vila löst, å åm an sku slipp löst, låva an, at dem sku far tedan allihåup. påjtsjin sleppt löst an. *dem fåur tedan allihåup å va sãm svart kårpan.* (SLS 37, 74: 159–160)

6) He rose and started brawling with the devils again. Eventually he got the oldest devil into the cellar. The oldest wanted [to be] released, and if he were released, he promised that all of them would leave. The boy released him. *All of them left and were like black ravens.*

This text also tells of a banishment, performed by a layman in a rather dauntless fashion. The playful element recurs in the troll texts, but the targets of ridicule are different; here it is the devils who are subjected to the disrespectful treatment of the boy, while the parsons are chastised by the trolls in the other stories (texts 1, 5). This divergence is articulated through

the intertwining of various intertexts, with two in particular standing out. One has already been touched upon, which is situated within the realm of socially shared attitudes, and may hence be labelled contextual: the suspicion of "lords". Vörå was a socially homogeneous community, and the category of *lords* was small, mainly comprising the clergy, school teachers and members of the parish and municipal councils. No members of the nobility lived in the parish, and wealthy merchants usually lived in the towns. The other relates to generic conventions, namely the propensity of the folktale to favour boys of low social standing as esteemed heroes (Lüthi 1994: 43). Such generic conventions are in their turn shaped interdependently by contextual factors, for example the social conditions and statuses of the narrators, which were rarely better than those of the heroes (Holbek 1995: 72).

Before I go on to discuss the Biblical intertext, I will quote J. Kaustinen's text, which exhibits a rather different motive for the expulsion of the trolls. Frequent abductions of girls are not the problem, but other insolent pranks are:

7) Mycket omtalat är Trollberget med sin grotta, den s.k. "trullstugon". Denna grotta är även ganska märkvärdig, så att det ej är underligt att folktron gjort den till ett tillhåll för troll. De där boende trollen skall förfärligt oroat folket runtomkring och t.o.m. stulit silversaker från kyrkorna, varför prästen slutligen beslutit att "läsa bort" dem. *Första gången han var där för att läsa brydde sig trollen ej det minsta därom, emedan han ingen kappa hade. Andra gången brydde de sig ej heller om hans läsning, emedan han hade dragit den vänstra skon på sig före den högra. Tredje gången måtte allt varit som sig bör, ty då måste trollen bort. Förrän de foro, begärde de att få stänga dörren till sitt rum, vilket bifölls. Därför slipper man ej längre in än i deras farstu. De flögo sedan i form av tre korpar skriande bort.* Sedan har ingen mera sett dem. (*Hembygden* 1912: 20–21)

7) Much discussed is the Troll Hill with its cave, the so-called "troll cottage". This cave is also quite remarkable, so that it is not strange that folk belief has made it a haunt of trolls. The trolls living there have terribly alarmed the people all around and even stolen silver objects from the churches, wherefore the parson finally had decided to "chant them away" [i.e., banish them]. *The first time he was there to read the trolls did not care in the least about it, as he had no coat. The second time they did not care about his lesson either, as he had pulled on the left shoe before the right. The third time all must have been as it should, for then the trolls had to go. Before they left, they asked to be allowed to close the door to their room, which was granted. Therefore you cannot get further in than into their hall. Then they flew screaming away in the form of three ravens.* After that no-one has ever seen them.

Mårten Lassus reports that the trolls in the Great Hill have a similar reputation for unbridled behaviour: "Efter andras berättelser skall deri näm-

da berg, på åtskilliga tider blifvit hörda ett och annat ovanligt, såsom något gny, sång eller något annat slags läte” (SLS 299: 35; ‘According to the tales of others, one or another unusual [thing] has been heard in the aforementioned hill at various times, such as some roar, singing or some other kind of sound.’), and they almost frightened the wits out of an old soldier, who was living by the foot of the hill (SLS 299: 35–36). Of the trolls in the Troll Hill Lassus writes: “och har de der boende trollen ofta oroat och såkallad bergtagit ett och annat utaf de i trakten betande kreatur, i det de blifvit fasttagna i marken, utan att kunna eller sluppit röra sig från stället” (SLS 299: 38; ‘and the trolls living there have often bothered and so called abducted one or other of the cattle grazing in the area, in that they have been rooted to the ground, without being able or allowed to move from the place.’). The theme of abduction recurs, here in the form of stealing animals.

The parson in Kaustinen’s record makes some failed attempts at banishment before the bold enterprise succeeds (text 7). The petition of the trolls, directed at the exorcist, recalls a Gospel text here cited according to Mark; it is the account of the Gadarene Swine:

8) Så kommo de öfwer hafwet, in i de Gadareners engd. Och strax han steg utur skeppet, loppe mot honom, utur griften, en man, besatt med den orene andan: Den der plägade bo uti griften; och ingen kunde honom binda med kädjor. Förty han hade många resor warit bunden med fjättrar och kädjor, och kädjorna woro sletna af honom, och fjättrarne sönderslagne: Och ingen kunde späka honom. Och han war alltid dag och natt på bergen, och i grifterna, ropade, och slog sig sjelf med stenar. Då han nu såg Jesum fjerran ifrå sig, lopp han til, och föll neder för honom: Och ropade med höga röst, och sade: Hwad hafwer jag med dig göra, Jesu, den högstas Guds Son? Jag besvär dig wid Gud, at du icke qwäl mig. Då sade han til honom: Far ut af menniskone, du orene ande. Och sporde han honom: Hwad är ditt namn? Swarade han och sade: Legio är mitt namn; förty wi äre många. *Och han bad honom storliga, at han icke skulle drifwa honom bort utur den engden.* Och der war wid bergen en stor swinahjord, den der gick och födde sig. *Och djeflarne bådö honom alla, sägande: Sänd oss i swinen, at wi må fara in uti dem. Och Jesus tillstodde dem det strax.* Och de orene andar drogo strax ut, och foro in uti swinen; och hjorden brådstörte sig i hafwet; och de woro wid tutusend, och wordo fördränkte i hafwet. (Mark. 5: 1–13)

8) AND they came over unto the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gadarenes.

And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit,

Who had his dwelling among the tombs; and no man could bind him, no, not with chains:

Because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken into pieces: neither could any man tame him:

And always, night and day, he was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones.

But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and worshipped him,

And cried with a loud voice, and said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not.

For he said unto him, Come out of the man, thou unclean spirit.

And he asked him, What is thy name? And he answered, saying, My name is Legion, for we are many.

And he besought him much that he would not send them away out of the country.

Now there was there high unto the mountains a great herd of swine feeding.

And all the devils besought him, saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them.

And forthwith Jesus gave them leave, and the unclean spirits went out, and entered into the swine: and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, (they were about two thousand;) and were choked in the sea.

(Mark 5: 1–13)

In the Biblical narrative the unclean spirits demand restitution in the form of a new refuge in the grazing herd of swine, a request Christ grants. The herd is subsequently plunged into the sea, where it suffers its demise. The trolls in Elna Källbacka's essay (text 5) and J. Kaustinen's record (text 7) have a more modest proposal: they merely wish to be able to close the door behind them and bring the keys with them as they depart, and the parson thinks it a fair request. If we return to the text recorded by V. E. V. Wessman (text 1) and reconsider the end in the light of the Gospel, we notice the refusal of the parson to let the trolls move to another hill—they are not even allowed to remain in the kingdom as a whole—quite in contrast to the compliance of Christ in a similar situation. In Wessman's text, the Gospel clashes with a different image of Christ, the Jesus of incantations, and more specifically of the *historiolas*, the narratives featuring Biblical characters.

The following spell was used against *kväison*, a disease which caused swellings and attacked the udders of the cows, and it was written down by Jacob Tegengren in the parish of Korsnäs in 1912 or 1913:

9) Kristus skulle gå över sjön
 Då mötte han kväison vid stranden.
 Vart skall du gå? frågade Kristus.
 Jag skall gå upp till land
 och röta kött och ben.
 Kristus sade:
Jag förmenar dig det.
 (SLS 215: 44)

Christ was to walk over the lake
 Then he met *kväison* by the shore.
 Where are you going? Christ asked.
 I shall go onto land
 and rot flesh and bone.
 Christ said:
I deny you that.

There is no trace of the mercy exhibited by Christ in the Gospel (text 8); in the incantation, he brings all his divine authority to bear on the disease demon and its wicked plans, and effectively aborts the danger it poses to the cattle and the livelihood of men. This severe attitude is more in agreement with the folk narrative recorded by Wessman which denies the trolls the right to move to another hill (text 1), than with the mercifulness of the New Testament text (text 8). His record and the incantation thus represent a negation of the Gospel and the other folklore texts in which the parson grants the trolls' request.

A third reason for the expulsion of the trolls is revealed in Mårten Thors' record of the troll cottage in Vörå. Conceptions of witches and trolls intermingle in the text, and for the first time a personal error is cited in the accusations against the parson:

10) han tidin tå e va mytsji trúltsjárngrur i vörå, så hadd dem riktut in trúlstugu i bjärji bákåm murkas á bjärji kallas ennú fö trulbjärji tå mitt i bjärji så va e riktut tráppur, sãm jikk neder i bjärji, á tå va e i ståurt hæl, sãm nu e teppt me in stein. truli báud tå leng, fast e va slut me trúltsjárngrun he vart så ilakt ti slut, så e byra jemst ta bánin. *tå fáur práustin hártmann tid, sãm va práust i vörå,*²⁵ *á sku driv ut trúlli, men int fikk an ut e me föst gångun he hadd állti na ti föribrá an föri, sãm e a gai på sneid fö práustin únder hans studéntatid. eingang sa trúlli át an: "tu stal i trásnystan tå du va studént" – "ja he jául ja he i min fátisdáum" sa práustin. så jikk an heim á jik tid in ádrun gang tå sa trúlli át an: "tu kled skáuvín in gang föst på vénster fáutin" á så fik práustin ga me he tun gångun men trédi gangun had int trúlli na ti sej, á tå másta he ga ut, men innan e fáur, så bad e práustin ám att fá steng dörin bákít se práustin láva, á táfö ligger in ståur stein på háli, så int náin slípper in i trúllstugun de här lær va guds klára sánning. (SLS 22, 11: 28–29)*

²⁵ Vörå has had two deans by the name of Hartman, Jacob Haartman (†1767) and Johan Haartman (†1794), who were brothers. The latter succeeded the former on the post (Åkerblom 1962: 151). It is hard to say which one of them is supposed to be the protagonist of the story.

10) In those days when there were many witches in Vörå, they had a real troll cottage in the hill behind Murkas, and the hill is still called the Troll Hill. There in the middle of the hill there were real stairs, which led down into the hill, and then there was a big hole, which is now blocked by a stone. The troll lived there for long, even though [the age of] witches was over. It became so wicked in the end that it started taking children all the time. *Then Dean Hartman, who was the dean of Vörå, went there, and was to banish the troll, but he didn't get it out the first time. It always had something to reproach him for, which had gone awry for the dean during his student years. Once the troll said to him: "you stole a ball of thread when you were a student" —"yes, that I did in my poverty", the dean said. He went home and went there another time. Then the troll said to him: "Once you put on the shoe on the left foot first". And the dean had to go with that that time, but the third time the troll didn't have anything to say, and then it had to go out, but before it left, it asked the dean to be allowed to close the door behind it. The dean promised, and therefore a big stone lies on the hole, so that no-one can get into the troll cottage. This is said to be God's plain truth.*

The numerous kidnappings perpetrated by the troll enrage the dean, who goes off to eliminate the problem. His competence and moral virtue are called into question in the first disastrous attempts, which disclose his violation of the Seventh Commandment, for instance, "Thou shalt not steal" (Deuteronomy 6: 19), and he must suffer the taunts of the troll for it. This clergyman is not irreproachable, but a fairly normal person with his qualifications and faults. In the jocular narrative tradition, students were also known to be a wily sort. Isak Rön[n]holm from the village of Helsingby in the parish of Korsholm a bit further south described the antics of students as follows:

11) Ejn gang vandra trí studenter, o to så di på ávstond in gubb, som ji o lejdd in kó. To studentren så he, so steld di se in beta frá varár o stá på vejín. Som gubbin kám, so frága hann föst: "va kostar jejtín?" "Va jejten? SíR du int at e je in kó?" svara gubbin förga o för vidari framåt. To an åter kám en beta, so stó in student på véjin o frága "fár va kostar jejten?" "SíR du int at e je in kó", svara gubbin o för vídari. To an åter kám e styck framåt so mött an ijen in student, som frága "va kostar jejten fár?" Knaft henda studentin frág "va kostar jejtín?" so börja gubbin funder; kanske he je in jejt, to di nu all trí ha frága: "va kostar jejten" o så prise, o sold kóven sín för in jejt. (R II 64)

11) Once three students were strolling, and then they saw at a distance an old man, who walked leading a cow. When the students saw that, they stationed themselves a short distance from each other on the road. As the old man arrived, the first one asked: "How much is the goat?" "What goat? Can't you see it's a cow?" the old man answered, angered, and continued on his way. When he once again had come a short distance, a student was standing by the road, asking: "Father, how much is the goat?" "Can't you see it's a cow", the old man answered and continued. When he once again came a short

distance he met another student, who asked: "How much is the goat, father?" The student hardly had the time to ask "How much is the goat" before the old man started thinking; maybe it is a goat, when all three of them have asked: "How much is the goat" and he named his price, and sold the cow as a goat.

These students live up to their reputation, cheating the old man of his cow, but he takes a magnificent revenge, duping them in their turn. This conforms to another narrative stereotype concerning academics: they are gullible, especially when the ruse involves the prospect of free drinks and the learning of foreign languages. The story cited above continues with the following episode:

12) To 'an kom tí stán, so merkt 'an at 'an 'va' narra', "men nó ska' ja' dra' dem om nes-an tibak" tykt gubbin. Han jég sedan in på trí króstell' o bistelt líkörer o bitála alt fédit. To 'an 'a' jórt he, so jég 'an o lejta upp teydi studentren o böjd dem o drikk' me' se líti. Tí jég me' 'an föst på e stell: To di ha' drotsji, snurra' gubbin om hatten sen o frága: "ä' de' int' alt bitált?" "Jó" svara véðin. Sedan jég di på e anna stell' o to di tér ha' drut-sji 'va' gubbin böjd dem, frága' han, i he 'an snurra' om hatten sen: "ä' int' alt' bitált?" "Jó" svara' di 'an o studentren förundra' se'. Tedan jég gubbin me dem til' e tridi' stell' o böjd dem drikk' me' se'. Tí jég. To alt va' drut-sji' 'va' gubbin böjd dem, so snurra' han ókring hattin o frága: "ä' int' alt bitált?" "Jó" svara' véðin, o studentren förundra' se' 'va' he sku' va' för sla', to int' gubbin bihöva' bitál ná, anna to an bara snurra' omkring hattin sen o frága: "ä' int' alt bitált?" so svarar véðin jó", fast 'an int' får na pengar. Tí vıla to tsjöp' óv gubbin hattin hans, men han svara: "ja' vil' int' sáli' 'an, han je' brá' tí há; för ja' får drikk' va' ja' vil', bara ja' snurra' ókring hattin, o frágar: "ä' int' alt bitált, så svarar di jó". To studentren hört' he, so vıla di ánnu mejr tsjöp' han di hattin óv gubbin. Tí slút so sold' gubbin hattin sen át dem, to 'an fi' brá bitált för 'an. Nög skildes di át. (R II 64)

12) When he came to town, he noticed he had been cheated, "but surely I'll fool them in their turn", the old man thought. He entered three bars and ordered liqueurs and paid for everything in advance. When he had done this, he went looking for those students and invited them to drink with him a little. They followed him first to one place: when they had drunk, the old man spun his hat [on his head] and asked: "Isn't it all paid for?" "Yes", the proprietor answered. Then they went to another place, and when they had drunk what the old man offered them there, he asked, as he spun his hat, "Isn't it all paid for?" "Yes", they answered him and the students were astounded. From there the old man went with them to a third place and invited them to drink with him. They went. When everything that the old man offered them had been drunk, he spun his hat and asked: "Isn't it all paid for?" "Yes", the proprietor answered, and the students wondered what it was when the old man didn't have to pay anything, but when he just spun his hat and asked: "Isn't it all paid for?" the proprietor answers ["]yes", even if he doesn't get any money. Therefore they wanted to buy the hat from the old man, but he replied: "I don't want to sell it, it's good to have; 'cause I can drink what I want, if I just

spin the hat and ask: 'Isn't it all paid for[?]', and they answer [?]'yes[?]'". When the students heard this, they wanted to buy the hat even more from the old man. Finally the old man sold his hat to them, when he got a good price for it. Now they parted.

Naturally, the students do not receive free drinks simply by spinning the hat on their heads and asking: "Isn't it all paid for?" The proprietors of the inns they visit become angry with them for trying to escape the bill, and finally they have to face the facts: they have been deceived by the old man. They decide to revenge themselves upon him:

13) To di kám' tíð tær gubbin bódd, so va' tsjern'jin emsand i stygun; Studentren frága' to, 'vann 'an va' o sá' se' vil' rák' 'an. "Undi' he de kære på golve' o lér se' flejra slags tungumál," svara' tsjern'jin. Som studentren hört' he, so tykt' di: nah vi fær ful to o lér' oss sprátsjen, o útlens tungumál, o frága' óv gubbin, om 'an int' vil' lér dem fremand' tungumálen. "Jó" svara' gubbin, "men ni fær int' flejr án ejn i gangun kám' híd undi' kære'. Studentren va' nögd ti' gá ejn i gangun undi' kære'. To tan föst kám undi' kære', sá' gubbin: "rékk' út tungun dín et ja' fær sí' ti' va' sprák 'un je' pasli!" Studentin jól som 'an, gubbin, víla o rekt' ut tungun o to' skár gubbin spetsin óv 'un. Som e va' jórt, sá börja' studentin ploter o tál' so sotrut, at to ti ár hört' he, so tenkt' ti: "sí 'va' he jég fórt, nu talar 'an e fremand sprák. To han kám út, so jég ejn annin undi' kære' o me' han ji' e på sama vís. Som tan tridi hört' han bobel o ploter undi' kære', so tenkt' 'an: "nu ha' han lért se' e fremand sprák", o som 'an kám út, so kröjþ han undi' kære'. Óv han skar o gubbin tungspetsin. Ti sliut dödd' di allihóp. (R II 64)

13) When they came to the place where the old man lived, the old woman was alone in the cottage; the students asked where he was and said that they wanted to meet him. "Under the vat on the floor learning several kinds of languages," the old woman answered. When the students heard this, they thought: Well, we certainly have to learn languages and foreign tongues, and asked the old man if he didn't want to teach them foreign languages. "Yes", the old man answered, "but no more than one of you can come here beneath the vat at a time[?]. The students were content to go under the vat one at a time. When the first came underneath the vat, the old man said: "Stick out your tongue so that I can see for what language it's suitable!" The student did as he, the old man, said and stuck out his tongue, and then the old man cut off the tip of it. As this had been done, the student started chattering and talking so indistinctly that when the others heard it, they thought: "Look how fast it came about, now he's speaking a foreign language.[?]" When he came out, another went beneath the vat and the same thing happened to him. When the third heard him babbling and chattering under the vat, he thought: "Now he's learned a foreign language", and when he came out, he crawled underneath the vat. The old man cut off the tip of the tongue for him too. Eventually all of them died.

These students have to pay dearly for their initial prank; in comparison, Dean Hartman receives very mild treatment. Given the morally dubious

reputation of students though, it is not surprising that Dean Hartman has sinned during his student years; students are supposed to be scoundrels.

If we return to the ritual oversights in Dean Hartman's exorcisms, the hapless shoe appears in this troll text as well at the second try at banishment, yet unlike in the previous examples (texts 1, 7), it is a transgression made in the past. The other parsons are dangerously close to being negligent and careless at the crucial moment of a ritual act, not even bothering to make proper preparations; presumption and self-complacency are no less of a sin for a cleric than for a layman. Consequently, although the former misconduct of the dean may seem more serious on the surface, the other parsons do in fact commit an equally grave offence.

The third time all is in order and the dean can finally complete his task. The entreaty of the troll and the immediate concession given to it associates the text with the passage from Mark (text 8); the dean's defeats have not reduced his magnanimity, at least. It also has repercussions in the present day: the entrance to the troll cottage is blocked and no longer within the reach of men. In this way it has changed the natural landscape.

Dean Hartman appears in another text as well dealing with witches and witchcraft:

14) *tá præustin hártmann va i vörá, sá brend dem fléira trúlltsjærngur; men tem vîla int brin, na eld tâu int på dem.* *tá dem tá sku brenn ein, so int tâu he na eld på hénnar hêlder. hun ræupa bára: "méra néver, mera stikkur."* *men tá præustin kâm, sá nâu lær un ha brúnni sâm blânan. han va in mérkvædu man hándi sâma hártman.*

hundi trúlltsjærngjin hadd in påjk sâm præustin tâu á sku fáuster ápp, men an ha hén-da lær se sá mytsji vitenskap, sá int fik he præustin na hender me an. eingang stâu an i fônstri á sá på tá dem kórt ápp träsákrin i bærkarákrin. tá va áumyólit (?) mytsji héstas, á tá sa an: "vil ni si, sá ska al tэмdi héstas stann ár (?) ásta piss på sama gang?" nâ an sku fósók á all héstas stánna an útâm ein. tá frâga fálktsji áv an: "vafö stána int han dénan?" – "han har véndapinnan áv in flâgrönn", sa påjtsjin.

tan påjtsjin jául sá mytsji sá præustin másta stsjikk an ti stákkhâlm ásta ádras i hâl. (SLS 22, 10: 26–27)

14) When Dean Hartman was in Vörá, they burned several witches; *but they wouldn't burn, fire didn't affect them.* As one [of them] was to be burnt, no fire worked on her either. She just cried: "More birch-bark, more sticks." But when the dean arrived, she is said to have burned like yarn. He was a strange man, that Hartman.

That witch had a boy, whom the dean took to bring up, but he had acquired so much knowledge that the dean couldn't manage him. Once he was standing by the window, watching while the fallow section of the Barkar field was being ploughed. There was a tremendous number of horses, and he then said: "If you want to see, all those horses

will stop and pee at the same time?" Well, he was supposed to try, and he stopped all horses except one. Then the people asked him: "Why didn't that one stop?" — "He has a swivel of rowan", the boy said.

That boy did so much that the dean had to send him to Stockholm to be bled to death.

The dean emerges as a more potent defender of the faith in this narrative, as the witch, who has previously been impervious to fire, starts to burn in his presence, and no personal accusations are levelled at him. Yet he is not strong enough to manage the son of the executed witch, and in the end he proves unable to reform him and guide him to a life of godliness. Notwithstanding, there is no apparent trace of a critique due to this failure; the boy is regarded as too corrupted to be able to change his ways.

From an intertextual point of view, this story is very interesting. The first part is an inversion of an Old Testament text illustrating the superiority of the Hebrew God:

15) Då talade NebucadNezar til dem, och sade: Huru är det? Wiljen I, Sadrach, Mesach och AbedNego, icke wörda min gud, och icke tilbedja det gyldene belätet, som jag hafwer upsätta låtit? Nu wäl, reder eder til, så snart I hören ljudet af basuner, trummeter, harpor, gigor, psaltare, lutor och allahanda strängaspel, så faller neder, och tilbeder belätet, som jag hafwer upsätta låtit: Om I icke tilbedjen det, så skolen I på samma stund warda kastade uti en brinnande ugn: Låt se, hwilken den Guden är, som eder utu mina händer tager. Då swarade Sadrach, Mesach och AbedNego, och sade til konung NebucadNezar: Det är icke af nödene, at wi sware dig deruppå: Si, wår Gud, den wi dyrke, kan wäl hjelpta oss utu den brinnande ugnen, och frälsa oss utu dine hand, o konung. Och om han än icke det göra will, så skalt du ändå weta, o konung, at wi dina gudar intet wörde, ej heller det gyldene beläte, som du hafwer upsätta låtit, tilbedja wiljom. Då wardt NebucadNezar full med grymhet, så at hans ansikte förwandlade sig öfwer Sadrach, Mesach och AbedNego: och befallte, at man skulle göra ugnen sju resor hetare, än han eljest plägade wara: Och böd de bästa krigsmän, som uti hans här woro, at de skulle binda Sadrach, Mesach och AbedNego, och kasta dem uti den brinnande ugnen. Alltså wordo desse männen, uti deras mantlar, skor, hattar och annor kläder, bundne, och kastade uti den brinnande ugnen. Ty konungens befallning måste man med hast fullgöra: Och elden wardt så stark i ugnen, at de män, som Sadrach, Mesach och AbedNego, upbränna skulle, blefwo döde af eldslåganom. Men de tre männen, Sadrach, Mesach och AbedNego, föllo neder uti den brinnande ugnen, så bundne som de woro. Då förskräckte sig Konung NebucadNezar, och gick hastigt up, och sade til sitt råd: Hafwe wi icke låtit kasta tre män i elden bundna? De swarade, och sade til Konungen: Ja, Herre Konung. Han swarade, och sade: *Ser jag dock fyra män lösa gå i eldenom, och dem skadar intet*; och den fjerde är lika som han wore en Guda son. Och NebucadNezar gick fram för gapet på den brinnande ugnen, och sade: Sadrach, Mesach och AbedNego, högsta Guds tjenare, går här ut, och kommer hit. Så gingo

Sadrach, Mesach och AbedNego, utur eldenom. Och Förstarne, herrarne, fogdarne, och Konungens Råd kommo tilsamman, *och sågo uppå, huru elden ingen magt uppå dessa männernes kroppar bewisat hade*; och deras hufwudhår icke ens afswedt war, och deras kläder intet skadd; ja, man kunde icke känna någon eldslukt uppå dem. (Dan. 3: 14–27)

15) Nebuchadnezzar spake and said unto them, Is it true, O Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, do not ye serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up?

Now if ye be ready that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made; well: but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; and who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?

Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, answered and said to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter.

If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king.

But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego: therefore he spake, and commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated.

And he commanded the most mighty men that were in his army to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, and to cast them into the burning fiery furnace.

Then these men were bound in their coats, their hosen, and their hats, and their other garments, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

Therefore because the king's commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of the fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego.

And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonied, and rose up in haste, and spake, and said unto his counsellors, Did we not cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king.

He answered and said, *Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt*; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God.

Then Nebuchadnezzar came near to the mouth of the burning fiery furnace, and spake, and said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, ye servants of the most high God, come forth, and come hither. Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, came forth of the midst of the fire.

And the princes, governors, and captains, and the king's counsellors, being gathered together, *saw these men, upon whose bodies the fire had no power*, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them.

(Daniel 3: 14–27)

With the aid of the Lord, who sends forth someone “like the Son of God” to protect his devotees, Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego become immune to the flames, and they exit the burning fiery furnace unharmed. Nebuchadnezzar is so impressed by this that he proclaims the glory of the God of Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego, and vows to destroy anyone blaspheming him.

Just as the fire has no power upon the bodies of these men, it is powerless against the witch. An apostate has replaced holy men, and the Devil has ousted God in the legend. It is as if the former are quoting the latter, and thereby diminishing the wonder of the miracle, appropriating it for themselves. The inversion is cancelled by Dean Hartman through the authority he carries as a representative of the church, and the world is restored to its proper order as the Devil's might dwindles and the witch is consumed by the flames. All stories of a similar type do not contain an annulment of the inversion, however; an example is furnished by a story from the parish of Replot, which I do not cite as an intertext, but rather as an illuminating contrast to the Oravais text:

16) En trollpacka i Vörå påstås ha fått ett barn med *Skitmöss* (den onde). Detta barn slaktade hon i sin bastu, för att av liket tillreda någon salva. Men grannarna fingo nys om saken. De kommo, medan häxan sysslade med sina onda konst, bommade för dörren och antände bastun. Men när den brunnit ned, satt häxan oskadd på en golvtälja, som ej angripits av elden. “Var det ej hett därinne, din helveteskona?” ropade grannarna. “Visst var det som en *Ijumma* skulle dragit förbi, men intet vidare”, svarade häxan. (FU26: 300; emphasis in original)

16) It is said that a witch in Vörå had a child with the Devil. This child she butchered in her sauna in order to make some ointment of the corpse. But the neighbours got to know of the matter. They arrived while the witch was occupying herself with her wicked arts, barred the door and set fire to the sauna. But when it had burned down, the witch was sitting unharmed on a floor-board that hadn't been affected by the fire. “Wasn't it hot in there, you denizen of hell?”, the neighbours cried. “It was certainly like a mild wind passing, but no more”, the witch answered.

The witch does not suffer any damage at all, and her neighbours can only

watch as she is allowed to continue with her abominable depravity. It is no victory for God and the righteous, to be sure. The insouciant response of the witch is reminiscent of the boasting, in this instance entirely unfounded, of the heroes in tales of the stupid ogre, where they ridicule the purportedly puny effects of the attempts of their masters, trolls, giants or the Devil himself, to kill them. A tale from Gamla Karleby describes how the hero puts a piece of wood in his bed, anticipating the Devil's murderous intent. At night, the Devil repeatedly hits the boy's bed, and eventually the piece of wood gets such a thrashing that it flies through the air. He is greatly astonished when he finds the boy hale and hearty in the morning, though he complains of a louse biting him during the night (R II 139). Demi-trolls evince a corresponding tendency to belittle aggressions against them.

Returning to the second legend of Dean Hartman (text 14), the latter part of the narrative may be considered in relation to the image of the good shepherd. The dean fails to supervise the boy and bring him back into the fold, and the words of Christ in Luke chapter 15 do not come true:

17) Hwilken är den man ibland eder, som hafwer hundrade får, och om han tappar bort et af dem, låter han icke de nio och niotio uti öknene, och går efter det som borto är, till dess han finner det? Och då han hafwer det funnit, lägger han det på sina axlar med glädje. Och när han kommer hem i sitt hus, kallar han tilhopa sina wänner och gran- nar, och säger til dem: Glädjens med mig; ty jag hafwer funnit mitt får, som borttap- padt war. Jag säger eder, *at sammalunda warder ock glädje i himmelen öfwer en syndare, den sig bättrar*, mer än öfwer nio och niotio rättfärdiga, som ingen bättring behöfwa. Eller hwad qwinna är, som hafwer tio penningar, om hon borttappar en af dem, tänder hon icke up ljus, och sopar huset, och söker granneliga, til dess hon finner honom? Och då hon funnit hafwer, kallar hon tilhopa sina wänner och granqwinnor, och säger: Glädjens med mig; ty jag hafwer funnit min penning, som jag tappat hade. Samma- lunda, säger jag eder, *warder glädje för Guds Änglom öfwer en syndare, som sig bättrar*. (Luk. 15: 4–10)

17) What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?

And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing.

And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost.

I say unto you, *that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth*, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.

Either what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it?

And when she hath found it, she calleth her friends and her neighbours together, saying, Rejoice with me; for I have found the piece which I had lost.

Likewise, I say unto you, *there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.*

(Luke 15: 4–10)

No sinner is brought to repentance, no sheep or piece of silver is recovered: the folklore text (text 14) is rather a negation of the quotation from the Gospel and of the parable of the Prodigal Son that follows. Dean Hartman has to acknowledge his defeat and send the boy to Stockholm to be bled to death. The intertextual link between the folk narrative and the New Testament text appears to suggest two possible interpretations: firstly, it might imply that Dean Hartman is not quite as mighty as he seems; this point of view agrees with the ambiguous attitude to clergymen among the peasantry, and with the interpretation of the intertextual relation between the folk narratives of exorcism (texts 1, 7) and Mark chapter 9 (text 2) above. Secondly, it might be a way of asserting the impossibility of salvation for everyone: some people are simply too incorrigible to be possible to save. In this case, the message of the Gospel (text 17) is truly negated; the story states that reformation, forgiveness and grace are unavailable to certain persons, and thus hope is vain as well. A very gloomy world view emerges, where eternal damnation is the only option for witches and wizards. Both interpretations may be equally valid, being located on different levels. The first focuses on the individual and his power to influence the life of another, the second highlights more general principles of redemption and damnation.

Turning our attention back to the motif of supernatural creatures disclosing the misconduct of priests, it recurs in a text recorded by Mårten Thors in the parish of Munsala, where devils threaten and upbraid potential exorcists:

18) he va tvá jevlar, sãm skapa se sãm tvá fin herrar á fáur ti barmestari i nykarbi me glasvagn. tem steig ur á jikk in te barmestarin. dem byra jet á drikk lame han. pigun va i föusi, tã dem kãm. tã un kãm ut, sã un glasvagnin á in hund sãm eldin á blålãgan stãu ur munin tã frãga va e va fö fremmand, men int vita he nain, fast nãu jisa he ein var at e sku va na frun he undrast rymi.

ti slut mãsta dem ett prestin. föst eitt vörã prestin, men han vãga int se alls när, fö dem sa ãm an kãmber ska dem (?) riv tarman ur an.

so fåur dem et tsjuru præustin *tå dem så an sa dem: "tu komber tu tin lurjus, sãm ha stuli in salmbåuk."* "he ha ja fått fölätelsti föri." *Han pikka i hål i fönsterblyi å tår måsta dem ut* men nåu lær he slamra å dåna, *tå dem fåur.* (SLS 28, 19: 88–89)

18) There were two devils, who transformed themselves into two fine gentlemen and went to the mayor of Nykarleby in a glass carriage. They stepped out and went in to the mayor. They started eating and drinking with him. The maid was in the byre when they arrived. As she came out, she saw the glass carriage and a dog, out of whose mouth fire and blue flame emerged. Then she asked who the guests were, but no-one knew, though everyone surely guessed it was something from the nether regions.

Eventually they had to go for the priest. First for the parson of Vörå, but he dared not come close at all, for they said that if he comes, they will rip out his entrails.

Then they went for the parson of Kyro. *When they saw him, they said: "[So] you're coming, you rascal, who's stolen a hymnal."* "That I have received forgiveness for." *He made a hole in the window-ledge, and through it they had to exit.* But to be sure it is said to have clattered and roared when they left.

The parson from Vörå is effectively deterred from intervening by the prospect of getting his entrails ripped out of his body, an unusually grisly detail in the context of folk narratives of banishments. The dean of Kyro fares better, in spite of having stolen a hymnal, and he can even invoke the absolution of his transgression in a pretty nonchalant fashion. He is thus saved from having to make several attempts at expulsion, like Dean Hartman is obliged to do, and at the exorcism he follows the same procedure as the third parson in R II 19 (text 4), puncturing the window-ledge and compelling the devils to leave that way.

The humiliating exposure of Dean Hartman's sins courtesy of the troll (text 10) also bears an intertextual relation to a category of texts dealing with an analogous unmasking; the comparison is not flattering for the dean, considering the status of his counterpart, but definitely for the troll, who occupies the same position as Jesus. It is the song of Mary Magdalene, where Christ divulges all of Mary's secret transgressions, including some that would nowadays count as obvious rape and incest (see Nenola 1998, Häggman 1992). The element of exposure is the same, and both Dean Hartman and Mary Magdalene are reproached for sins no mortal knows anything about. The person doing the unmasking must therefore have some kind of supernatural knowledge of their transgressions, which appears to be the case in both texts.

The songbook of Jakob Lassus from the village of Kärklax in the parish of Maxmo includes a variant of the song of Mary Magdalene:

19) Jungfru Lena satt på Kelle bro och solen sken så vida.
Till henne kommo vår Herre Christ
Alt uti lunden den gröna.

Jag begär utaf en vattendricka, ja solen sken så vida.
Ack om jag hade silfverskålar två,
Alt under lunden den gröna.

Jag dricker af din bara hand, ja ...
Blott du ej har varit under mannavåld,
Alt under...

Och jungfru Lena svor därpå, ...
Att jag ej har varit under mannavåld, ...

Til henne kommo vår Herre Christ: ...
Tre barn så har du till världen födt. ...

Det första gjorde du med din bror ...
Och det kasta du uti storan flod ...

Det andra gjorde du med din far ...
Och det kasta du uti storan haf ...

Det tredje gjorde du med en sockenpräst ...
Då blef synden som allrastörst ...

(SLS 45: 136–137)

19) Maid Lena sat on the Kelle bridge and the sun shone so widely
Unto her came Christ our Lord
All in the grove so green.

I ask of a drink of water, yea the sun shone so widely.
Alas if I had two silver vessels,
All beneath the grove so green.

I'll drink of your bare hand, yea ...
If only you have not been in a man's power,
All beneath ...

And maid Lena swore thereupon, ...
That I have not been in a man's power, ...

Unto her came Christ our Lord: ...
Three children have you brought to the world ...

The first you conceived with your brother ...
And that you threw into the great river ...

The second you conceived with your father ...
And that you threw into the great sea ...

The third you conceived with a parish priest ...
Then the sin was the greatest of all ...

Dean Hartman's crimes may be of a lesser order than maid Lena's multiple infanticides and incestuous and illicit relationships, but the manner of their disclosure is quite similar, and in this sense the texts agree. Still, the dean does not have to undergo the penance maid Lena is enjoined, seven years in the wilderness with snakes and dragons as her only friends. He just goes home to wait for a more propitious moment for the achievement of his quest. He does not commit perjury either, like maid Lena in her solemn avowal of her chastity. The Gospel narrative the song is partly based on does not contain such a denial; the woman in the story admits her clandestine relation without much prompting:

20) Och när han kom til en stad i Samarien, som kallas Sichar, wid en bolstad, som Jacob gaf sinom son Joseph: Och der war Jacobs brunn; och efter det JESus war trötter af vägen, satte han sig så ned wid brunnen, och det war wid sjette timan. Då kom en qwinna af Samarien, til at hemta watn. Sade JESus til henne: Gif mig dricka; Ty hans lärjungar woro gångne in i staden, til at köpa mat. Då sade den Samaritiska qwinnan til honom: huru bedes du, som äst en Jude, dricka af mig, som är en Samaritisk qwinna? Ty Judarne hafwa ingen handel med de Samariter. JESus swarade, och sade til henne: Förstode du Guds gåfwo, och ho den är, som säger til dig: Gif mig dricka; då beddes du af honom, och han gåfwe dig lefwandes watn. Sade qwinnan til honom: HERre, icke hafwer du det du kant tagat med, och brunnen är djuper; hwadan hafwer du då lefwandes watn? Mån du wara mer än vår fader Jacob, som gaf oss brunnen, och drack af honom, med sin barn och sin boskap? Då swarade JESus, och sade til henne: hwar och en som dricker af detta watnet, han warder törstig igen: Men hwilken som dricker af det watn, som jag honom gifwer, han skall icke törsta til ewig tid; utan det watn, som jag honom gifwer, skall blifwa i honom en källa med springande watn i ewinnerligt lif. Då sade qwinnan til honom: HERre, gif mig det watnet, at jag icke törstar, eller behöfwer komma hit efter watn. Sade JESus til henne: Gack, kalla din man, och kom hit. *Swarade qwinnan, och sade: Jag hafwer ingen man. Sade JESus til henne: du sade rätt, jag hafwer ingen man; Ty du hafwer haft fem män, och den du nu hafwer, är icke din man; det sade du sant.* Då sade qwinnan til honom: HERre, jag ser, at du äst en Prophet [...] Då lät qwinnan stå sina kruko, och gick in i staden, och sade til det folket: kommer, och ser en man, som mig hafwer sagt allt det jag hafwer gjort: Mån han icke wara Christus? (Joh. 4: 5–19, 28–29)

20) Then cometh he to a city in Samaria, which is called Sychar, near the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph.

Now Jacob's well was there. Jesus therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat thus on the well: and it was about the sixth hour.

There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water: Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink.

(For his disciples were gone away unto the city to buy meat.)

Then saith the woman of Samaria unto him, How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria? for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.

Jesus answered and said unto her, If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink; thou wouldest have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.

The woman saith unto him, Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep: from whence then hast thou that living water?

Art thou greater than our father Jacob, which gave us the well, and drank thereof himself, and his children, and his cattle?

Jesus answered and said unto her, Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again:

But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.

The woman said unto him, Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw.

Jesus saith unto her: Go, call thy husband, and come hither.

The woman answered and said, I have no husband. Jesus said unto her, Thou hast well said, I have no husband:

For thou hast had five husbands; and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband: in that saidst thou truly.

The woman saith unto him, Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet.

[...]

The woman then left her waterpot, and went her way into the city, and saith to the men,

Come, see a man, which told me all things that ever I did: is not this the Christ?

(John 4: 5–19, 28–29)

Christ's encounter with the Samaritan woman is more an occasion of teaching than an imposition of penance, and the revelation of her secrets does not exclude her from his company. He offers her living water, not the bark

and sap of the lily tree (sic) for seven years. Maid Lena of the song does attain her salvation in the end, but the Samaritan woman gains hers without any trials and tribulations.

The folk song (text 19) seems connotatively linked to another denial in the Gospels, which is the denial of a denial:

21) Och JEsus sade til dem: I skolen alle i denna nattene förargas på mig, ty det är skrifwit: Jag skall slå herdan, och fåren warda förskingrad. Men då jag är upstånden, will jag gå fram för eder uti Galileen. *Då sade Petrus til honom: Om än alle förargades, skall jag icke förargas. JEsus sade til honom: Sannerliga säger jag dig; i dag, i denna natt, förr än hanen hafwer två resor galit, skalt du tre resor försaka mig. Då sade han ändå ytterligare: Ja, skulle jag än dö med dig, jag skall icke försaka dig.* Sammalunda sade de ock alle [...] Och Petrus war nedre i palatset: Då kom en öfwersta Prestens tjensteqwinna: Och då hon fick se Petrum wärma sig, såg hon på honom, och sade: Du wast ock med JEsu Nazareno. *Då nekade han, och sade: Jag känner honom intet, ej heller wet jag hwad du säger.* Och så gick han ut i gården, och hanen gol. Och qwinnan såg honom åter, och begynte säga til de der när stodo: Denne är utaf dem. *Då nekade han åter.* Och litet der efter talade de åter til Petrum, som när stodo: Sannerliga äst du utaf dem; ty du äst ock en Galileesk man, och ditt mål lyder derefter. *Då begynte han til at förbanna sig, och swärja: Jag känner icke denna mannen, der I om talen.* Och åter gol hanen. Då begynte Petrus draga til minnes det ordet, som JEsus hade sagt til honom: Förr än hanen hafwer galit två resor, skalt du försaka mig tre resor. Och han begynte til at gråta. (Mark. 14: 27–31, 66–72)

21) And Jesus saith unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.

But after that I am risen, I will go before you into Galilee.

But Peter said unto him, Although all shall be offended, yet will not I.

And Jesus saith unto him, Verily I say unto thee, That this day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.

But he spake the more vehemently, If I should die with thee, I will not deny thee in any wise. Likewise also said they all.

[...]

And as Peter was beneath in the palace, there cometh one of the maids of the high priest.

And when she saw Peter warming himself, she looked upon him, and said, And thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth.

But he denied, saying, I know not, neither understand I what thou sayest. And he went out into the porch; and the cock crew.

And a maid saw him again, and began to say to them that stood by, this is one of them.

And he denied it again. And a little after, they that stood by said again to Peter, Surely thou art one of them: for thou art a Galilæan, and thy speech agreeth thereto.

But he began to curse and to swear, saying, I know not this man of whom ye speak.

And the second time the cock crew. And Peter called to mind the word that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. And when he thought thereon, he wept.

(Mark 14: 27–31, 66–72)

The temporal perspective is dissimilar in these three texts; in the first two Christ enumerates transgressions of the past, in the last he predicts a three-fold renunciation yet to take place. Maid Lena (text 19) and Peter (text 21) are both lying—in this respect the texts agree—maid Lena about her virtue, Peter about his connection with Christ, and both swear to their innocence at different junctures, equally culpable. However, Peter's sole punishment is tears and bitter remorse, no more.

5.2 Intertextuality, Interdiscursivity and Power

The intertextual relations examined in this chapter differ somewhat from the ones studied in the previous chapter. Firstly, the schematic structure cannot be captured as neatly as in chapter 4, and I have therefore refrained from providing a representation of it. Secondly, the structure of the texts is often very similar, with only minor divergences. For example, the banishments of trolls, devils and evil spirits basically follow the same pattern, and though the number of attempts and of persons involved varies, there is far more agreement in this structural respect. When it comes to instances of inversion and negation, the former is not a reversal of events or a whole series of events as in the preceding chapter, but rather of the assessment of those events: the imperviousness of the witch to fire (text 14) inverts the positive evaluation of Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego's miraculous rescue (text 15), turning it into something sinister and diabolic. Likewise, the trolls and devils exposing the transgressions of the parsons—just as Jesus discloses the sins of Mary Magdalene (text 19), the secret of the Samaritan woman (text 20) and presages Peter's denial (text 21)—they invert the status of Christ's position, making it less honourable. A similar phenomenon can be discerned in the metaphorical connection of the Garden of Eden to the world of the troll, but the creation of that link does not entirely invert the value of Paradise, it serves to improve the image of the otherworld. As for

negation, however, it functions in the same way as in the previous chapter: when the trolls' request to be allowed to move to another place and the disease demon's planned action are denied by the parson (text 1) and Christ (text 8) respectively, it is a negation of precisely texts, namely the account of the Gadarene swine (text 8) and other folk narratives dealing with the topic, and not necessarily a negation of the value of mercy as such. Correspondingly, the failure of Dean Hartman to convert the son of the witch (text 14) is a negation of the story of the Good Shepherd (text 17) and the parable of the Prodigal Son (text 26 in chapter 4.1).

Thirdly, the relation between folklore and the Biblical tradition is focused on the social aspects of the latter's dominance. While certain doctrines were challenged in the preceding chapter, it is the authority of the priest that is being contested here. That authority was both economic and social; he imposed taxes and fees for his services, and prescribed a particular moral code and ideology. In the eyes of the parishioners, he chiefly represented the central administration, and was less concerned with the other facet of his role, acting as the spokesman for the parishioners in their relations with the authorities (Apo 1989: 204–205). Hence the religious tradition is not the real butt of the joke in the folk narratives, except as the vehicle for the exercise of social power; it is rather recruited as a means for expressing critical viewpoints on social reality. Christ is not the principal target of critique when trolls or devils imitate him in his role as exposé of error (texts 14, 18), but the fallible clergyman who is not as virtuous as he pretends to be. If he had been rebuked by Christ, it would not have been such a disgrace—Christ has the moral authority to do so, after all—but to be upbraided by a pagan, perhaps even anti-Christian supernatural being might not be as glorious. The degradation of the parson is congruent with the treatment of clergymen in many narratives. In her study of class relations in Southwestern Finnish magic tales, Satu Apo notes that the priests are consistently portrayed as debauched, greedy and hypocritical (Apo 1989: 204): the troll texts fit well into the context of anticlerical folklore. Yet all clergymen are not dragged in the dust; the pious parson capable of performing a banishment without incident is as high-principled as he seems to be (text 5).

As Stanley Brandes has observed on the topic of clerical stereotypes, control is the key word here (Brandes 1990: 191). Anticlerical folklore can be construed as a way of exercising social control over a person exerting

considerable power over his parishioners by virtue of his social standing and education. The stories serve to draw the parson into the network of social relations and to neutralize his power (Brettell 1990: 68). Simultaneously, the narrators exercise a linguistic power over the clergy by appropriating them for their own purposes (Taylor 1990: 182). Nevertheless, anti-clericalism should not be automatically equated with irreligiosity; the target of critique is mainly the parson as an individual and the church as an institution, or specific religious practices which are felt to be incompatible with "the true faith" from the perspective of the parishioners (Behar 1990: 105; Brettell 1990: 64, 67). Official doctrines might also be reinterpreted, subverting the meaning attributed to them by the church (Behar 1990: 97–98): transposing the blissful afterlife in Heaven to an insouciant existence in the world of the troll may constitute such a reinterpretation.

Thus, in this and the previous chapter I hope I have been able to indicate the existence of intertextual relations between troll texts, other folklore narratives and Biblical stories. These intertextual relations have occasionally been established to voice ideological critique, as in chapter 4, or to express social critique, as in the present chapter. To elucidate these connections, I have applied Lotte Tarkka's theory of metaphor and metonymy which links the human world and the otherworld by stressing their similarities and differences, and elements bridging the gap between them (for a discussion of the definition of these terms, see chapters 1.1, 1.4.1, 4.1). The generation of a series of metaphors, associated because of their common theme—illumination and banishment, for example—has engendered a corresponding series of interdependent levels in the narrators' networks of associations. Hence the three types of texts may be said to belong to the same system of referentiality, and to be included in a larger repertoire of cultural images and symbols available to narrators in the parish of Vörå in this period (cf. Stark-Arola 1998: 188).

The concrete relation between the narratives has been explored in terms of agreement, reversal or inversion, and negation of a whole series of events (chapter 4), or of the evaluation of a single theme (chapter 5). All of these relationships have been found to be pertinent to the interrelation of the texts; notwithstanding, the relationship between a story and its intertexts has often proved to be more complicated than this model suggests: a narrative may agree with one or some aspects of an intertext, for instance, while it rejects others.

As for why the performers have made these connections between their troll narratives and the Bible—assuming they were consciously made, which I believe they were, at least to some extent—several possible reasons could be adduced. Firstly, if folklore and the religious tradition formed parts of the same network of associations, it might have been a matter of course to link these domains in various ways. This network of associations could also be glossed in terms of traditional referentiality as developed by John Miles Foley. Foley argues that narrative elements, such as the phrases and themes discussed in these two chapters, function as cognitive categories that link the individual text to a larger body of texts, and guide the reception and interpretation of a narrative (Foley 1991: 50–60). Thus, if we consider religious tradition a part of the domain of traditional referentiality, the narrative elements employed in a text would explicitly invoke the religious sphere as a frame of interpretation, without which the reception of the text would be incomplete, and perhaps even faulty. Secondly, the narrators are explicitly incorporating religion and the church into the stories, and by doing so they are invoking a specific frame of interpretation, inviting the audience to understand the texts in relation to that particular sphere. Thirdly, the occasionally critical function of the troll narratives requires that the object of critique is evoked in order to be possible to criticize. Conversely, for those agreeing with the tenets of the religious tradition, citing the latter in some fashion lent authority to their own points of view. Fourthly, the words and images of the Bible were a common resource, a language everyone could understand, or were at least supposed to understand, and as such it was valuable in communicative interaction.

In the identification of intertexts from the Bible and the local stock of folklore, I have naturally depended on my own knowledge of these texts. Needless to say, the resulting interpretation is my own, and even though I have tried my best to keep a tight rein on my readings, attempting to avoid making too tenuous connections between stories, the performers themselves could well have had other intertexts in mind than the ones I have discerned.

However, folklore and religious texts also represent different discourses, and their interconnection is therefore interdiscursive in nature as well. Interdiscursivity, as it has been elaborated by Norman Fairclough, implies the relational constitution of discourses, defined as specific ways of constructing a subject matter or area of knowledge (Fairclough 1992: 128), that is as a group of individualizable statements, the production of which is governed

by regulated practices (senses two and three in Foucault's usage, see chapter 1.2; Foucault 1999: 106). This conception of discourse is intimately associated with a concern with power and the power relations entailed in the constitution and use of discourse, and the meaning of these terms in the present context ought to be explicated. Power is manifested in power relations, by which I understand, in line with Michel Foucault, the multiplicity of relations of force which are immanent in the domain in which they function. Accordingly, power is disseminated from innumerable points, and exercised in the play of inegalitarian and mobile relationships. Power relations are always already present in other types of relations, such as economic processes, and because of this immanency, they are not only repressive, but also productive. Therefore, power must be analyzed "from below", since it is not merely an imposition from above (Foucault 2002: 121–124). The consequence of this notion of power is that the individual is both an effect and a vehicle of power; individuals are subjected to as well as exercise power (Foucault 1980: 98). Finally, power presupposes resistance and *vice versa*. Power relations cannot exist without a multitude of points of resistance, and these can persist solely within the field of power relations (Foucault 2002: 125–127). In other words, the force that might challenge or overthrow a power relation is contained within it (Mills 2002: 42). Some of the folklore texts discussed in these two chapters constitute such points of resistance.

If we re-examine the link between folklore and religion in this light, it might be possible to come to terms with some of the more puzzling aspects of their relationship. Why did the folklore texts not adopt the distinct language of the Bible in its Swedish translation, for instance? This question brings us to the exclusions of discourse, on both sides (Foucault 1999: 40, 89; Foucault 2001: 11). Religious discourse obviously excludes the notion of Paradise on earth, while the folk or popular discourse excludes the religious discourse precisely as a discourse with its distinctive register, i.e., major speech styles related to recurrent types of situations (Hymes 1989: 440); instead the performers of folklore have translated the religious discourse into their own idiom. A similar translation has been treated by Carlo Ginzburg in his study of the conceptual world of the 16-century miller Menocchio (Ginzburg 1988: 169). Although the contexts are different—the Italy of the Renaissance is far removed from the Ostrobothnian countryside of the 19th century, after all—the mechanism of translation is virtually the same. For

despite the efforts of the clergy to give their parishioners even the tiniest smattering of knowledge of the basics of the Christian faith, the sanction to actually use religious discourse with authority was nevertheless restricted to church officials. Linked as it was to the institutionalized setting of the church, enshrined in the rituals of worship and the subtleties of theological learning, religious discourse could still be legitimately accessed, employed and interpreted by ordained priests alone (cf. Foucault 1999: 68, 70, 90; Foucault 2001: 38–39). Thus, lacking the authority to wield this discourse with impunity, laymen might not have counted it as entirely their own, regardless of their acquaintance with it. This is pure speculation; at the time of collection some of the limitations on access to religious discourse were indeed being relaxed with the repeal of the law against private religious meetings in 1870; this is visible in the emergence of lay preaching, for example, though this change did not occur without opposition from some members of the clergy. The main objection against lay preaching was that it could potentially undermine the position of the vicar as the leader of the congregation (Dahlbacka 1987: 112–114). Another point of contention was the interpretation of the discourse; in the parish of Vörå there was a clash between the vicar and a Baptist preacher in 1880, for instance (Åkerblom 1963: 159). The point I want to make is that lay access to religious discourse was a very recent phenomenon in the period studied, and people might have been slightly uncomfortable with this new-found freedom, not knowing what to make of it. Some restrictions were nevertheless imposed on the appropriation of religious discourse, and these are still in force today. Not just anybody can officiate at ceremonies, for example, at least not in the Lutheran church.

In Menocchio's case, the relative alienness of religious discourse was combined with the lingering presence of a pre-Christian peasant religion (Ginzburg 1988: 168–169), but such a link is certainly not possible to posit on the basis of my material, nor would it be my intention to establish such a connection.

Moreover, the adoption of the language of the Bible might have been avoided if it was perceived to imply bowing to its authority; in some circumstances this may not have been desirable, for example when opposition to the religious discourse was mounted. (Of course, the religious discourse could conceivably be used to subvert its authority from within—there is no simple correlation between intention, strategy and result.) Nevertheless,

this reluctance demonstrates that discourse is both the site and object of struggle (Foucault 2001: 12), in which exclusion can function as a method of resistance.

The contestation of the supremacy and validity of religious discourse also shows that the power relation between it and the popular discourse is not static, it is renegotiated in each instance (cf. Mills 2002: 38–39); the status of dominant and dominated discourse is not a global binary opposition impervious to change (Foucault 2002: 124). In the present case, the relationship between the two discourses was gradually being modified, and this alteration was brought about through the interface with other discourses.

One of the factors contributing to the dominance of the religious discourse, apart from its institutional backing, was its link to knowledge and truth: religious discourse purports to deliver the ultimate truth and supply the ultimate form of knowledge, valid beyond the confines of this world. Foucault regards the will to truth, and the distinction between truth and falsehood, as fundamental for the construction of knowledge in Western societies (Foucault 2001: 15–21), and the special brand of truth of the religious discourse was imparted to the populace in the teaching provided by the church prior to the introduction of mass public schooling. The religious discourse is a valorized form of knowledge and is circulated as such; this valorization is also effected through the practice of commentary, which constitutes a discourse as valuable and as legitimate knowledge (Foucault 2001: 23; Mills 2002: 67–68). I will return to this topic below.

At this point another discourse intervenes, namely that of the then newly founded discipline of folkloristics, which in turn commented on and thereby validated the popular discourse, giving it a semblance of legitimacy in some respects. The collection and scholarly explication of folklore initiated in this period produced a rearticulation of the power relations between the religious and the popular discourse, raising the status of the latter. Yet the reappraisal of folklore was only partial; the emergence of the discipline was predicated on the prior withdrawal of the upper classes from participation in popular culture, which made it possible to exoticize and be fascinated by folk culture, as demonstrated by Peter Burke (Burke 1983: 302–318). The retreat was both factual and a matter of the recategorization of elements of popular culture; an example is the transference of magic to the sphere of superstition in 18th-century Sweden, whereby the élite distanced itself from beliefs it had previously entertained itself, and to some extent continued to

foster without acknowledging it (Oja 1999:293–294). However, folklore was not accorded any concrete truth value due to its rediscovery, it was merely seen as the repository of a symbolic truth, much like literature (cf. Mills 2002: 23). Furthermore, it had to be sifted by the researcher in order to separate the recent, inferior chaff from the ancient and precious grain; to reach the symbolic truth of folklore, one had to be doubly removed from its present manifestation.

The discourse of popular enlightenment as manifested in history books in use in this period is very interesting from the point of view of the power relation between religion and folklore. The book on Finnish history utilized in the beginning of the period, A. G. J. Hallstén's *Finlands historie och geografi* ('Finland's History and Geography'), mixed folkloric and religious elements in the account of history: the land was first inhabited by giants and *hiidenväki* (*hiisi*-people) which were supposed to have constituted the indigenous population exterminated after the arrival of the Finns, and subsequently mythologized in Finnish folklore. The Finns, in their turn, were "led by the divine Spirit governing the peoples" to their present fatherland. The presentation of Finland's history ends with the exclamation: "...we can and shall—steadfast in the conviction that God's blessing shall rest on our honest strivings, as it once did on our fathers'—work for the victory of the true and the right, for the improvement of education in the Suomi land, [which is] equally sacred to us all" (Hallstén 1852: 3–4). Folklore is needed to supply the country with a past, but the guidance and blessing of God is the motor of that glorious past, and of a similarly glorious future. Hallstén is also referring to the rather common notion that supernatural creatures were once the original inhabitants of a country. For example, Jacob Neikter advanced a similar claim regarding the Swedish trolls in his dissertation *De gente antiqua troll* (1793),²⁶ and in Scotland the

²⁶ The following quotation is preceded by a discussion on various mythical peoples, of which the trolls are one: "Quae et quales ceterae illae gentes, quas aborigines vel primos Scandinaviae habitatores fuisse diximus, fuerint, in praesenti cum disquirere nequeamus, de Trollis tantum, quae ex dispersis auctorum locis colligere potuerimus, Tuae B[one] L[ector] censurae breviter submittere liceat. Constat gentem Trollicam usque ad Christianismi tempora in Scandinavia superstitem et a ceteris discretam fuisse; deinde vero vel exstirpatam vel sensim ceteris incolis mixtam defuisse." ('Since I cannot at present investigate which these other peoples were and what they were like—those which I have said were the aborigines or first settlers in Scandinavia—it is nevertheless possible to briefly

same was suggested in the case of the fairies who were sometimes thought to represent reminiscences of the ancient Picts (Henderson & Cowan 2001: 19–21).

The next schoolbook in common use was H. L. Melander's *Lärobok i Finlands historia* ('Textbook on Finland's History'), and here folklore supplied the information on Finnish prehistory along with the nascent discipline of archaeology. Religious developments are still viewed as important aspects of history, but no explicit appeal to God is made (Melander 1876: 3–10 *et passim*). The schoolbook on world history written by M. G. Schybergson, *Lärobok i allmänna historien för lyceernas bottenklasser och fruntimmersskolorna* ('Textbook on World History for the Lower Classes of Secondary Schools and Girls' Schools'), emphasizes that history demonstrates the gradual evolution of mankind toward increasing enlightenment and sophistication, guided by the hand of God (Schybergson 1895: v), and his survey contains a substantial amount of information on religious topics, though it does not include Biblical history, since it is covered elsewhere. Thus, the invention of a partially folklorized history—based almost exclusively on Finnish-language folklore, even in Swedish-speaking contexts—elevates the status of folklore, in a way, by converting it into something else, but the conception of divine guidance in history reinforces the supremacy of religion.

Another interdiscursive connection affecting the power relation between the religious and the popular discourse was the discourse of liberalism, which tended to undermine the authority of the church as it advocated the freeing of the individual from the tutelage of the church. Since the Finnish church actively participated in the reforms eventually culminating in the freedom of religion, the liberal movement was not as anticlerical as in Sweden, for instance. The county town of Vasa happened to be an early centre of the liberalism which gained a foothold there already in the 1850s. As time passed, the clergy became increasingly conservative, but apparently this did not stimulate a growth of anticlerical sentiments. The discourse of religious liberalism was primarily embraced by the bourgeoisie and did not

submit what I have been able to collect about trolls from diverse passages in the authors to your judgement, good reader. It is well-known that the trollish people survived in Scandinavia until the Christian period and that they were distinct from others; but thereafter they have been absent, being either extirpated or gradually mixed with the other inhabitants; my translation.) (Neikter 1793: 14–15)

really enter the popular discourse as a tangible component (Näsman 1979: 82–84), but through its influence the discursive detachment of the individual from the church had been instigated.

These are some of the discourses influencing the relationship between folklore and religious tradition, and no doubt others could be adduced. Viewing them as elements in a more extensive interdiscursive framework does, in addition, facilitate an understanding of the potential of the popular discourse for effecting social change. This aspect is of special import in Norman Fairclough's conception of interdiscursivity, and it ought to be addressed in this context as well. Scholars have denied that the narrators of social-critical folktales and folklore had the explicit aim to revolutionize the established order of society (Apo 1989:207–208), and I believe this assumption is correct. However, if folklore is construed as a voice in social dialogue, itself consisting of many voices (cf. Eriksen 2002:149–166), and as such potentially political in nature, the picture may change considerably.

A different perspective on the interconnection of religious discourse and folklore is furnished by Mikhail Bakhtin's distinction between authoritative discourse and internally persuasive discourse. The Biblical texts in their ecclesiastical setting represent an authoritative discourse, demanding acknowledgement irrespective of its own powers to persuade. This is because their function is to reveal the ultimate truth, not to argue for its pros and cons. It is a prior discourse belonging to a valorized past (the time of the patriarchs, the lifetime of Christ) and elevated contexts (mass). It draws other discourses into its orbit (commentary, praise; cf. Foucault 2001: 23), but remains essentially unchanged and closed to external influence (Bakhtin 1986a: 342–344).²⁷ When folklore engages with the themes of the authoritative religious discourse while skirting its discursive form, it moves authoritative discourse into the sphere of internally persuasive discourse, which is open and unfinished. It can be placed in new contexts to yield new meanings, and above all, it interacts and struggles with other internally persuasive discourses. It is not distant like authoritative discourse, but in contact with the present, which enables it to respond to other discourses (Bakhtin 1986a: 345–346).²⁸ Internally persuasive discourse can become an object of

²⁷ In modern-day Scandinavia this is no longer the case; the religious discourse has been transferred to the category of internally persuasive discourse.

²⁸ Bakhtin's argument on this specific point is not pertinent to the original Greek text of

representation, embodied in the image of a speaking person, and more importantly, it can be contested in a manner authoritative discourse cannot. The latter is indivisible and has to be accepted or rejected as a whole, whereas the former allows for acceptance or rejection of individual details. Resistance to internally persuasive discourse can be offered by putting it in a new situation to expose its weak sides, or to locate its boundaries (Bakhtin 1986a: 343, 347–348). That is how folklore proceeds in its dialogue with religious tradition, transferring the Garden of Eden with its connotation of a pristine, innocent state to the mainly pagan realm of supernatural beings associated with glamour and illusion, which is clearly beyond the boundaries of the religious discourse. At the same time it discloses the weakness of the Christian doctrine, since it can promise salvation, virtually a return to Paradise, only in the afterlife. Paradise on earth is beyond the confines of its teachings, and that may have been perceived as a lack in the folk tradition, which consequently produced its own version of the primeval garden. Another example of the recontextualization of internally persuasive discourse is the transposition of the Biblical discourse of exorcism to the banishment of trolls. This transference serves to highlight the precariousness of such a discourse in the mouths of those who are unworthy to use it, hence to elucidate its limitations.

The instances of agreement with the religious tradition must also be discussed. Here internally persuasive discourse has been persuasive, and the narrators of folklore have adopted its viewpoint. In contradistinction to the acceptance of authoritative discourse, it is a reasoned unanimity that has been subjected to and survived the crossfire of other competing discourses. Incidentally, those examples tend to focus on values that are social as well as Christian, and therefore doubly significant, for instance the avoidance of fratricide or the injunction against vanity (see chapter 4.1).

At this juncture it might be suitable to consider the link between power and subjectivity. In his examination of power relations “from the bottom up”, Michel Foucault has concentrated on the micro-mechanisms of power, that is the workings of power in everyday life (Foucault 1980: 101). The techniques of power employed by the church to constitute individuals as Christian subjects consisted of forms of examination, for example. The

the New Testament, which uses the everyday language of the period, but regarding the Swedish translations all but the most recent, *Bibel 2000*, have favoured archaic language.

catechetical meetings, the confirmation classes and the Sunday schools were the contexts of this examination. People were hardly oblivious to this regulating function, judging by the implications of the humorous narratives about catechetical meetings. The answers given to the serious questions of the parson are incongruous and secular, often referring to trivialities (*Finlands* 1920: 271–274); the sacred is transposed into a profane register. These texts represent another point of resistance in the power relation between the religious and the popular discourse, besides the ones already mentioned in the course of this section.

The discipline of the body involved in reading was a precondition for the practice of examination, which required individual study of religious texts, chiefly the catechism. It invested the body with power and knowledge, but it also served as a method of Christianization. That was not the sole reason for promoting literacy, but it was a reason nonetheless. This micro-power was subsequently taken over and exercised by the new school system.

To conclude, the productive nature of power—its enabling function—has a profound impact on the way we might conceive of the relationship between religion and folklore. The best solution is perhaps to regard the latter as permeated by the former, both because of its longstanding primacy and the micro-techniques of power at its disposal. Folk belief as we have come to know it would not exist in its present form if it were not for the Christian tradition. This is not to say that there cannot be any non-Christian elements in folk belief, or that folk belief is not an alternative, in some senses distinct tradition in relation to religion. What it does entail, however, is that it can no longer be thought of in isolation from Christianity and from the dialogue it pursues with religious tradition.

6 GENRE, PARODY, CHRONOTOPES AND NOVELIZATION: THE WONDER TALES OF JOHAN ALÉN

In this chapter I focus on the stories of a single narrator in order to see how he negotiates his relationship with tradition, what choices he makes in his active construction of genre, and how these choices affect the actualization of the narratives.

I first encountered one of Johan Alén's stories when I was reviewing the recorded material on troll tradition for my Master's thesis. One day I happened upon his "Three Princes" (text 1), and I felt like I had been hit by a cudgel. It was a decidedly perverse twist on the familiar tale of the girl transformed into a mouse, going against all the tenets of what I thought I recognized as a kind of "folk ethic" regarding relations to the supernatural realm. Readers will indubitably see why on perusal of the text. It was a thoroughly shocking experience, from a traditional point of view, but the narrative also roused my curiosity. Why did the narrator tell such a peculiar variant of the story? What were the consequences for the genre of the wonder tale, when the narrative violated its norms so blatantly? My mind was teeming with these irritating little questions, and it has continued to do so ever since. This chapter is my attempt to solve at least part of the riddle.

From its rather modest beginnings, "the Alén question" has expanded to include considerations of parody, Bakhtinian chronotopes, and even the process of novelization. A diverse, and perhaps somewhat eclectic, array of perspectives will be brought to bear on two of Alén's narratives; however, I feel this theoretical diversity is essential if we are to grasp the complexities of these narratives. In the following, I will deal with each aspect, i.e., genre, parody, chronotopes and novelization, in turn, and present my theoretical premises in that context. I discuss the construction of the image of the troll, and of the relationship between man and troll, on the second level as mentioned in chapter 1.1, scrutinizing the generic components out of which the image of the troll can be constructed, and how the manipulation of these elements may change the conception of the troll. Therefore, intertextuality is still a main concern, and to some extent I will cite intertexts to Alén's narratives like I did in chapter 4 and chapter 5, but I will do so pri-

marily in relation to questions of genre. Genre may be viewed as a type of intertext, and thus, intertextuality will be examined in the guise of *generic intertextuality* or *intergenericity* (for the latter term see Plett 1991: 21), under which the other aspects (parody, chronotopes and novelization) may be subsumed, as they address particular features of “the problem of speech genres”, to use Bakhtin’s phrase (Bakhtin 1986b: 60–102).

The narrator, Johan Alén, was born in 1825 and died in 1891. At the age of fifty, when Jakob Edvard Wefvar interviewed him, he was living in the village of Rejpelt in the parish of Vörå. He was a cottar, and worked as a carpenter and shoemaker. He was also known as a brewer of ale. Being too old to benefit from the generally accessible schooling introduced at about this time, he was still deemed to have received a decent education, according to the parish records (Wolf-Knuts 1991: 66). He was an expert on humorous tales, as his recorded repertoire attests: of 26 texts, 15 are jocular tales, including one tale of the stupid ogre; 2 (the ones analyzed here) are parodies of wonder tales; 3 are legends and 2 are fables, while the last 4 are serious tales of magic (see Appendix A). In this connection it might be noted that jocular tales form a relatively small part of the folktale material stored in Finland-Swedish archives, and if Michèle Simonsen is correct in assuming that humorous narratives and anecdotes have constituted the most popular types of stories in all periods of European history (Simonsen 1995: 99), these genres are severely underrepresented in our collections. A bias in favour of the long and complicated wonder tale on the part of the field-workers is certainly wholly plausible, as is a disinclination to reveal the more obscene stories of the repertoire to a stranger on the part of the performer, and I believe that jocular tales may well have been more frequent than the recorded material indicates.

6.1 Genre

Before we turn to the first story, I need to introduce the first set of analytic concepts to be applied. In accordance with the definition given by Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman in their article “Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power” (1992), I understand genres as “generalized or abstracted models of discourse production and reception”, mediated by their relationship with prior discourse, i.e., intertextuality (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 147). They are powerful means of shaping speech into ordered, unified and

bounded texts with strong social and historical associations, while at the same time rendering texts fragmented, heterogeneous and open-ended due to their dependence on other discursive formations and contextual factors for the interpretation, production and reception of discourse (cf. Hanks 1989: 104–105). This conception of genre differs on several points from that proposed by Lauri Honko in a number of influential articles (Honko 1968, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1989). Firstly, the taxonomy of the genre system and definition of individual genres is not as prominent a research object in Briggs and Bauman's theory as in Honko's, and secondly, Briggs and Bauman are less concerned with the communicative specialization of genres advocated by Honko, stressing the political implications of genres instead.

The invocation of a genre provides a textual model for creating cohesion and coherence within a text, but just as important as the structural effects is the process itself, entextualization. In an earlier treatment of this topic (1990), Briggs and Bauman describe entextualization as the act of producing a unit, a text, that can be extracted from the surrounding flow of discourse (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 73). Entextualization is also a recontextualization: whenever a generic model is utilized, the narrator actively reconstructs and reconfigures genre by selecting and abstracting certain characteristics and glossing over others, which results in a decontextualization, and the narrator then recontextualizes the text in another context (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 147–149). This point has been challenged by Lauri Honko, who questions the idea that a text can be decontextualized at all (Honko 1998: 149–151). A complete decontextualization would certainly seem unjustified to posit, and that was hardly Briggs and Bauman's intention. Generic features still have associations, despite being subjected to generalization and abstraction, and to decontextualization. Moreover, as Briggs and Bauman acknowledge, entextualization can carry previous contexts within itself, thus chronicling the text's history of use (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 73–75). To my mind, the utility of this approach lies in its highlighting of the transformation of a text in performance, and of the constructed character of the relation of the text to other renditions of a story.

Briggs and Bauman further develop the imperfect fit between text and generic model by introducing the concept of intertextual gaps. Their formulation is worthy of quoting, as it captures the gist of their argument in a few sentences:

The process of linking particular utterances to generic models thus necessarily produces an intertextual *gap*. Although the creation of this hiatus is unavoidable, its relative suppression or foregrounding has important effects. One [sic] the one hand, texts framed in some genres attempt to achieve generic transparency by *minimizing* the distance between texts and genres, thus rendering the discourse maximally interpretable through the use of generic precedents. This approach sustains highly conservative, traditionalizing modes of creating textual authority. On the other hand, *maximizing* and highlighting these intertextual gaps underlies strategies for building authority through claims of individual creativity and innovation (such as are common in 20th-century Western literature), resistance to the hegemonic structures associated with established genres, and other motives for distancing oneself from textual precedents. (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 149; emphases in original)

The thought of intertextual gaps being minimized and maximized by the narrator seems to be a convenient point of departure for the study of the active construction of genre. However, the variety of strategies that may be employed in the manipulation of intertextual gaps forestalls any enumeration of them; Johan Alén's narratives will serve as concrete, contextually situated examples of some of these, and more is not needed for my present purposes, which are to elucidate the peculiarities of these texts and their relation to tradition. (For a discussion of diverse strategies see Briggs & Bauman 1992: 149–155.)

For reasons that will be given below (see chapter 6.2), I conceive of Alén's two wonder tales as equivalent to Briggs and Bauman's examples of intertextual gaps as handled in mixed genres or genres linked to several sets of generic features, engendering a multiplicity of opportunities to manipulate intertextual gaps (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 154). Citing Bakhtin's notion of secondary or complex genres which absorb and digest primary or simple genres (Bakhtin 1986b: 61–62), they focus on the seams between the primary genres constituting the secondary ones. Viewing complex genres as means to exploit intertextual gaps, Briggs and Bauman stress that the mixing of genres "foregrounds the possibility of using intertextual gaps as points of departure for working the power of generic intertextuality backwards, as it were, in exploring and reshaping the formal, interpretive, and ideological power of the constituent genres and their relationship" (Briggs & Bauman 1992: 154). Thus, there is an interplay of minimization and maximization, and this aspect is of some import for my analysis. To summarize, the concepts utilized in the following discussion will be: *intertextual*

gap, minimization and maximization, entextualization, decontextualization and recontextualization.

It is time to look at the story itself:

1) *Tre prinsar*

He va eþngang in konung, som ha trí prinsar. Ti tvá gamblan apa endes ett han yngst, o kunna int tál an. Sidan sku dem fa osta sök se ti mág o skaff se hustror. To tem di tvá gamblan ha rejst so kom e kríg o to kunna int konunjin let tan yngst fa osta frí o sök se hustru, fy han motta iut i kríi. To he di kríe vast sliut, o an kom hejm, so vila an sid-an ijen rejs o skaff se hustru. Konunjin lova an ti rejs. Han rejst på lande, to bróðrin hans áter rejst ti stáder osta frí. To an rejst, so kom an til in lillan torparstugu i skáojin, o tíð so ji an in. Som an kom in, so sprang e möss frá o til på golve, o va i tuku bistryr som e sku ha vari vädinnun sjólv. Opp me spísin so va e hol, o tíð þjiuka e se óv, to e ha jáost va e sku jer i stugun. To prinsin kom in, so sá an árande sett: he an va osta sök se hustru, o to tykt mösse he an náok sku fá frí ti he. Når an bejdis ti fá tjöp mat, so laga e matin át an. To an ha jiti so bedda e opp senjin, so an fi gá osta ligg. Sidan e ha jáost he de, so þjiukka e óv neder i hole me spísin. Om morunin so bedda e opp senjin tibak, o to an sku fa so gáv e an in gulltjed. To an kom hejm ov sín fríarrejsu, so há han ti vís in gulltjed, to bróðrin hans áter fig óv sin briuduna bara silvertjeduna. Når an sidan kom ádrun gangun tibák ti he di sama stelle, so sprang áter he di sama mösse på golve o bistryr, som e sku ha vari vädinnun i hiuse. He laga matin át an, o he bedda opp senjin, o sidan e ha jáost sýsluna sin, so þjiukka e óv neder i hole sett me spísin. To an sidan sku fa hejm, so gav he di sama mösse an in gullstejd [sic], som han ha ti vís, to han kom hejm; to bróðrin hans ha injinting ti vís frá sín briudor, to dem kom ádrun gangun hejm. Når an sidan fáor tredi gangun osta frí, so sprang he di mösse i samma bistryr som ti förr ganguna: he laga matin át an, o he bedda opp senjin át an, o to all jörumál i hiuse va undan steóka, so tjfla e óv neder i hole sett me spísin. To e var gang som prinsin va tár, þjiukka óv neder i hole sett so snart e ha jáost arbejte sett, so tenkt an: "nó ska ja no gá skåd i he di hole. Han sá i e, o to va undi golve rigti grann bæn-ingsrium, o fína mamselder som sat tár o söma, o he di mösse, he va vädinnun. Om morunin to e kom opp so va e in fín o vakar mamsell, so int vakran kan va. Hun va to prinsis briud. To dem sku fa, so dráo un fram vagnin sín, o tåo eþinsas hestar o eþinsas þígur, o so bar e óv. Når an kom ti konungsgálin, so há han tan fínast o vakrast briud óv all trí bróðrin, *fast hun va e trull*, o so grann tþjörreþskap, so int konunjin ha vakran tþjörðaðon. (R II 27)

1) *Three Princes*

Once upon a time a king had three princes. The two eldest ridiculed the youngest, and could not stand him. Then they were to seek to become sons-in-law and find themselves wives. After the two eldest had gone off, a war broke out, and then the king couldn't let the youngest go courting and finding himself a wife, since he had to go to war. As that war was ended, and he came home, he wanted to travel again and find himself a wife. The king subsequently promised him that he could travel. He travelled

in the countryside, while his brothers in their turn travelled to towns to woo. When he was travelling, he arrived at a small crofter's cottage in the forest, and he went inside. As he came in, a mouse ran to and fro on the floor, and was in such a hurry as if it had been the mistress of the house herself. By the hearth was a hole, and into that it bolted when it had done what it ought to do in the cottage. When the prince came in, he stated his business: that he was looking for a wife, and then the mouse thought he might as well be allowed to propose to it. As he asked to buy food, it cooked food for him. When he had eaten, it made the bed for him, so that he could go to sleep. When it had done that, it bolted down into the hole by the hearth. In the morning it made the bed once more, and when he was to go it gave him a chain of gold. When he came home from his courting trip, he had a chain of gold to show, while his brothers in their turn only got chains of silver from their brides. As he came back to the same place the second time, the same mouse was running in a hurry on the floor once more, as if it had been the mistress of the house. It cooked food for him, and it made the bed, and when it had done its duties, it bolted down into its hole by the hearth. As he was to go home, that mouse gave him a golden spoon to show when he got home; while his brothers had nothing to show from their brides, the second time they came home. When he went the third time to woo, that same mouse ran in the same hurry as the previous times: it cooked food for him, and it made the bed for him, and as all work in the house was done, it scampered off down into its hole by the hearth. As it bolted off down into its hole as soon as it had done its work each time the prince was there, he thought: "now I'll go looking into that hole.["] He looked into it, and beneath the floor there were really splendid chambers, and fine damsels sitting there sewing, and that mouse was the mistress. In the morning when it emerged it was a fine and beautiful damsel, so that there could be none more beautiful. She was thus the bride of the prince. When they were to leave, she pulled out her carriage, and took her own horses and her own maids, and they were off. When he came to the royal estate, he had the finest and most beautiful bride of all three brothers, *despite her being a troll*, and so splendid driving equipment that the king didn't have more beautiful driving tackle.

The opening formula *Once upon a time* immediately pin-points the generic model to which the narrative is related. As a key to performance (Bauman 1984), it is an index of entextualization (cf. Bauman & Briggs 1990: 74). It separates the *text* from the surrounding discourse, now lost to us. (What we have is a doubly entextualized narrative, first made into a coherent whole in performance, then in transcription.) On the level of structure as well as content the text thus far accords with the model, and the intertextual gap is minimized: in the register of wonder tale prose—*register* being understood as "major speech styles associated with recurrent types of situations" (Hymes 1989: 440; Harvilahti 2000: 68)—the carpenter Alén describes the position of the reviled youngest brother, a common one in the folktale genre (Lüthi 1994: 43, 47), the quest for a wife, the prime goal

of many tales (Propp 1970: 99), and the superiority in beauty and wealth of the bride of the youngest son. There is a hint of humour in the depiction of the industry and domestic virtues, verging on the frantic, of the mouse, initiating a series of slightly maximizing segments (“As he came in, a mouse *ran to and fro* on the floor, and *was in such a hurry* as if it had been the mistress of the house herself. By the hearth was a hole, and *into that it bolted* when it had done what it ought to do in the cottage.”). This is repeated each time the prince arrives at the cottage of the mouse. The choice of words, the crucial elements of which are italicized above, creates multiple interpretative possibilities. On the one hand, the depiction of the behaviour of the mouse may be taken at face value, resulting in a minimizing interpretation of the intertextual gap. On the other hand, an ironic dimension may be discerned, leading to a relative maximization of the intertextual gap. Like Linda Hutcheon, I regard irony as relational, inclusive and differential. It is relational in the sense that it brings together both the said and the unsaid, and different people (ironists, interpreters and targets). The inclusive aspect entails a simultaneous presence of, or oscillation between, the said and the unsaid in the ironic utterance; both are required to produce irony. Finally, the unsaid is different from, not necessarily directly opposite to, the said (Hutcheon 1994: 12–13, 55–66). In this case, the oscillation between ironic and non-ironic meanings in Alén’s words corresponds to a dialogue of minimizing and maximizing strategies in his manipulation of intertextual gaps.

Yet a more fundamental subversion lurks beneath the surface, striking rapidly and vanishing with equal expedition. Contained in the subordinate clause “*despite her being a troll*”, it forcefully maximizes the intertextual gap. The distance between text and generic model is here at its peak. Immediately afterwards, the intertextual gap is again minimized, and the narrative is once more conforming to the conventions of the wonder tale in emphasizing the splendour of the driving tackle. Nevertheless, the effect of maximization lingers and has repercussions on the whole narrative; a new interpretation of the text is necessary. This is a lucid example of the recursive structure of meaning as well. It demonstrates the impact of the last sentence on the whole utterance, and on the preceding parts of the narrative, while stressing its own dependence on the latter in order to be meaningful (Vasenkari & Pekkala 2000: 250–251).

Hence Alén deploys two strategies for maximizing intertextual gaps in

this narrative: the first form is predicated on irony and its effects on the interpretation of the text. As a specimen of figurative language, it is a key to performance (Bauman 1984: 17–18), and plays a role in the entextualization of the narrative. The second relies on the narrator's metatextual comment on the real identity of the mouse, functioning as a textual element referring to the text itself (Hanks 1989: 107). Bauman and Briggs note that the metalingual function is fundamental for entextualization (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 73), and the example of Alén's text confirms it. His comment furnishes the final denouement of the story, which is rapidly drawing to a close. The text is being disengaged from the flow of speech at the other end, so to speak.

As I mentioned before, this variant of the tale goes against the grain of tradition, as it conflicts with the general construction of overtly marital relations between man and troll. If we juxtapose Alén's narrative with a variant recorded from Berndt Strömberg, we can see how Alén has decontextualized and recontextualized the tale. Berndt Strömberg's story represents a more traditional telling of the tale, and in the absence of information on previous contextualizations of the narrative as encountered by Alén, it will have to serve as a point of reference. The most obvious object of recontextualization is the role of the troll in the story: in Strömberg's tale, the troll caused the heroine's metamorphosis into a mouse (SLS 202 Sagor II, 15: 462). Alén has decontextualized this aspect and transformed the opponent into the heroine. This recontextualization is at odds with the conventional assignment of structural slots: a troll cannot really occupy the slot of heroine, especially not when marriage is involved, and get away with it. Amorous relationships between men and supernatural beings are numerous in oral tradition to be sure, but they tend to develop into tales of parting and abandonment (e.g. SLS 215, 248–250: 80), or poverty and misery (e.g. *Bygdeminnen* 1909: 38), in legends in particular. Extant wondertales do not incorporate this theme to my knowledge. Male trolls may abduct girls in order to marry them, but they do not get to keep their intended wives (e.g. SLS 37, 6; SLS 202 Sagor I, 8).

The last intertextual gap is also connected to an intertext, as the comment is a refutation of the proverb "Han som tar trull fö gull, får gråt sina nävar full" ('The one taking trolls for gold will cry his hands full') (SLS 37). The prince does not woo the mouse/troll out of greed, the wealth he acquires by his marriage is a happy coincidence, but still his choice of bride

defies the traditional wisdom articulated in the proverb, understood in its most literal sense. The “proper” interpretation of the proverb is of course more general, it is a warning against marrying for money, but the intertextual link established between the folktale and the proverb calls for a re-interpretation of both precisely in their relation to each other: the folktale suggests that it is indeed possible to be contented with the troll, as we all know that fairytales have a happy ending—or do they? Is it the eternal bliss of the wondertale that is open to dispute? Maybe the proverb eventually prevails?

A similar subversion is achieved in the second story narrated by Alén, “Lisl Matt” (‘Little Matt’), where the male offspring of a man and a supra-normal creature, unspecified of what kind, enjoys a fate afforded no other semi-human hero:

2) *Lisl Matt*

Ejn gang ji in arbis kár, som hejtt Matt ti skåojin osta hugg, o to kom in ståor kvinnu, kledd som in mamsell, o vila he han di kárin sku by frí til in. Han vila int gá in på he dé, men to an int slapp in, so jaol [sic] an in ti viljis. To an sidan sku gá hejm, so tåo un yxin hans o slåo in i bjerji o sá: “to fár in it förrán pojtsjin den komber o för in át de”. Han motta so gá hejm iutan yxin. Når tídin va in, so född hun di kvinnun in pojk, som un ti stjilnan frá fádriin hans, som o hejtt Matt, kalla lisl Matt. To fámton ár ha fylidi, so sá máodrun át pojtsjin sin, he an sku dra opp fár sens yxin iur bjerji o gá me in ti fádriin sen, so sku han tsjenn an, to an sku fá sí yxin sin, fy hun tykt he han nåo sku ha tíd ti föd an nö, to hun ha född an i fámton ár. Pojtsjin jáol som un bá an o dråo opp yxin o fáor ti fár sen. Som han fi sí yxin, so tsjend an in, o to tsjend an pojtsjin sen o. Han tåo imåot an, men han át so mytsji, so injin vila bát föd an. To an a vari najn tid me fádriin sen, so sá han át an: “int bátar ja föd de, jár je in konungsgål, ja ska gá fråg om int konunjin hár na arbejt át de”. Han jáol som an sá o ji ti konungsgálin. To an kom tíd o tala om árande sett, so sá konunjin: “ja sku ful int bihöv na karar, men ja hár in ox, som int najn kan tjör me, me han ska an fá tjör”. Når lisl Matt kom ti konungsgálin, so fi an sess ti báols me ti áder drenjan o jet förr än dem sku fa ti skåogs et na ved. Som an sestis osta jet, so át an so leng, so ti áder drenjan henda stífg opp o fa ti skåojin o kom tibák me vedin, to han ännu sat o át. To an sá iut jinom fönstre o vast vár, he ti áder drenjan va hejm frá skåojin, so vast an arg, ji o spend i oxin o fáor ti skåojin. Som an kom tíd, so hugd an ti stöst tré, som an hitta. To an huld so best på o hugd, so kom in bjön o reyv ihäl oxin hans. Som lisl Matt sá he, so riusa an óv tíd o slåo ihäl bjönin o kasta an på sledan o lá oxin me på, o so dråo an hejm hejla lasse. To an kom hejm, so ji an ti konunjin o sá: he in skåogskatt kom o reyv ihäl oxin hans. “Noh he je int so fálit, to dö hár in bjön, som bitálning”, tykt konunjin. To e ha vari najn tid, so byra konunjin gá o sörg o sá sorsli o bidróva iut. Ti slút so fréga lisl Matt va som fejla an, to an va so bidróva. “Va sku tö kunn jev me ráð om ja sku sej vafyri ja je bidróva”, svára konunjin an. Lisl Matt tykt he an sku nö kunn sej, vem vejt, om an int sku kunn jálp an. Konun-

jin sá to, he an a fá ðofred me in fríund, som va starkan än han sjálv. “Ja ska ful gá imàot an ja”, tykt lisl Matt. Konunjin va me om sátjin. Dem laga to mat át an fy rejsun: e magasin me brö, o e anna me smör. Lisl Matt tào to ejtt på var axla, o hun di grenin som an va et ti skåojin i handin, o so bar e óv ti kríi. To an kom tíð, o krigsfoltsji sá an, so vist dem int va e va. Två magasin sá dem, som kom skríðand framåt, men int na anna. Ti sliut so sestis lisl Matt neder, o lá magasinin på vejin o byra jet. To an át, so byra dem stjiut på an, men han át bara o rãopa, he dem int sku kast rosk i smöre hans. Når dem int sliuta óv ti stjiut, so tào lisl Matt tsjeppin sen o ji tíð o slão ihäl in stãoor hãop óv dem, o ti áder tào på flyktin. Sidan tào an magasinin på ryddjin o vandra óv hejm me grenin i handin som tsjeppin. To åter najn tíð ha vari, so byra åter konunjin gá o englas o va bidróva. Den he gangun fréga åter lisl Matt va som fejla an. Konunjin svara an, he två prinsessör ha kömi bost, o dem vist int vast dem ha teji vejin. Lisl Matt tykt to he han sku fa o sök opp dem. Konunjin lét an far. To ‘an fãor, so ji’ ‘an jinom skåogar o ödimerker, men va’ iutan mat, fy’ han tenkt’ ‘an snast sku’ hitt’ dem. Når ‘an ‘a’ vandra’ jinom skåogar o vildtrakter, so kom ‘an ti’ e tresk, tär in gubb sat o mejta’ i in båt me’ strandin. “Vil’ dö kom’ o brotas me’ me?” fréga’ gubbin. “Jeö’, he ska ja’ kom’”, sá’ lisl Matt, o so tào’ dem i krágatag men lisl Matt vann. Tem fylíktes sidan o kom sams he dem sku’ följas át. Gubbin fãld’ me’ ‘an, o so byra’ dem vander i lag. To dem vandra’ so treffa’ dem rej’ tan sama dáin på in gubb, som grefta’ emsend i skåojin. Han fréga’ át dem, om dem int’ vil’ by’ greft’ me’ ‘an. Dem tykt’ he sku’ va’ ti sama o byra’ greft’ i la’ me’ ‘an. Fy’ valenda dá’ so grefta’ dem in mil i fyrkant. To dem vast hungru’, so laga’ dem han di gubbin, som sat o mejta’ osta kãok. Han ji’ to ti’ skåojin o kom ti-bák’ me’ in ox, som ‘an lá’ i grytun. To ‘an kãoka’, so kom in gubb o vila smak’ o kлага’ he ‘an va’ mytsji’ hungru’. Gubbin tào’ opp e lærstykk o gáv ‘an smak’. Som ‘an fi’ smaka’, so át ‘an opp alt va’ som va’ i grytun, o so fãor ‘an sin veg. Tan annan dáin, to dem åter grefta’ in míl i fyrkant, so ji’ han di gubbin, som va’ hosbund i hiuse’ o kãok’. Han ji’ o ti’ skåojin et’ in ox, som ‘an slakta’ o lá i grytun o byra’ kãok’. Som ‘an huld på o kãoka’, so kom in gubb o vila smak’. Han som kãoka’ sku’ int’ ha’ jivi’ ‘an smak, men han kлага’ se’ va’ fy’skretsjeti’ hungru’. To ‘an fi’ smaka’, so át ‘an opp alt va’ som fanns i grytun o sprang bost. Tan tredi’ dáin, to dem åter ha’ grefta’ in míl i fyrkant o byra’ tsjenn’ se’ va’ hungru’, so ji’ lisl Matt o kãok’. Han ji’ föst ti’ skåojin et’ in ox, som ‘an slakta’ o stoppa’ i grytun. To ‘an kãoka’ som best, so kom in gubb o bejdis fá smak’ óv he ‘an ha kãoka’. Lisl Matt vila int’ jev’, men to han di gubbin lét ill’ om se’ o kлага’ se’ va’ hungru, so tào’ ‘an opp e lærstykk o gáv ‘an smák’. To ‘an sku’ smak’, so át ‘an opp alt va’ som va’ i grytun. Som lisl Matt sá’ he, so vast an arg, o so byra’ dem brotas, men lisl Matt, han vann, o gubbin riust’ óv iut o sprang ti’ skåojin, o lisl Matt bãket’ o líkasá ti áder gubban. To dem kom ti e brinnande holster, o gubbin sprang om e o lisl Matt bãket, so full an tíð, so lét bara ejngang “skvett”, o tär va tem di prinsessuna, som an va osta sök et. Tem di två áder gubban sleft to neder in korg, so an fi opp tem di prinsessuna, men to dem fi opp tem, so kasta di ijen(n) hole o lisl Matt lemna emsend tär. Han frejst arbejt se opp, men han orka int. To an int slapp opp, so ji an ti he di greftlande et jénstanjin, so an sku fá arbejt opp se. To an a arbejta opp se, so tào an bost tem di prinsessuna o fãor hejm me dem. To an kom hejm, so vast an jift me tun gamblost o et konunjis döð re-järänd i hans stád o stelle o rejära i sjiu hundra år et sin döð. (R II 58)

2) *Little Matt*

Once a workingman, who was called Matt, went to the forest to chop [wood], and then a big woman, dressed like a damsel, came and wanted that man to start wooing her. He didn't want to agree to that, but when he didn't get rid of her, he did as she wished. When he was to go home, she took his axe and drove it into the rock and said: "you won't get it until your son comes and brings it to you". Thus he had to go home without the axe. When the time had come, that woman gave birth to a boy, whom she, in contrast to his father, who was also called Matt, called Little Matt. As fifteen years had passed, the mother said to her boy to pull up his father's axe from the rock and go with it to his father, and he would recognize him when he got to see his axe, for she thought he would surely have time to feed him now, when she had fed him for fifteen years. The boy did as she asked and pulled up the axe and went to his father. As he got to see the axe, he recognized it, and then he recognized his son as well. He received him, but he ate so much that no-one could manage to feed him. When he had spent some time with his father, he said to him: "I can't manage to feed you, here is a royal estate, I'll go and ask if the king doesn't have some work for you". He did as he said [he would] and went to the royal estate. When he arrived and stated his business, the king said: "I don't really need any men, but I have an ox that no-one can drive, he'll be allowed to drive it". When Little Matt came to the royal estate he got to sit at the table with the other farm-hands and eat before they went into the forest for some firewood. As he sat down to eat, he ate for so long that the other farm-hands had time to go to the forest and come back with the firewood, while he was still sitting and eating. When he looked out the window and perceived the other farm-hands were home from the forest, he got angry, went yoking the ox and left for the forest. As he arrived, he chopped [down] the largest tree he could find. While he was just in the midst of chopping, a bear came and tore his ox to pieces. As Little Matt saw that, he rushed thither and killed the bear and threw it onto the sleigh and put the ox on top too, and pulled the whole load home. When he came home, he went to the king and said that a forest cat had come and torn his ox to pieces. "Well, it's no big deal, since you have a bear as payment", the king thought. When some time had passed, the king started to go around grieving and [he] looked sad and sorrowful. Eventually Little Matt asked what was the matter with him, when he was so sorrowful. "Why should you be able to give me advice if I were to tell [you] why I'm sorrowful", the king answered him. Little Matt thought he might as well tell [him], who knows if he wouldn't be able to help him. Then the king said he had strife with an enemy, who was stronger than he. "I'll certainly go against him", Little Matt thought. The king agreed to the matter. Then they prepared food for him for the journey: a storehouse of bread, and another of butter. Then Little Matt took one on each shoulder, and that branch he fetched from the forest in his hand, and he was off to war. When he arrived and the warriors saw him, they didn't know what it was. They saw two storehouses gliding forward, but nothing more. Eventually Little Matt sat down, and laid the storehouses on the road and started eating. While he was eating, they began shooting at him, but he just ate and shouted that they shouldn't throw refuse into his butter. When they didn't stop shooting, Little Matt gripped his staff and went there and killed a great multitude of them, and the others fled. Then he put the storehouses on his back and wandered off home with the branch

in his hand as a staff. As yet again some time had passed, the king started to go around fidgeting and being sorrowful. This time too Little Matt asked what was the matter with him. The king answered him that two princesses had disappeared, and they didn't know where they had gone. Then Little Matt thought he would go looking for them. The king let him go. When he departed, he walked through forests and the wilds, but was without food, for he thought he'd soon find them. When he had wandered through forests and the wilderness, he came to a marsh, where an old man was sitting and fishing in a boat by the shore. "Do you want to come and wrestle with me?", the old man asked. "Yes, I'll come", Little Matt said, and they fought, but Little Matt won. They were then reconciled and agreed to accompany each other. The old man followed him, and they started roaming together. Already on the very same day, while they were strolling, they met an old man who was ploughing by himself in the woods. He asked them if they didn't want to plough with him. They thought it made no difference and started ploughing with him. For each day they ploughed six square miles. When they got hungry they made the old man, who was sitting and fishing, cook. He then went to the forest and came back with an ox which he put in the pot. While he was cooking an old man came and wanted to have a taste and complained he was very hungry. The old man thus removed a piece of leg and gave him to taste. As he got to taste he ate all that was in the pot and went his way. The second day, when they once again ploughed six square miles, the old man who was the head of the household went to cook. He also went into the forest for an ox which he slaughtered and put in the pot and started cooking. As he was cooking an old man came in and wanted to have a taste. The one who was cooking wouldn't have given him a taste, but he complained he was terribly hungry. When he got to taste, he ate all that was in the pot and ran away. The third day, when they once more had ploughed six square miles and started feeling hungry, Little Matt went to cook. First he went into the forest for an ox which he slaughtered and put in the pot. As he was occupied with cooking, an old man came in and begged to get a taste of what he had cooked. Little Matt didn't want to give, but when that old man grumbled and complained he was hungry, he removed a piece of leg and gave him to taste. When he was to taste, he ate all that was in the pot. As Little Matt saw that he was angry, and they started wrestling, but Little Matt, he won and the old man rushed out and ran into the woods, and Little Matt behind him and the other old men as well. When they came to a burning mound, and the old man ran past it and Little Matt after, then he fell into it, it just said "splash" once, and there were those princesses that he was looking for. Those two other men then let down a basket, so that he hauled those princesses up, but when they had hauled them up, they filled the hole and Little Matt was left alone there. He tried working himself upward, but he couldn't manage it. As he didn't get up, he went to that ploughed field for the iron bar so that he would be able to work himself upward. When he had worked himself up, he took away those princesses and went home with them. As he got home, he was married to the eldest and after the king's death [he] ruled in his city and [in his] stead, and ruled for seven hundred years after his death.

Here entextualization is effected through the use of special formulae, a key to performance (Bauman 1984: 21): *Once* introduces the performance, *he*

was married to the eldest and after the king's death [he] ruled in his city and [in his] stead, and ruled for seven hundred years after his death signals its end. As for the distinguished position of Little Matt, it is, interilluminated by other variants of this tale type recorded in the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland, a departure from the common construction of the tale. For example, a narrative collected from Henrik Lilljans in the village of Dagsmark exhibits a more conventional approach to the story. Lilljans stresses the super-human strength of the demi-troll and the sheer impossibility of providing it with the amount of food it craves. Not even the substantial resources of the king suffice, and the troll is continually manipulated into situations to finish it off, a point the narrator is quite explicit on:

3) To konunjin it op na vís fí líve ov an laga' han an út op fälte o lág mátin át an i shú oxhúdar, o skikka in hél krigshér mót an. När an kom op fälte, so säst an nér o jét o to dom sköt o kúlor störsa i an o nager flög i smöraskin, ság an: "kva' je he för blábär, som stuntar okring me' sher?" So snart an ha jeti, to' an mátsätsjin o sló okring se' o slo' ihél kvarénda man. To alt hitsje va' jót, för an hejm. Som an kom hejm frogá' konunjin léver et án? Jó nó léver ja', men ja' ha haft ihél all áder. Sedan börja an bygg' en tsjörk, to un vór fárdi, so lemna' an bare e hál, ter an kona slipp' in; men to an va' i tsjörtsjun o späsera' ter, let konunjin krighérin sloss op un o sonder un. Sedan kasta dom stejnán in o to hinda' an it försvára' se o kast út stejnán tibák, utan ter vór an död. (R II 295)

3) When the king in no way managed to kill him, he ordered him out in the field and put food for him in seven oxhides, and sent a whole army against him. As he came onto the field he sat down to eat, and when they fired and bullets hit him and some flew into the butterbox, he said: "What blueberries are these flitting around me here?" As soon as he had eaten he took the lunch pack and hit out right and left, and killed every man. When all this had been done, he went home. As he came home, the king asked: "Are you still alive?" "Oh yes, I'm alive, but I've killed all the others." Then he started building a church, [and] when it was finished, he left only a hole through which he could get in; but when he was in the church and strolled around there, the king let the army break it open and down. Then they threw in stones, and he didn't have the chance to defend himself and throw the stones out again, but was killed there.

The reward for being a halfling and a monster is death, at least in this text. Isak Rön[n]holm in the village of Helsingby in the parish of Korsholm opted for a less lethal ending; he allowed his son of a smith and a hill *rå* to return to the otherworld in the arms of his mother (R II 62: 21). In recontextualizing the tale, Alén allows Little Matt to retain the unnatural strength and gargantuan appetite of his counterparts, but whereas the latter are sent to war in order to be conveniently disposed of, Little Matt's martial experi-

ence is dictated by his concern for the king; he nobly offers to fight in his lord's stead, and he becomes a trusted counsellor. The conflict between human and alien so conspicuous in many similar texts is wholly aborted in Alén's narrative, and transmuted into a representation of harmonious co-existence.

The subversion and maximization of the intertextual gaps are accomplished on the level of contents by inserting the motif of counselling, which gives a positive impression of Little Matt, and serves as an indication of acceptance, and by dropping the end of the tale, the death of the semi-human being or some other method of dispatch. Alén prefers to append episodes from two other taletypes to the thus "truncated" story, utilizing the intertextual technique of substitution (suppression + addition, see Genette 1992:384). The framing episode is found in its perhaps most popular form in the Finland-Swedish oral variants of the Norwegian tale of Lunkentus, in which the hero, often a soldier, goes off to search for the princesses abducted by a troll or some other supernatural being. Two companions are assigned to him or join him on the way, and when he has rescued the princesses by single-handedly slaying the troll, they betray and desert him, leaving him alone in the troll's subterranean dwelling. Unable to get out on his own, he finds a pipe and unwittingly summons the troll Lunkentus, servant of the now deceased troll king, who assists him in escaping his captivity in the bowels of the earth. Eventually he marries one of the princesses and becomes king after his father-in-law's death (see e.g. SLS 137 Sagor I, 1; R II 420). Some variants of the Dragonslayer (AT 300) also incorporate this motif (e.g. R II 138). Set into this frame is an episode from another taletype with a certain affinity with the former. In a variant from the parish of Övermark, a strong boy teams up with two other men of equal strength to live in a sauna in the forest. One day, when the boy is responsible for the cooking, an old man enters the sauna and asks for permission to taste the food. The boy gives him permission, but is angered when the stranger devours all the contents of the pot, and the boy strikes him with a hammer. The man escapes into the earth, but leaves a hole open, and through this the boy descends, lowered down by his companions with a rope. Underground he happens upon a woman who chides him for having hurt her father, who is lying ill in his bed. The boy kills the old man by substituting a harmless beverage for a poisonous one, and subsequently lets his friends haul the woman and her recently inherited riches to the upper

world. His friends are deceitful, however, and leave him stranded beneath the earth, where he encounters an old woman, who guides him back up. Then the boy slays his untrustworthy companions and marries the earth-dweller woman, living happily and contentedly for the remainder of his days (R II 327).

This narrative also features a marriage with a presumably supernatural being, but the boy is himself somewhat super-human due to his extraordinary strength, and he does not become king in a human realm, he turns into a rich, yet humble peasant. Alén's move of adopting the internationally wide-spread version combining this narrative (AT 650A Strong John) with Quest for a Vanished Princess (AT 301B) which casts the traditional villain as the hero of the tale is, in comparison with other variants lacking this addition, more radical as it definitely undermines and transgresses the otherwise strictly observed boundary between the human and the supernatural. The relation between representatives of the two realms can be cordial, of course, but it is precisely a relation between inhabitants of two separate worlds: each might make incursions into the other's territory, yet eventually they return to their own place in the scheme of things (see e.g. SLS 31, 146; SLS 202 Sagor II, 1; SLS 202 Sagor II, 24; R II 336; R II 339). Little Matt, on the contrary, is wholly integrated into the human sphere through successive maximizations of intertextual gaps, the first of which is his capacity as counsellor of the king, as mentioned above, the second by his assumption of the role of hero, and the third by his marriage to the eldest princess, which is as close as a semi-human might ever come to an apotheosis.

Alén's choice entails the utilization of a very specific story-line as well which is different from its common manifestation, here epitomized by the Lunkentus stories; in a sense, it is another example of substitution, this time on the level of individual motifs. In terms of entextualization, Alén is virtually recontextualizing the episode by excluding the abductor-troll, maybe to avoid a clash between two supranormal creatures, and replacing it with an anonymous perpetrator who fails to guard his acquisitions. The lack of a specified opponent obviates the need for a fight, and Little Matt can simply walk in and trot off with the princesses; or he would, if it were not for his deceitful friends. The fact that little Matt must also be his own helper is yet another instance of a recontextualization of sorts; as a semi-supernatural being, he ought to possess the qualifications to deal with such

crises on his own. Thus, despite his adoption into the human world, Little Matt does not renounce his super-human abilities, which is also demonstrated by his unusually long reign.

In this subchapter I have applied Charles Briggs' and Richard Bauman's theory of intertextual gaps in order to elucidate the ways in which Johan Alén changed traditional folktales. I have found the notion of maximization and minimization of intertextual gaps a useful one in this enterprise, as it highlights the strategies employed by the performer in actively constructing his relation to a given genre. Similarly, the concepts of entextualization, decontextualization and recontextualization have been instrumental in understanding this process of reconstructing and reconfiguring a genre. As I hope to have shown, Johan Alén utilizes diverse strategies for manipulating intertextual gaps and effecting entextualization: in "Three Princes", his deployment of figurative language, a key to performance, in the form of irony results in a dialogue of minimization and maximization, while his metatextual comment achieves a maximization of the intertextual gap. In "Little Matt", maximization is accomplished through the intertextual technique of substitution, both of entire episodes and of individual features in line with the characteristics of the subtype of the tale he has opted to relate, but in contrast to the general ethos of these tales in Swedish-speaking Finland. All of these strategies contribute to entextualization, as they help to mould and structure the narrative as a separate unit in the flow of speech, and so do the uses of special formulae in the beginning and the end of the narratives.

6.2 Parody

Nevertheless, "Three Princes" and "Little Matt" might be considered parodies of wonder tales as well, and here I investigate how the parodic features of Alén's narratives affect genre (cf. Simonsen 1995: 114–115 on parodies of serious folktales). The definition of parody has been the object of an occasionally fierce debate in recent years (see Dentith 2000; Hutcheon 1985; Rose 1993). The definition most in concert with Johan Alén's practice is that of Margaret Rose who construes *parody* as "the comic refunctioning of preformed linguistic or artistic material" (Rose 1993: 52; cf. Rose 1979: 35). *Refunctioning* is understood as the conferral of new functions on the parodied material, and it may imply critique as well, whereas *preformed material*

indicates that the material used in the parody has already been formed into a work by someone else (Rose 1993: 52). Hence I have decided not to eschew Gérard Genette's rigorous and rather structuralist distinctions in *Palimpsestes* (Genette 1992: 45), nor Linda Hutcheon's conception of post-modern parody, which is keyed to another form of parody than that exercised by Johan Alén (Hutcheon 1985; Hutcheon 1991).

Simon Dentith has stressed the status of parody as one of several variants of intertextual allusion referring to precursor texts with deliberate evaluative intonation (Dentith 2000: 5–6). He further distinguishes between specific and general parody: the former targets a particular anterior text, while the latter parodies a whole genre (Dentith 2000: 7; see also Rose 1979: 17; Rose 1993: 47–53). These categories are not mutually exclusive, as general parody relies on specific parody to generate the ambivalent dependence on its target typical of all parody. Since parody incorporates its target into itself while simultaneously criticizing and refunctioning it, this creates an ambivalence in its relation to the precursor text (Rose 1993: 51). Johan Alén's parodies seem to embody both parodic modes: he transmutes specific wonder tale-types into a narrative voicing critique of the genre as such. This metafictional aspect focuses and reflects on the processes of creating narratives (cf. Rose 1993: 48), and I will investigate the implications of it for Alén's texts below. His parodies are also fully developed formal ones comprising the whole text; their relation to the precursor texts and parodied modes is their entire *raison d'être* (Dentith 2000: 7).

In his discussion of utterances in which two distinct languages can be heard (types of internally dialogized interillumination of languages), Mikhail Bakhtin considers stylization and parodic stylization. As an understanding of the latter presupposes knowledge of the former, I will treat both in the following. Bakhtin characterizes stylization as an artistic representation of another person's linguistic style. Here the linguistic consciousness of both the one who represents, the stylizer, and of the discourse represented co-exist in a single utterance. Interillumination is achieved as the stylized language offers the stylizer a vehicle of expression unavailable in his own language, thus viewing the latter in terms of the former, while the process of stylization itself reaccentuates the stylized discourse and renders it in a new light (Bakhtin 1986a: 362).

When the intentions of the representing discourse conflict with those of the represented language, the result is parodic stylization. The represented

discourse no longer functions as a productive perspective; it is turned as a weapon against itself to bring about its own imminent destruction. But this devastation must not be too crude and petty if the stylization is to retain its status as an image of a language and a world view. Instead, Bakhtin emphasizes, “[i]n order to be authentic and productive, parody must be exactly a parodic *stylization*, that is, it must re-create the parodied language as an authentic whole, giving it its due as a language possessing its own internal logic and one capable of revealing its own world inextricably bound up with the parodied language (Bakhtin 1986a: 363–364; emphasis in original).

A lucid example of parodic stylization is to be found at the end of “Three Princes”. Here all the hyperbole of wonder tale wealth converges in a few sentences, and a distinct parodic intonation can be heard. Let us review the text again (italics indicate features crucial for my argument):

1) Han sá i e, o to va undi golve *rigti grann bœoningsríum*, o *fína mamselder* som sat tär o söma, o he di mösse, he va vädinnun. Om morunin to e kom opp so va e in *fín o vaker mamsell*, so int vakran kan va. Hun va to prinsis briud. To dem sku fa, so drão un fram *vagnin sín*, o tào *ejinsas hestar* o *ejinsa pígur*, o so bar e óv. Når an kom ti konungsgálin, so há han *tan fínast o vakrast briud* óv all trí brödrin, fast hun va e trull, o so grann tjørrejdskap, so int konunjin ha vakran tjördåon. (R II 27)

1) He looked into it, and beneath the floor there were *really splendid chambers*, and *fine damsels* sitting there sewing, and that mouse was the mistress. In the morning when it emerged it was a *fine and beautiful damsel*, so that there could be none more beautiful. She was thus the bride of the prince. When they were to leave, she pulled out *her carriage*, and took *her own horses* and *her own maids*, and they were off. When he came to the royal estate, he had *the finest and most beautiful bride* of all three brothers, despite her being a troll, and so splendid driving equipment that the king didn't have more beautiful driving tackle.

The whole passage is constructed in anticipation of the approaching denouement, and Alén cleverly exploits the doubleness of his words. On the level of the parodied discourse, the “truly splendid chambers” in which the “fine damsels” are sitting are simply the standard setting of a tale of this kind. The parodying discourse, however, points to another context in which these self-same markers signal supranormality, in legends in particular; the notions of “really splendid chambers” and “fine damsels” are habitually applied to trolls and *rå* and their respective abodes. This observation pertains to the “fine and beautiful damsel” herself as well: in the parodied discourse, she is a human, stunningly beautiful maiden, in the parodying

discourse she is an equally enthralling supernatural being. The lady's possession of a carriage, horses adorned with the most splendid driving tackle and maid-servants of her own further bespeaks her human wealth in one discourse, while it in the other exposes her otherworldly origin (cf. SLS 31, 146; SLS 137 Sagor I, 1; SLS 280: 132). In descriptions of the troll's demesne and person, precisely these features are often emphasized; in the following, I will examine this theme in some detail, as it has bearing on the subsequent discussion.

The opulence of otherworldly dwellings is occasionally hinted at in a single phrase, which functions as a *sêma*, a traditional sign of the kind pointing to an emergent reality (Foley 2000: 341) (John Miles Foley considers *sêmata* on two levels: on the level of the story-pattern on the one hand, and on the level of individual motifs on the other. The item quoted is of course a form of the latter):

4) He va' ejngang in pojk, som ha rík fyeldrar, o so fâor 'an ti' skâojin o kom ti' *in vaker byggning*, som va' in trullstugu. (R II 46)

4) Once there was a boy, who had rich parents, and he went to the forest and came to a *splendid building*, which was a troll cottage.

Here the supernatural nature of the building is specified, but this is not always the case. The motif will also recur in some of the texts soon to be cited. Alén, however, did not explicitly utilize this *sêma*, but he employs a similar setting, a building in the forest. It is possible that the *sêma* would have disclosed too much at this early point in the narrative. Another strand in the web of associations is furnished by one of Jacob Tegengren's contributions to *Budkavlen*, in which he provides a brief, but vivid depiction of the troll's abode:

5) Omkring 100 meter söderom den nämnda backen [Taipalbacken] finns på östra sidan av landvägen ett mindre berg – Högklint – som mot vägen stupar brant ned bildar en vägg, i vilken man säges kunna se spår av en tillsluten dörr. Detta är ingången till trollets eller rådares bostad. *En och annan, som i mörkret passerat stället, har sett dörren stå öppen och berget invändigt stråla av ljus och dyrbarheter. För några har trollets bostad tett sig snarlik en handelsbod med prunkande varor uppradade på hyllor.* (*Budkavlen* 1924: 85)

5) About 100 metres south of the aforesaid hill [the Taipal Hill] lies on the eastern side of the main road a minor hill—the High Cliff—which slants steeply toward the road creating a wall, in which it is said one may see traces of a closed door. This is the ent-

rance to the dwelling of the troll. *Some who have passed the place in the dark have seen the door open and the hill shining within with light and riches. For some the dwelling of the troll has seemed like a shop with costly items stacked on the shelves.*

Despite the fact that the formulations are obviously Tegengren's own, his interpretation is valid. Some records from the parish of Vörå do exhibit such a "mercantile" conception of the supranormal realm; there is a definite showroom quality to several of the otherworldly domains portrayed in my material. The resplendent chambers of the troll bride are therefore firmly rooted in tradition, as is the appearance of the lady herself, which is attested by a number of collected texts. During one of his field trips, Jakob Edvard Wefvar was informed of the locals' encounters with three female supernatural beings living in a hill nearby:

6) På Kondivor bjerg (Kondivorberg är beläget 2 (?) ryska verst ... från Jörala by i Vörå) så' ejngang in kvinnu, to 'un sökt et' káonan trí *mamselder* sit' övast på bjergspitsin o sjung. He dé va' midt i nattin, o sku' ha' stjédd' fy' na sjiuti' ár sidan. In ádrun gang so mött' folk i Jöral' iutanfy' in bundgál, Nikul kallad, trí *mamselder*. To 'an fréga' át dem, 'vadan dem va' hejm, so svara' dem: "från Kondivor bjerg." (R II 204)

6) On the hill of Kondivor (the hill of Kondivor lies 2 Russian versts ... from the village of Jörala in Vörå) a woman once saw three *damsels* sitting on the top of the rock singing, while she was looking for the cows. That was in the middle of the night, and is reputed to have occurred some 70 years ago. Another time folk met three *damsels* in Jöral outside a farmhouse called Nikul. When he asked them where they came from, they answered: "From the hill of Kondivor."

Here the women are merely called damsels (*mamseller*), but that is sufficient to pin-point their origin—it should be noted that *mamsell* also implies social distinction: urban bourgeois women were addressed in this manner. Similarly, the Devil was sometimes called *lord* (Wolf-Knuts 1992: 113), as were his underlings (SLS 28, 19: 88). The encounter is also peaceful: the humans have glimpsed the denizens of the otherworld at a favourable moment. All have not been so lucky, but it is sometimes their own fault. One who has only himself to blame for stirring up their wrath is the boy in the next narrative (cf. chapter 4.1):

7) in ánnan pájk ráka tvá *gránna mámselder* tär på vejin [vid Isomäkiberget]. tá an ha gá ám dem, så táu an ápp in stein á kasta bákett dem. mámseldran vart tá föárga på an á lága, så an int hitta heim élu vita vart át e var an jikk in i skáujin, men hitta int ut tíbak, fö an va skáuks taji. an hört kerrjuli á fáltsjí, sám ráupa ett an; men an va int stánd til

svar éli se dem. tá an ha gai in pa dagar, sá rúka an mámseldren ijénn tá bad an dem, he dem sku vis an pá véjin. tem sa tá: "du sku int ha vári ílak, sá sku du int ha bihöva va jár. men tá du béder nu, sá ska du slipp jan, á sá fösvánn dem, á þájtjin va bára fast i lánnsvéjin. (SLS 22: 16–17)

7) Another boy met two *fine damsels* there on the road [by the Great Hill]. When he had passed them, he picked up a stone and threw it after them. The damsels were then angry with him and made sure he didn't find a way home or know in which direction it was. He went into the forest, but couldn't find his way back, for he was taken by the forest. He heard cart wheels and the people calling for him; but he wasn't able to respond or see them. After he had walked a couple of days, he met the damsels again. Then he asked them to show him to the road. Therefore they said: "you shouldn't have been naughty, then you wouldn't have had to be here, but since you're asking now, you'll get out of here[...], and they disappeared, and the boy was just stuck on the main road.

The more ominous aspects of the fine damsels are beginning to emerge. Johan Alén was able to tap the multifarious meanings ascribed to the image of the fine damsel and use it in the verbal construction of his heroine. By insistently refusing to openly address the issue of connotation in his narrative, there is a permanent oscillation between the positive and the negative associations of the troll bride; this fundamental ambivalence is perpetuated beyond the boundaries of the text. The climax of indeterminacy in regard to the heroine's looks arrives after the divulgence of her true nature. A power intermittently utilized by trolls is namely the art of illusion, or possibly shape-changing, and the implications of that capacity are explored in the following account from *Vörå* (cf. chapter 7):

8) He va' ejngang in pojk, som in bjergtrullflikku vila by' frí til. Injin sá in, iutom pojtsjin. Han briuka gá et' vejnin o spásjár me' in o tala' ejtt o anna. Hun sá he 'an int' sku' tal' om va' dem braska me' varáder. Sliutligen byra' un kom tíð, tár 'an báodd', men injin, iutom han sá' 'in. He va leng' förrän han upptekt' he 'un vila jift se' me' an. Sidan tala' an om vem an umjigs me' o sá: "int sír ni 'in men to ja' rör handin me' sídun, so ska' ni vit' he 'un je' tár. Ja' får int' sej; fy' to fysvinder 'un." När un sidan kom e kveld, so röld pojtsjin handin me' sídun, o to vist' dem, he 'un va' tár. To pojtsjin jáol' he, so fata' hosbundin, som va' pojtsjis får eldbrandin iur spísín o sláo til, tár pojtsjin vist ... vann un stáo, o sláo lárbejne óv 'in. *To vast 'un synli, 'o he va' én gambel mensk.* (R II 70)

8) Once upon a time there was a boy whom a hill troll girl wanted to start wooing. Nobody saw her except the boy. He used to walk along the road and stroll with her and talk of one thing or another. She said he shouldn't mention what they were chatting about among themselves. Eventually she started coming to where he lived, but nobody saw her except him. It was long before he discovered she wanted to marry him. Then he mentioned whom he was seeing and said: "you won't see her, but when I move my

hand along my side, you'll know she's there. I cannot tell, for then she'll disappear." When she came one evening after that, the boy moved his hand along his side, and they knew she was there. When the boy did that, the master of the house, who was the boy's father, gripped the poker from the hearth, and hit where the boy showed she was standing, and dislocated her thigh bone. *Then she became visible, and it was an old person.*

Thus, whereas the superiority of the bride of the youngest brother is a matter of course in the parodied discourse, her beauty is far more sinister in the parodying discourse.²⁹ No wonder the bride of the youngest prince is more ravishing than the other girls with such powers at her command. What she might look like underneath the illusion, the parodying discourse darkly suggests, is impossible to say. This specific intertext represents the most serious attempt at undermining the positive image of the heroine by surreptitiously inserting an element of doubt or apprehension. I believe Alén actually strove for this effect, and I would argue that the intertext is invoked by the parallel with the transformation of the mouse at the end. It is evidently voluntary, and if she can assume any guise she wishes, why would her "fine and beautiful damsel" shape be the true one? Yet there is no hard evidence to prove that it is not.

If we are to follow this darker train of associations, the arrival of the prince to the cottage allows some occasion for suspense, but the reader realizes it only after the conclusion of the story. The inhabitants of troll or *rå* cottages are not always keen to entertain uninvited guests, and apart from being chased away in a most undignified and hostile manner, everyone has not come out of such an encounter entirely unchanged. One of the earliest records from Vörå describes such an encounter (cf. chapter 3.4.6):

9) I forntiden skall vid detta berg, en halfvuxen gässe ifrån Tuckor by som vallat boskap, och varit försedd(?) med en knif, dermed han åt sig löstskurit en käpp, och under vandrigen gått och snickrat denne käppen, och således kommit till Isomäki berget, hade han derstädes oförmodeligen kommit till en Herregård, der han gått in på gården, och der kommit att fästa sin uppmärksamhet å en der varande brunn, med vindställning, och dersom brunnhinken varit utaf koppar blankskuradt, som han kände sig törstig begaf han sig in uti Byggningen, i afsikt för att få sig något till dricka, inkommen uti

²⁹ Here I am working according to the assumption that the *performed material* is the text being parodied by the comically refunctioned narrative, but in reality the relationship between parodied and parodying discourse might be far more complicated. I have tried to take this into account by paying attention to potential ambiguities in the identification of the parodied and the parodying discourse.

rummet, stodo utmed dörren ett blankt koppar käril, om en såfs storlek fylldt med vatten, och vid spisen voro flere qvinspersoner likasom i brådska sysselsatte med någon Matlagning, och vid bordet har suttit någon, jämte en välklädd qvinsperson, gåssen stannade så vid dörren nära till det nämnda vattu kärillet af förundran, i detsamma kom en qvinna till honom, och afviste gåssen med orden: laga dig ut pojke, Bötesmor är här och gästar. Gåssen begaf sig så genast der af, men kom så med sin knif att röra vid det nernämnda vattu koppar (?) kärillet, men som knappast var han utkommen, förrän han blef överskjöld med vatten, samt kastade de samma vattukärillet efter honom (?); Gåssen kom då till det nära belägna Kukkus hemman och befanns han vara mycket förskräckt, med berättelse om hela denna tilldragelsen. *Gåssen blef deraf sedan sinnessvag för all sin tid*; och lefde likväl till någon högre ålder. (SLS 299: 34–35)

9) In the old days, by this very hill, an adolescent boy from the village of Tuckor, who had been herding cattle and been equipped with a knife, with which he had cut loose a stick for himself, carving this stick during the walk, and thus coming to the Great Hill, had suddenly happened upon a manor in that place. There he entered the courtyard and came to take note of a well with a winch which was situated there, and since the well bucket was made of polished copper and he felt thirsty, he entered the building in order to get something to drink. Having come into the room, a shining copper vessel the size of a tub filled with water was standing by the door, and by the hearth several females were, as if in haste, occupied with some sort of cooking, and someone was sitting by the table, as was an elegant female. In awe the boy therefore stayed by the door close to the abovementioned water vessel. Immediately a woman came to him and turned him away with the words: get yourself out boy, the Böte matron is here visiting. The boy left at once, but chanced to touch the abovementioned water vessel of copper with his knife. He was scarcely out [of the door] before he was showered with water, and they threw the selfsame water vessel after him; then the boy came with an account of the whole event to the Kukkus homestead situated in the vicinity, and was found [to be] very frightened. *The boy was then feeble-minded because of it for the rest of his days*, [but] nevertheless lived to some advanced age.³⁰

The boy loses his sanity because of this experience, and one question raised by this intertext is whether the prince escapes that fate. In other word, is he quite as sane as he appears to be? Or alternatively, is he wholly duped by the troll/mouse, and incapable of breaking free from her spell? The potential instrument of enchantment is indeed present in the text, in the form of the food she cooks for him. The boy in the previous record never got any

³⁰ Due to the awkwardness of the Swedish original I have felt compelled to disregard my otherwise fairly literal translation practice in this case in order to provide a more enjoyable English rendition. I have occasionally changed the punctuation, and in some instances the grammar of the text, but I have nevertheless attempted to stay as close to the Swedish as possible, given the circumstances.

victuals from the otherworld, but a narrative collected by Mårten Thors hints at the relation between food and enchantment:

10) he va in gang i metsjipe in flikku, sãm vala kâur â så tâu trulli inar â fört un ti se. hun va leng tär o hadd e bra. matin va â bra, bara un int velsina an, men tã vart e bara ti maskar o elur. int hadd un drygt â int kãm un ihåg na helder, men eingang så hört un tsjyrkkklákkuna. (SLS 28, 3: 69)

10) Once upon a time in Måkipää there was a girl, who was herding the cows, and then the troll took her and brought her home. She stayed there for a long time and managed well. The food was good too, as long as she didn't bless it, but then it turned into worms and lizards. She didn't pine for home nor did she remember anything, but one day she heard the church bells.

Eating the food of the supernatural realm incorporates humans into the otherworld, and thrice the prince dines at the cottage of the mouse. Unlike the girl of the quotation, however, he does not become invisible to his own kind. These intertexts emphasize the inherent danger of the prince's actions, and the last intertextual association to be presented reinforces this atmosphere of warning:

11) in flikku in gang vandra i skáugdjin (?) â kãm til in stáur tregál, tär e va mytsji epál. hun byra bit i eplin tã så un *in stáur vaker byggning* döran stáu ápp hun jikk in i he föst rymi va e bara brikkuna â klákkuna â tsjeduna â tuku denan. tã kãm un i e rym, tär e va klenin â vörâtsjáualan. tã kãm un i e rym tär e va fylklin â halsdukan tã kãm i e rym tär e va bössuna â knivana â yksuna â tuku denan â ti slut kãm un i e rym tär in stáur bláud-tsjitil stáu pu gálve â in seng stáu me vegdjinn fl. vart redd â kröup under sengdjinn. – tã in stánd ha vari, kãm trulli heim, för e va in trullstugu, â hadd in þájk â kvinnu mes-se. kvinnun tâu an livi áv â la bláudin i tsjitilin. hun hadd in ring pu fingri. trulli huggd áv fingri, så e tritta under sengdjinn. þájktsjinn ásta sök, men flikkun henda ta vara pu ringdjinn. tã int þájktsjinn hitta na, sa trulli, at an sku fá let e va áusökt, tärtil e kámber na meir. tã sprang fl. heim. (SLS 37, 3: 14–15)

11) Once a girl was walking in the forest and came to a large garden, where there were many apples. She began biting the apples. Then she saw *a large beautiful building*. The doors were open, she went in. In the first room there were only trays and clocks and necklaces and things like that. Then she came into a room, where there were clothes and Vörâ skirts. After that she came into a room, where there were aprons and shawls. Then she came into a room, where there were rifles and knives and axes and things like that, and finally she came into a room where a big kettle with blood was standing on the floor and a bed was standing by the wall. The girl was frightened and crept under the bed. — After some time had elapsed, the troll came home, for it was a troll cottage, and he had a boy and a woman with him. He killed the woman and put the blood in the kettle. She had a ring on her finger. The troll lopped off the finger, and it flew

under the bed. The boy was looking [for it], but the girl managed to keep it safe. When the boy didn't find anything, the troll said he could let it be unsearched for until more was coming. At that the girl ran home.

The text contains several of the motifs discussed above; the girl tastes the fruit of the otherworld, yet is not assimilated into the supernatural realm, like the prince. She spots a large beautiful building, the *sêma* for a troll cottage as the anonymous narrator overtly acknowledges, and the interior of the house is much akin to the shop depicted by Tegengren (text 5). Each category of items has its own place in the organization of the household. Although it is not stated explicitly, these objects might be the trophies of the troll, taken from the people it has slain. As Alén's story is a story of possibilities, the last intertext illustrates what could have happened had the prince not been so lucky as to encounter only a mouse in the cottage.

The rodent shape is in itself ambiguous. In the "conventional" rendition of the story (cf. the discussion of Berndt Strömberg's variant above), the mouse or rat sports a very positive image in accordance with the wonder tale evaluation of this animal as identified by Jan-Öjvind Swahn. Swahn argues that mice and rats are described in an endearing, often "sweet" fashion in wonder tales, and that they co-operate with the human protagonists to the advantage of the latter. There are no Scandinavian wonder tales in which these animals are viewed unfavourably, he states (Swahn 1984: 21). Nevertheless, in legends and folk belief, rats and mice are seen as disgusting little creatures, associated with every conceivable calamity (Swahn 1984: 17–19). Alén exploits the different perspectives on these rodents by creating an interference between the positive wonder tale image of them and the singularly negative one of legends, since his recontextualization of the mouse in the narrative (see 6.1) subjects it to a reinterpretation in the light of other generic models. The ominous qualities of the mouse are actualized in Alén's invocations of intertexts: the enthralling mouse/troll (cf. text 10: SLS 28, 3: 69), the devious mouse/troll (cf. text 8: R II 70), the punishing mouse/troll (cf. text 7: SLS 22: 16–17; text 9: SLS 299: 34–35). The intertextual associations of his parody thus "rub off" on the image of the mouse, giving it other and more horrifying dimensions. The guise of the mouse was also employed by those supernatural beings—trolls, witches and the nightmare—which inspired most fear in humans (Swahn 1984: 18), and the sinister connotations of the shape are present along with the positive ones in Alén's story through the intermingling of wonder tale and legend traits.

Hence, Johan Alén's narrative demonstrates the intertextual constitution of parody posited earlier in this chapter. Upon scrutiny, a finely wrought web of intertextual allusions traverse the whole text, evoked by his carefully selected phrases, but it is a sign of the sophistication of his craft that the parodic intonation and many of the associations remain implicit in the narrative until the last moment, when the listener, and the latter-day reader, is obliged to review and reinterpret the text. The disturbing results of this reconsideration is to some extent due to the intergenerativity of the parody; Alén superimposes what might be described as the code of the legend (the parodying discourse) onto the conventions of the wonder tale (the parodied discourse). This is why I proposed to view Alén's narratives as similar to mixed genres or genres linked to multiple sets of generic features.

Alén's parodies may also be labelled *metanarrational* or *metafictional*, since they comment on "the narrative itself and those elements by which it is constituted and communicated" (Babcock-Abrahams 1976: 179–180). According to Barbara Babcock-Abrahams, metanarration tends to focus on the code, message or medium of communication and, as a form of meta-communication, pertains especially to the relation between the narrator, the audience and the narrative message (Babcock-Abrahams 1976: 179). All of these are deeply implicated in the actualization of parody. Thus, in his parodies, Alén reflects on the act of storytelling as it has been practised by other narrators, and on the generic structure and composition of other texts (cf. Rose 1993: 92), thereby linking his own rendition to previous tellings of the stories. He criticizes the world portrayed in the wonder tale and the narrators perpetuating it by transposing the generic ideal of social climbing—prevalent in jocular tales as well—to an area where it does not belong, namely to the illicit transgression of the strict boundary between the supernatural and the human. He creates a forbidden liaison between the domains, defying the prohibitions designed to separate them, and subverts the marital ethic of the wonder tale. His violation of this generic feature attracts our attention to it precisely as a convention or code, and it distorts the message of the parodied text.

Similarly, Alén's parodies are self-reflexive, as they are used to highlight their own composition and audience too in the process of refunctioning the anterior text (cf. Rose 1993: 91–92). Once again, the construction of genre takes pride of place in the communication with the audience. In minimizing the intertextual gaps for the larger part of the narrative, Alén raises the

listener's or reader's expectations of a serious variant of a wonder tale only to disappoint those expectations in the maximization of intertextual gaps or the initiation of a dialogue between minimization and maximization. The disappointment of expectation is crucial in encouraging the audience to assume a more critical position *vis-à-vis* both the parodied and the parodying text, and in exposing the process of their composition.

The extent of reflexivity in parody has been the object of some debate, however. Margaret Rose, for example, denies that metafictional (metanarrational), reflexive parody undermines its own claims to a truthful or meaningful depiction of reality (Rose 1993: 96, 98–99), while Michele Hannoosh argues that it must call both itself and its target into question (Hannoosh 1989: 113). I have opted to side with the latter, for two reasons. First, in Alén's case it is obvious that he is not attempting to present a more "truthful" picture of "reality"; his version of the world is just as unrealistic as the wonder tale's. Second, he might be said to utilize one of the three techniques of parodic reflexivity discussed by Hannoosh: in his invocation of intertexts, he suggests other possible variants of the story (Hannoosh 1989: 117), casting his own as a non-authoritative rendition as susceptible to subversion as the parodied text. In this sense, his parodies are both critical and creative; on the one hand, they mock and attack the anterior texts, and on the other they engender a multiplicity of versions within themselves (Hannoosh 1989: 117). This is true of "Three Princes" in particular. Hence, the reflexive function of Alén's parodies harmonizes with their intertextual complexity, turning them into stories of possibilities on yet another level.

But are these texts truly parodies, or is their parodic nature merely a figment of my own imagination? My experience in reading folklore texts tells me that there is something odd about these narratives; they do not entirely conform to my expectations for an orthodox variant of the taletypes involved. Therefore I have begun to look for idiosyncrasies in the texts that might confirm their status as parodies, relying on my previous knowledge of these specific taletypes and of folklore narratives in general. In other words, this is a subjective interpretation; whether it is an overinterpretation as well is for the reader to decide. I have tried to suppress my wilder thoughts on the subject, and kept only those I feel I can defend with arguments based on the material and the information at hand.

Some of the peculiarities I believe myself to have uncovered are congruent with Margaret Rose's observations on the signals of parody (Rose 1993:

37–38): comic changes to the message or subject matter of the original or more common subtype of a taletype can be discerned, the (lauded?) marriage to a troll and the semi-troll being cast as hero constituting cases in point. In “Little Matt” passages from the basic taletype have been juxtaposed with passages employed in other types, in accordance with the international subtype, and the associations of the text have been changed because of it. Little Matt is no longer ordained to die, he has metamorphosed into a kingly figure worthy of marrying the princess (cf. the discussion below in 6.3). As for “Three Princes”, the associations of the story have been altered through the invocation of intertexts subverting the meanings of the parodied text.

Margaret Rose also discusses parody’s effects on the reader, enumerating “[s]hock or surprise, and humour, from conflict with expectations about the text parodied” and “[c]hange in the views of the reader of the parodied text” as such effects (Rose 1993: 38). This sums up my reactions to the two texts fairly well. The shock and humour derive from the perceived violation of the taboo against marriage between humans and supernatural creatures, and the parodies invite meditation on the world portrayed in the wonder tale and the norms governing it.

6.3 Chronotopes

Furthermore, the assimilation of the codes of the legend adds another chronotope to the story, and this has repercussions on the construction of genre and of the image of the troll. Mikhail Bakhtin uses the term *chronotope* to denote “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature” (Bakhtin 1986a: 84). It asserts the inseparability of time and space, and is a formally constitutive category of literature intimately connected with genre and generic distinctions (Bakhtin 1986a: 84–85). Bakhtin primarily used the concept in a broader discussion of entire genres in the history of literature, such as the ancient Greek novel and the chivalric romance, but it can also be employed in the case of individuals in a narrative (cf. Holquist 1990: 131–140).

A distinctive feature of some legends is that they imbue a portion of local space with history (cf. Bakhtin 1986b: 52). The place has a past, sometimes even a supernatural past, as in the legends I have adduced, and that past is still present there. Consequently, such spaces are multitemporal or

synchronous (cf. Bakhtin 1986b: 28, 41), many times co-exist in them, and they are significant in the present. They are not alien, without any relation to the present (cf. Bakhtin 1986b: 32–33). The heterochrony created by the legend brings the narratives closer to the individual; events have occurred in the listener's immediate surroundings, and this knowledge might influence future behaviour and experiences. By drawing such a chronotope into his story through allusion, Alén engenders doubt about the proper chronotope of the text. The doubleness of parodic discourse provides the perfect conduit for his exploration of chronotopic indeterminacy, but as Bakhtin stresses, it is a dialogue between chronotopes, not within them—the individual chronotope constitutes a whole (Bakhtin 1986a: 252). This multiplicity of chronotopes within a narrative contributes to the multileveledness of the text.

Chronotopicity may be further examined in the story of “Little Matt”, which does not lend itself equally well to an analysis of parodic stylization, wherefore I will abstain from such an investigation here and concentrate on other aspects of parody in it. The figure of Little Matt as portrayed in the text neatly demonstrates the perhaps most important facet of the Bakhtinian chronotope, its power to affect the image of man in literature (Bakhtin 1986a: 85). Little Matt's counterparts in other variants of the tale are precisely such ready-made, unchanging persons as Bakhtin describes in his essays on chronotopes and the *Bildungsroman* (Bakhtin 1986a; 1986b). Neither the world nor the hero is capable of change, everything remains the same no matter what happens. The price they have to pay for their stable identity is death and banishment from the human world. The moment Little Matt feels compelled to offer his advice to the grieving king, he embarks on a course that will lead him to his own becoming. He becomes a social being, unlike the other semi-humans, who are loners and occasionally somewhat antisocial. By involving himself in the king's life and concerns, he truly enters the human sphere and becomes an active, independent participant in the events unfolding in this realm, in contrast to the other semi-humans who only follow orders; they never do anything on their own initiative. They cannot make their way in the world, and they behave like automatons. While Little Matt really responds to humans, the others merely react to them. He learns empathy and altruism, to act selflessly on another's behalf. That he simultaneously functions as the king's somewhat unorthodox supernatural helper, and that he is well aware of his own physical superiority, does not change this fact.

Little Matt takes the next step in his development when he joins the other men and shares their life and work. Despite his seemingly indifferent attitude—he “might just as well” help the second old man with the ploughing—he makes a serious commitment in this part of the story. For the first time he is depicted as the member of a team; previously he has always worked on his own. Now he comprehends the value of co-operation. In his encounter with the beggar he demonstrates that he can let compassion overcome suspicion, even if the beggar has devoured all their food for two days, but also that he is capable of protecting the interests of his group. Later he is forced to realize that not even friends can be trusted, at least not in a naive way; whether he develops cunning because of this rather painful experience is not stated in the text.

Finally, the marriage to the princess consummates his emergence as a person. He has come full circle, from apprehending to protect his lord and then his community to assuming responsibility for a wife, and with her a kingdom. The private and public spheres are combined, the intimate and the collective. Since people tend to marry for love in wonder tales, they might do the same in parodies of wonder tales, and we may perhaps presume that Little Matt has learned to sustain a romantic relationship with a woman, the missing link in his evolution. Thus his education as a man, a husband and a ruler is complete.

That it is indeed a process of development and not the unfolding of characteristics already present in his personality is evidenced by the fact that it acquires plot significance. The whole plot is reinterpreted and restructured, as I have previously shown, and time is inserted into the image of Little Matt (cf. Bakhtin 1986b: 21). His entire life is remoulded, and with it the chronotope usually accorded the semi-human in the Swedish-language tradition in Finland. He transcends the limitations of his origin and becomes an unprecedented being, which brings us to the second dimension of his emergence. Not only Little Matt is involved in a process of change, the world is evolving as well. Since Little Matt is on the threshold of two epochs, and the transition is achieved in him and through him, the world is forced to follow suit. Shaken in its foundations, its becoming intertwines with Little Matt's (cf. Bakhtin 1986b: 23–24). The dominant chronotope of the story, the unspecified time and place of the wonder tale, preserves the semblance of hegemony, and the vague conception of temporal flow is rendered even more indistinct by Little Matt's longevity, but it is apparent

that he has subverted the ethical foundations of the world. The world must move to accommodate him if he is to flourish in it, and it indubitably seems he does.

6.4 Novelization

Moreover, the image of Little Matt is novelized by his process of becoming. For Bakhtin the hero of the *Bildungsroman* is in some respects one of the epitomes of the novelistic hero who is characterized by a discrepancy between surface and self. Any representation of him will be forever incomplete, as the fullness of his humanity is impossible to comprehend in a single form (Bakhtin 1986a: 37). In contrast to his counterparts, Little Matt has attained this non-coincidence with his exterior and achieved the status of an individual. The other strong men are almost epic personages, already completed and unchanging. Their fates and positions are predetermined and wholly commensurate with their persons. Nothing remains unrealized, since their interior and exterior, appearance and actions are on the same level. Yet there is no indication that their opinion of themselves is congruent with others' conception of them—as is the case in the epic, according to Bakhtin (Bakhtin 1986a: 34)—since that would imply they perceived themselves as monsters.

Hence Little Matt may be described as a novelistic character, like many human heroes of the wonder tale and other folklore genres. One of the roots of the novelistic chronotope(s), and thereby the novelistic hero(es), lies in folklore, as Bakhtin points out (Bakhtin 1986a: 206–224), and I am here transposing the concept of novelization to the sphere of folklore. I am not arguing that Johan Alén was influenced by novels—there is no evidence for that—but I am suggesting that he shared the novel's preoccupation with the image of man; many of his stories are games of identity, masks and subterfuge, operating with an ideology of non-coincidence of interior and exterior (see Appendix B for examples).

The novel also represents indeterminacy, openendedness, contact with the present and, on a more immediately observable level, dialogization, laughter, irony, humour and self-parody. Novelization means that other genres are drawn into this matrix and undergo a transformation (Bakhtin 1986a: 7). Bakhtin maintains that novelization does not entail an imposition of an alien generic canon on already completed genres, since the novel

lacks a canon, but a liberation from ossified forms impeding their development in a new historical context (Bakhtin 1986a: 39). Gary Saul Morson and Caryl Emerson have, not without cause, labelled Bakhtin's approach in "Epic and Novel" a version of novelistic imperialism (Morson & Emerson 1990: 301), and I concur that some of his statements are somewhat exaggerated, but I still consider the notion of novelization a useful one, for it delineates the process of applying a specific point of view on man and the world, which is most palpable in the novel, to contexts where it is usually absent. Moreover, though I will not at present explore this aspect further, novelization is related to other, more extensive social changes which boost it into primacy within the field of literature in a given period (Bakhtin 1986a: 7). Novelization is more a consequence than a cause.

I believe Alén is implementing a novelization of the image of Little Matt by boosting the subtype-specific chronotope with that of his favourite genre, the jocular tale, which, very much like the novel, is concerned with the inconclusive present and its social diversity. I have already outlined the essential traits of this process in the analysis of chronotopicity above, as the markers of both coincide. In addition, novelization and the chronotope of becoming engender a profound unfinalizability of the figure of Little Matt. Being a term with many meanings, *unfinalizability* may designate innovation, surprisingness, the genuinely new, openness, potentiality, freedom and creativity (Morson & Emerson 1990: 36–37). It is the precondition of creativity, ethical responsibility and historicity, as it is achieved in everyday processes saturated with the requirements of an ethical point of view on what is going on, and with the presentness and potentialities of each historical moment. Time is open, and at every moment any one of numerous possibilities may be realized. The present does not invariably follow from the past, and it is not wholly constrained by the past (Morson & Emerson 1990: 38–49). Unexpected things still happen, like Little Matt's becoming, and they occur in the context of everyday events, as in the social situations in and through which Little Matt grows as a person.

In the character of Little Matt, Johan Alén shows the potentials of true freedom, which is neither random nor imaginary (Morson & Emerson 1990: 39–42), but imbued with a keen awareness of the nature of time and the world, and the individual's place in it. Little Matt is assuming responsibility for his own place in existence, and is thus also created as an ethical being. He knows that there is "no alibi for being", as Bakhtin frequently

stressed in his early works (Bakhtin 1993: 40 *et passim*). This implies that he can relate to others while maintaining his sense of being a self, an open-ended, unfinalizable entity, and that he engages in earnest dialogue with them. Those themes, unfinalizability and dialogue, are the topic of the next chapter.

6.5 Integrating the Perspectives

If we return to the question posed at the beginning of this chapter—what happens to genre in Johan Alén's treatment of the two wonder tales—we can note that he transforms several features of the stories. Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman's conception of intertextual gaps has been of assistance in scrutinizing Alén's manipulation of the texts in relation to a generic model, while theories of parody have elucidated the double nature of his narratives. The conclusion to be drawn from the combination of these two perspectives is that the double-voicedness of parodic texts can be correlated to the minimization and maximization of intertextual gaps in such a way that, apart from the results presented thus far, the latter may be said to operate on two further levels, namely on the level of the parodied language which minimizes the distance between text and generic model, and on that of the parodying language which rather maximizes that distance. Here minimization and maximization are at work simultaneously, and the superimposition and interplay of them both contributes to the parodic effect by highlighting the discrepancy between the two languages.

In the case of "Three Princes" the references to various intertexts in the parodying language or text introduce a new form of maximization into the aforesaid language, as they insert the alien chronotope of the legend into the text. This chronotope and the intertexts associated with it are potential rather than real; they are always on the verge of breaking into the text and becoming manifest, but they never actually do. As for the story of "Little Matt", a maximization of intertextual gaps is achieved through the adoption of a subtype-specific chronotope linked to the image of man, or half-man to be correct. This is a more local and personal chronotope, but it has far-reaching consequences for the story in its entirety. The change in Little Matt's individual chronotope in relation to the conventional one in the Swedish-language variants of this tale type affects the world depicted in the text. I have labelled the chronotope of Little Matt *novelistic*, despite the

term's literary connotations, because it is an established designation for the prime quality of Little Matt's character, his unfinalizability. I have argued that a similar chronotope is to be found in many jocular tales, Johan Alén's favourite genre (see Appendices A and B), and that he has super-imposed it on the wonder tale, amplifying the parodic effect of the subtype through the incompatibility of that chronotope with the one of the common subtype of the tale. Hence Johan Alén manipulates chronotopes in two distinct ways: in "Three Princes" he employs intertextual allusion in order to add the more situated and disturbing chronotope of the legend to that of the wonder tale, whereas the epic chronotope of the semi-human is largely replaced by a novelistic one in "Little Matt" by connecting episodes to the story not present in the best-known version of the tale. In other words, I think those variants of AT 650A which include AT 301B function as parodies of AT 301, at least in the Swedish-speaking areas in Finland, where narrators tend to favour variants disposing of the semi-supernatural hero in some suitably gruesome way. In addition, I believe Alén's rendition of the subtype is enriched by its intergeneric relations to jocular tales.

To what genre might "Three Princes" and "Little Matt" be said to belong? The question is a tricky one, and I will not endeavour to offer a solution to it; I will merely point to some considerations complicating the matter further. Parodic texts have been variously construed as constituting a genre of their own (Hutcheon 1985: 18–19), or as comprising a subgenre of the jocular tale (Simonsen 1995: 114–115). The most productive point of view is perhaps furnished by Bakhtin who, while speaking of the parodic sonnets in *Don Quixote*, states that a parodic sonnet cannot be classified generically as a sonnet because the sonnet form does not function as a genre in this case; it is rather the object of representation, the real hero of the parody. It is an image of a sonnet, not a proper sonnet (Bakhtin 1986a: 51). Similarly, the wonder tale as parodied by Johan Alén is not a real wonder tale, but the image of a wonder tale.

So why did Johan Alén tell such odd variants of the tales? At this point the metanarrational aspects of parody come to the fore. One possible explanation has already been hinted at, i.e., the desire to criticize the world portrayed in the wonder tale and the narrators cherishing it; Alén might have had ideological objections to the world view reigning in the wonder tale. Simultaneously, he might have felt that his chosen genre was being denigrated and overshadowed by the wonder tale in the minds of folklore

collectors, and maybe of his local audience as well; a preference for the wonder tale is quite evident in the sheer size of the collections of that kind of material as compared to the much smaller corpus of jocular tales. This is pure speculation on my part, but I think it is a distinct possibility. However, there are some weak spots in this argument. The first is that Alén's narratives were collected very early, and he can hardly have encountered any folklore collectors before Wefvar interviewed him, since he was one of the pioneers; this might suggest a local exaltation of the genre of the wonder tale, or of a noted performer specializing in that genre, but that is by no means certain. The second is that Wefvar does not seem to have disdained jocular tales, for he recorded many of those that have been preserved. That does not exclude the possibility that he might have asked Alén for wonder tales as well, and that he received the parodies as a response to that request. Nevertheless, such a scenario makes the existence of the apparently serious wonder tales even more mysterious than it was before, unless we posit that Alén narrated them when he had calmed down enough to take Wefvar's entreaty for what it was, a probing of the extent of his repertoire, but that is, once again, mere speculation. Alén's incentives in this regard remain indecipherable.

7 THE PROBLEMS OF UNFINALIZABILITY AND DIALOGUE

7.1 Introduction

Unfinalizability is, as celebrated by Bakhtin in his book on Dostoevsky (first published in 1929), and in his own way, by Johan Alén in “Little Matt”, in the context of traditions of the supernatural, sometimes more of a curse than a blessing. The *unfinalizability* or *indeterminacy* of supranormal creatures—the terms will be used interchangeably—is keenly felt as a shortcoming and a source of fear for humans, as some of the examples given below will demonstrate. Rather than embracing unfinalizability as a necessarily positive value, then, a persistent urge to finalize, or consummate, supernatural beings is occasionally evinced, and it may take radical forms (see chapter 7.3, where I focus on this aspect). Often, however, trolls and their kith and kin continue to be bewilderingly unfinalized. Though this may be to the chagrin of the human protagonists, it is also the lifeblood of the supranormal tradition, as noted by Catharina Raudvere (Raudvere 1993: 122–123). Hence, stories of the supernatural regarded as a genre often seem to require the unfinalizability of supranormal beings in order to be effective as narratives. Therefore, I propose to study finalization and unfinalizability in troll narratives, and to consider the ways in which it moulds the relationship between man and supernatural creatures in the stories (the third level of inquiry as mentioned in chapter 1.1). In this context I use the term *unfinalizability* to refer to the construction of the image of the individual in narrative, as well as to the construction of the narrative as a whole.

The conceptual framework needed to analyze troll tradition is not only that of the positive unfinalizability of *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (the 1963 revised edition), but also that of the prepolyphonic Bakhtin of *Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity* (here cited according to the French translation by Alfreda Aucouturier), when he had not yet discovered the pervasive influence of the word on human subjectivity. In this early work, written in the 1920s, Bakhtin was much concerned with finalization and the self–other distinction. More importantly, he also pondered the “distortions” of the artistic image effected by an incomplete finalization. I believe the notion of defective finalization may be of assistance in investigating finalization and unfinalizability in the narratives, as it can be used to highlight

the anxieties of the latter, even though it was not expressly devised for that purpose.

The concept through which Bakhtin explored the relation of author and hero (self and other) was *outsideness*. In aesthetic activity, he argued, it was the task of the author to finalize his characters, see them as a unified whole, by remaining outside of their consciousness in space, time and values (Bakhtine 1984: 36). In order to achieve this finalization, the author must use his surplus, the wider vision and knowledge he possesses that is inaccessible to his characters. Bakhtin construed finalization as a gift granted by the author to the hero, who is himself incapable of accomplishing it from within his own being. The self cannot finalize itself—finalization always comes from the outside—and if it could, it would be devastating: the principal characteristic of the self is that it never coincides with itself, and it is this trait that ensures the possibility of life and action (Bakhtine 1984: 34–35). A finalized self would not be a living self.

The surplus of vision exercised by the author is determined by his unique place in existence, which he must occupy if his efforts are to be useful and meaningful, and his acts ethically responsible and humane. Bakhtin strongly emphasized the significance of maintaining outsideness in situations demanding a genuine understanding of the predicament of the other. He does not entirely deny the utility of identification with the other, but he insists that the process cannot end there. Identification is not an aesthetic act, and it does not engender a new perspective on an event. Bakhtin illustrates his point with the case of a person in pain: merely re-living his sensation, i.e., duplicating his experience, is utterly unproductive; what he craves is succor and kind words, and in order to provide that, you have to be within your own horizon. You must feel his anguish in the category of the other (Bakhtine 1984: 44–47; cf. Bakhtine 1984: 100).³¹

Hence Bakhtin posited a fundamental difference between the ways self and other are perceived. The self cannot be subjected to any of the finalizing measures fixing the other in space, time and meaning, as mentioned above. The self lacks the visual and conceptual tools to see itself as a boun-

³¹ Bakhtin returned to his notion of outsideness in one of his last essays, "Response to a Question from *Novy Mir*", where he contemplated the state of literary research in the 1970s and criticized the tendency to "go native" in the encounter with another culture. Only a position outside the foreign culture is mutually enriching, he states (Bakhtin 1986b: 6–7).

ded whole in space, surrounded by the world, as the other is always beheld. Instead, the self is situated on the boundary of its visual horizon, and the world stretches out before it. The other is contained within his exterior form, with which his interior fully coincides, while the self perceives itself as engulfing and embracing the world, rather than being circumscribed by it. Likewise, the other is an object for the self, and is wholly within the object, but the self cannot be its own object and still coincide with itself. Somehow, the self is perpetually spilling over the brim, transcending the categories striving to enclose it: it is tangential to all categories (Bakhtine 1984: 55–59).

The other as defined by the self is embodied, all of him is invested in his body conceived as an aesthetically significant boundary, which ensures his finalization; for the self, no such significant boundary exists (Bakhtine 1984: 103). The embodiment of the other comprises both his spatial and his temporal whole. Both are transgredient, that is they surpass his individual consciousness, and both are generated by the self's surplus of spatial and temporal vision *vis-à-vis* the other, finalizing his entire outer and inner life (Bakhtine 1984: 103, 111, 114–115).

The temporal boundaries within which the self circumscribes the other are his birth and death. According to Bakhtin, the actual or imagined death of the other is of prime importance in creating a finalized, temporal image of him—he is viewed stripped of his future, his life is condensed and rhythmicized, as his open future and present is assimilated into the past (Bakhtine 1984: 114–115, 117, 127). In this sense, the other must be formally dead for the self. As Bakhtin writes, “la mort est la forme esthétique d'achèvement de la personne”, and the tonality of the requiem follows the embodied hero all his life (Bakhtine 1984: 139). In contrast, the life of the self can never be comprehended in terms of life and death, since they never become events for the self; the self cannot live them. In order to experience its own death, it would have to live the other, for whom its passing is an event. The self remains unfinalizable in this respect as well, and it encompasses the life of the other (Bakhtine 1984: 116).

The other is completely inserted in time, whereas the self is not wholly in time: it does not live the temporality of its life, it lives in a sequence of meanings, and its *raison d'être* is always located in the future. Thus the unity of the self is a unity of meaning, while the unity of the other is spatio-temporal in nature (Bakhtine 1984: 119–120, 131).

In this theory of aesthetic activity, unfinalizability emerges as a weakness on the part of the author, as a malfunction of finalization. Autobiographical writing is especially prone to it, as author and hero are essentially the same person, and it might be hard to establish an outside position to an image of oneself, but there are other instances as well (Bakhtine 1984: 39–42). One possible consequence of this kind of unfinalizability is that the hero is transferred to the category of self and loses his status as other. His body and soul may disintegrate, his boundaries dissolve (Bakhtine 1984: 138–140). My hypothesis is that the same happens to the troll in many texts, for every story-teller wishing to narrate the supernatural seems to be in a similar quandary, but for different reasons. The problem is not that he or she merges with the other, it is rather that the supranormal being is too much of a self. At this juncture it might be appropriate to return to the concept of unfinalizability represented by the Dostoevsky book. Here Bakhtin links unfinalizability to the polyphonic novel, contrasting it with the finalization typical of the monological novel. The author of the polyphonic novel, Bakhtin states, does not view the consciousness of the other as an object, he perceives it as equal to himself, interminable and unfinalizable. He assumes a dialogical position *vis-à-vis* the hero (Bakhtin 1991: 71, 76), who is marked by all the characteristics of the self. In other words, Bakhtin completely re-evaluated his former stance regarding the desirability of finalization and unfinalizability; the latter is no longer an error, but the acme of artistic achievement. The unfinalizable image of the troll may likewise be said to entail a dialogical position on the part of the narrator in relation to the supranormal. Thus, I intend to examine the problem of unfinalizability in the texts from the point of view of the narrator and the requirements of the genre on the one hand, and from the perspective of the characters within the text on the other. The latter will be the prime focus of inquiry. In this case, the *self* will be regarded as the character from whose perspective the events and other characters in the narrative may be viewed, while the *other* is the object of the self's perceptions. No character will be defined as *the* self in the narrative; each is a self in relation to himself, but an other to the other characters.

When I speak of the point of view of the narrator, however, some qualifications must be made. Since the texts analyzed are traditional narratives, I do not presume that the narrator has total liberty to mould the story as he wishes. He must take the tradition into account, and refer to the conven-

tional structure and motifs of the story; I am not claiming that the performers invented the narratives or that they are responsible for their every detail in the same way as literary authors might be, momentarily disregarding the controversy over intentionality. Yet in choosing to narrate the stories, they assume some responsibility for the shaping of the texts, and they put their own stamp on the narratives. *The narrator* therefore partly corresponds to the author-function, an impersonal, narratological slot that is nevertheless filled by a particular individual. Both aspects are relevant in the ensuing discussion.

Concerning genre, I have just devoted the preceding chapter to demonstrating its active construction in narration. I have not abandoned that point of departure; in this chapter my ambition is to investigate the construction of genre in terms of unfinalizability rather than of intertextual gaps. As I believe unfinalizability is an important ingredient in narratives of the supernatural viewed as a genre, the stress will be on more orthodox renditions of such stories.

7.2 The Terrors of Unfinalizability

In his discussion of the spatial whole of the hero, Bakhtin gives an example of the functioning of the surplus of vision, which is illuminating in many ways. It has particular significance for the narrative to be analyzed below, and it deserves to be quoted in full:

Lorsque je contemple un homme situé hors de moi et face à moi, nos horizons concrets, tels qu'ils sont effectivement vécus par lui et par moi, ne coïncident pas. Aussi près de moi que puisse se trouver cet autre, je verrai et je saurai toujours quelque chose que lui-même, de la position qu'il occupe, et qui le situe hors de moi et face à moi, ne peut pas voir: les parties de son corps inaccessibles à son propre regard—sa tête, son visage, l'expression de ce visage —, le monde auquel il a le dos tourné, tout un ensemble d'objets et de rapports qui, en fonction du rapport respectif dans lequel nous pouvons nous situer, sont accessibles à moi et inaccessibles à lui. Lorsque nous nous regardons l'un l'autre, deux mondes différents se reflètent dans la pupille de nos yeux. (Bakhtine 1984: 44)³²

³² "When I contemplate a person situated outside of me and in front of me, our concrete horizons, such as they are actually experienced by him and me, do not coincide. However close to me that other can find himself, I will always see and know something that he, from the position he occupies and that situates him outside of me and in front of me, cannot see: the parts of his body inaccessible to his own gaze—his head, his face, the

Here Bakhtin describes perception in very concrete, visual terms, and despite the wider applicability of this notion, I will dwell on its material aspects, for the question to be answered is: what happens when visual stimuli are absent, as in this story?

1) He va' ejngang in pojk, som in bjergtrullflikku vila by' frí til. Injin sá in, iutom pojtsjin. Han briuka gá et' vejn o spsjär me' in o tala' ejtt o anna. Hun sá he 'an int' sku' tal' om va' dem braska me' varáder. Sliutligen byra' un kom tíð, tár 'an báodd', men injin, iutom han sá 'in. He va leng' förrän han upptekt' he 'un vila jift se' me' an. Sidan tala' an om vem an umjigs me' o sá: "int sír ni 'in men to ja' rör handin me' sídun, so ska' ni vit' he 'un je' tár. Ja' får int' sej; fy' to fysvinder 'un." När un sidan kom e kveld, so röld pojtsjin handin me' sídun, o to vist' dem, he 'un va' tár. To pojtsjin jáol' he, so fata' hosbundin, som va' pojtsjis får eldbrandin iur spísin o sláo til, tár pojtsjin vist ... vann un stáo, o sláo lárbejne óv 'in. To vast 'un synli', o he va' én gambel mensk. När 'un sidan sku' fa', so sku' 'un ha' vila há' najnting óv pojtsjin: na klésplagg, elu na anna, men tem gáv 'in int'. Sliutligen so bejdis 'un e hásstrá helst. He tykt' dem 'un sku' kunn' fá, o gáv 'in e (iur pojtsjis huvu). So fáor 'un óv, to 'un fi' tag' i hásstrá, men innan kost, so va' pojtsjin iutan há. (R II 70)

1) Once upon a time there was a boy whom a hill troll girl wanted to start wooing. Nobody saw her except the boy. He used to walk along the road and stroll with her and talk of one thing or another. She said he shouldn't mention what they were chatting about among themselves. Eventually she started coming to where he lived, but nobody saw her except him. It was long before he discovered she wanted to marry him. Then he mentioned whom he was seeing and said: "you won't see her, but when I move my hand along my side, you'll know she's there. I cannot tell, for then she'll disappear." When she came one evening after that, the boy moved his hand along his side, and they knew she was there. When the boy did that, the master of the house, who was the boy's father, gripped the poker from the hearth, and hit where the boy showed ... she was standing, and dislocated her thigh bone. Then she became visible, and it was an old person. When she was about to leave, she wanted to have something from the boy: some piece of clothing, or something else, but they didn't give her. Finally she asked for a hair at least. That they thought she could have and gave it to her (from the boy's head). Then she went off, as she got hold of the hair, but shortly thereafter, the boy lost his hair.

Viewed from the parents' perspective, the invisibility of the troll girl to anyone but the boy constitutes her not as an other, but as a self, and it has profound implications for their relation to her. One of the main criteria for

expression of that face—, the world to which he has turned his back, a whole of objects and relationships that, according to the respective relationship in which we can place ourselves, are accessible to me and inaccessible to him. When we look at each other, two different worlds are reflected in the pupil of our eyes." (My translation.)

perceiving another person as an other was, according to Bakhtin, the ability to create a bounded image of that person, and in this case, it is impossible to do so, due to the invisibility of the troll. The troll is therefore transferred to the category of the self which is characterized by just such a lack of, and the impossibility of the existence of, a bounded image. The parents' position of outsideness loses its significance completely, as it utterly fails to endow the troll with a body and soul, and hence to finalize it. To them, the troll is not contained within her exterior form, and her interior does not coincide with that form. If the boy had not been able to hint at her whereabouts, she might as well have been engulfing and embracing the world, like the self, but in a physically more concrete sense; in other words, she could be anywhere and everywhere. Thus, she is not an object for the parents, nor does she possess any significant boundary that could pin-point her in any respect; put in relation to Bakhtin's distinctions, this would place her in the category of the self. Her temporal whole, circumscribed by her birth and death, is entirely inaccessible to them; for all they know, she might be the one encompassing their lives, i.e., they are objects for her, creatures finalized by the supernatural, but they cannot reciprocate by making her embodied, contained within her boundaries. This is one of the reasons for their anxiety and the desperation with which they strive to make her visible. The infliction of pain propels her to abandon her invisibility and assume a tangible shape. In Scandinavian folklore it is a standard trick for coping with the nightmare and witches appearing in animal guise or as artefacts: the pain recalls them to their true shape due to the analogic relation between the physical and spiritual bodies; harming one body has repercussions for all the other ones (Raudvere 1993: 48). The adoption of a physical body enables the normal operation of outsideness; the parents finally succeed in giving the troll material boundaries. The assignation of her temporal boundaries is interesting: her advanced age places her closer to the end of her life, which facilitates finalization. The life-span of the troll becomes possible to grasp for humans when her death is foreseeable.

A consequence of Bakhtin's conception of self and other is that the self always constructs its identity in relation to others (cf. Holquist 1990: 28–29). Here it might be appropriate to consider what the other offers the self in this respect. I have already touched upon the one-sided finalization of the boy's parents available to the troll. This kind of finalization is not a gift from the other to the self, because it lacks a crucial ingredient: love. For

Bakhtin, the gift of form requires aesthetic love; the author must view the other with love, and love him as he is. This gift must also be given for the benefit of the recipient (Bakhtin 1984: 102). That is not the case here, nor does love enter the equation in the parents' later finalization of the troll. The lack of love is a key to the difficulties in achieving true consummation on both sides, for love has a gift of its own to give, namely patience to lovingly create the image of another, to dwell on the particulars (Bakhtin 1993: 64; Emerson 2000: 262–263). In the end, they do not wholly fail, but they never reach the heights of loving finalization. If we follow Bakhtin, their relation cannot be entirely loveless, since indifference merely results in total neglect. Similarly, aesthetic love does not exclude negative reactions (Emerson 2000: 236), but these must not overwhelm everything else. The lack of aesthetic love is significant because it often exacerbates the horror of supernatural encounters; the problem is not only that supranormal beings are difficult to finalize and to understand, but that humans seldom have the time and motivation to attempt to finalize the supernatural with patience and care. They desperately scramble to consummate the supranormal, and do not give the process time. That is not entirely their own fault, as encounters tend to be brief and intense, and potentially dangerous, but it impedes the relationship between man and troll, and obstructs finalization.

The type of finalization prevalent in the relation between the troll and the boy's parents is a more negatively weighted one, and it is non-dialogical. There are no efforts to genuinely understand and listen to the other. In the case of the parents, they may hope that their finalization will fix the identity of the troll, and hence be authoritative for her as well. To some extent this ambition is realized, as the form of the troll coincides with their finalization, but consummation of this sort cannot be productive for the recipient. In other words, this type of finalization is not constructive for the other, but it may offer the finalizing agent some selfish satisfaction.

The story does not end there, though. In the last part of the text the troll negotiates with the boy's parents, to judge by the plural, in order to obtain some possession of his. Negotiation demands a certain degree of sensitivity and understanding, even when it is used for manipulation. The participants have to take the other's point of view into account if the negotiation is to be successful. They take a little step toward a dialogical relation, but it is never fully actualized. Eventually, the troll prevails and receives a small token, a single hair from the boy's head. Her subsequent abuse of this gift

by employing it for black magic reasserts her negative unfinalizability, as it emphasizes the unexpectedness of her actions.

If we turn to the boy's relation to the troll, we may note the initial, dialogical position he assumes in his interaction with her. For him, the troll girl is a Thou; he addresses her as another, alien self, and he respects her independence, inner freedom and unfinalizability (cf. Bakhtin 1991: 71). Despite the fact that he can perceive her physical form, and thus would be able to finalize her spatially and temporally, he seems to refrain from it, allowing her to reveal herself in dialogue; or that is what the narrator implies, since they chatted among themselves, speaking of one thing or another—these dialogues are not represented in the text.

Bakhtin's conception of dialogue has been compared to Martin Buber's, for natural reasons. It has been argued that the main characteristic distinguishing the former from the latter is that Bakhtin did not adopt the vertical, metaphysical form of dialogue so distinct for Buber, nor did he posit an eternal or absolute Thou. Caryl Emerson suggests that Bakhtin always preferred to approach an ethical problem from an everyday perspective, since abstract formulations tend to engender passivity (Emerson 2000: 232–233). Dialogue must be situated, take place between people, and there are no guarantees that it will be successful or even wholesome. Dialogue is unstable, subject to the vicissitudes of interpersonal relations, and it is a task to keep it going. The difficulties of dialogue should not be underestimated (Emerson 2000: 149), as we will see in the following.

To what extent his dialogical orientation to the troll girl changes when he realizes she wishes to marry him, and when she starts paying him unwanted visits in his home, is hard to tell. The text does not give us much to go on, all we can do is speculate. It is possible that he is no longer as willing to listen unconditionally as he was before; if so, their dialogical relation deteriorates, slowly being degraded to monologue. When he betrays her, their dialogic interaction is at an end. Now another deception becomes evident: the girl is actually an old woman, and she has been duping the boy all along. What happens to dialogue after this exposure? Not much, really. In his analyses of Dostoevsky's novels, Bakhtin did not deny the existence of dialogue even if one of the participants was less than truthful at times; dialogue is an attitude, an act of active understanding, not a relation requiring absolute honesty, though it certainly helps if some degree of truthfulness is involved. The boy has this attitude in the beginning, and

all the lies and silences passing between them are regrettable, perhaps, but not important (cf. Emerson 2000: 152–153). Another point is that dialogue does not have to be mutual. Dostoevsky's heroes were not interested in understanding their interlocutors in dialogue, neither in exchanges with real others nor in microdialogues (within their own minds), but it is still dialogue. Therefore, it is quite irrelevant whether the troll ever had any dialogical intentions *vis-à-vis* the boy, which is difficult to ascertain on the basis of the text, because he had such aspirations in relation to her.

The duplicity of the troll forces the boy to redefine her, and to assume a finalizing position. For him, she is now an old person, not the young girl she pretended to be. Later, her use of witchcraft in order to exact revenge on him firmly places her in the sphere of negative unfinalizability. The last two stages of the boy's relationship with the troll coincide with those of the parents.

From the point of view of the narrator, who is anonymous in this case, the movement from negative unfinalizability to finalization and back to negative unfinalizability on the part of the parents, and from dialogue to finalization to negative unfinalizability on the part of the boy, is an expression of his own dialogical position *vis-à-vis* the troll. Both negative unfinalizability and dialogue correspond to a dialogical attitude on the level of the narrator, because he allows the troll to reveal itself in all its horrid splendour. The performer also tries to demonstrate the futility of attempting to consummate the supernatural, since unfinalizability eventually prevails, thus reinforcing the genre's requirement of the indeterminacy of the supranormal.

The terrors of unfinalizability are palpably expressed in another text to be discussed in the following, but these fears are tempered by a climate of trust simultaneously present in the interaction between man and troll:

2) En gång kom en tsjerrgródo ... til en torpartsjelg som höll op o brygg' o hav dören upp. To gródu kom ove trosgálin, so sát un o hengd tungun ur munin o va' mytsji tsjokk o svart. Tsjeljen lág to drekk op e téfát o let un drekk'. Dájin báket kom gródu-nas karin, som va' e bergtroll o ba tsjeljin o gubbin henars tí' fadders. Tom vela it föst tröst gá, men so sá gubbin: "vi sku' nu gá ánto." Tom följa bergtrolle. To dom kóm ti et berg, va' tár in stejnhálio som dören. När dom tó' upp hun, so va' bergtrollenas bón-ing júpt nær i berje. Ter va' som i in árun stugo, o tsjeljin lág i basséng o va' so kvít som en árun bastsjelg. Tsjeljin, hun jót kva' un sku jár o to dom sku' gá bot, o va' líte rádd so sá bergtrolle, "it bihöver ni va' na rádd, nó ska ja för er ti bák tí'ter ja' ha táji er!" To dom ha jeti' o drotsji o sku ga hejm jég bergtrolle bákóm dören o öjst i tsjeljinas förkli

spánor. Hun veldi it há dom og veldi it kva' unsku jar me dom, men hun tænkta: "ja skanu tá, to an jever, dom doger ful ti bränn', om it ti' na anna." Bergtrolli fód dom op véjin, sedan an ha öpna' upp lukun för dom. To dom kom heim, tykt tsjeljin: "kva' ska' ja jér me' hitsje og kasta' spánor sin i spísín. Men to vórt dom ti sillerpengar og so vort dom rík, som förr ha vuri fati. (R II 336)

2) Once a marsh frog came ... to a crofter woman who was brewing while keeping the door open. When the frog passed over the threshold, it sat hanging its tongue out of its mouth and was very fat and black. The woman then put something to drink on a saucer and let it drink. The next day the frog's husband who was a hill troll came and asked the woman and her husband to become godparents. First they dared not go, but then the man said: "We should go after all." They followed the hill troll. As they came to a hill there was a slab of stone [serving] as a door. When they opened it, the dwelling of the hill trolls was deep down in the hill. There it was like in any other cottage, and the woman was lying in childbed, and she was as white as any other woman in childbed. The woman, she did what she was supposed to do, and when they were going away, and were a little frightened, the hill troll said: "You needn't fear, I'll take you back to the place where I took you." When they had eaten and drunk and were going home, the hill troll went behind the door and scooped chips [of wood] into the woman's apron. She didn't want them and didn't know what to do with them, but she thought: "I'll take them when he gives them, they'll surely be good for burning, if nothing else." The hill troll followed them on their way after opening the hatch for them. When they came home, the woman thought: "What am I to do with this[?]" and threw her chips onto the hearth. But then they turned into silver coins, and those who had once been poor got rich.

In this story, the physical embodiment of the supernatural is no longer a problem; it is one of the more stable traits of the trolls. The cause of anxiety lies elsewhere, and it is concentrated on the male troll. The female never seems particularly awe-inspiring to the human couple; she is always properly finalized, either in her initial guise as a fat, black frog in need of hospitality (something to drink), or in her bed-ridden state as a birthgiver. The latter impression is confirmed by the statement "...and she was as white as any other woman in childbed"—she has been given a definite form, and no-one expects her to deviate from it. She is contained within her exterior shape, with which her interior completely coincides, and she can become an object for the human perceivers. This is probably due to the corporeality of her appearance and the situation in which she is found: her pregnant body and the sheer physical concreteness of labour helps to embody her for them. At the same time, she poses no threat to them in such a condition, occupied as she is with the workings of her own body. Thus, I believe this vulnerability influences the construction of outsidership and the

creation of aesthetic love. Firstly, it evokes empathy, which is an essential step preceding the adoption of an outside position; without initial empathy, outsidership becomes cold and uncaring. Secondly, it elicits sympathy, which is a crucial ingredient in aesthetic love. Aesthetic love allows us to see the other as a person, though not necessarily as a self, since it aids finalization.

The balance struck between empathy and outsidership in the relation between the women is exemplary, at least on the part of the human woman: she, in her capacity as benefactress, manages to contain her compassion and maintain her outsidership to the supernatural woman, rather than losing herself in the suffering of the other. Outsidership, Bakhtin contended, enables true assistance (Bakhtin 1984: 47). This is of course easier to achieve when the troll woman is in animal form, but the same balanced relation appears to obtain later on, when the woman has resumed her humanlike shape.

Regarding consummation, i.e., finalization, the troll woman may be thoroughly finalized by the human one, but the bestowal of form is probably mutual; the events in the story are never described from the troll woman's point of view, but logically she is just as able to finalize the human actors as they are to finalize her. In this case, consummation is indeed more of a gift from the self to the other, on both sides, because it is given with honesty and love.

Bakhtin's notion of dialogue is entirely verbal, but if we view acts as dialogical as well, it might be useful in analyzing the interaction between the women. The juxtaposition of actions and verbal dialogue may be justified by citing two of their common denominators, namely outsidership and addressivity. *Addressivity*, here utilized interchangeably with *responsiveness*, implies that any given utterance is oriented to a response, which it anticipates and is profoundly influenced by. This answer, the result of an active understanding in contradistinction to the passive understanding of a word's "dictionary significance", articulates agreement or disagreement with the utterance, and gives it new dimensions. The speaker's orientation to a listener entails inserting the discourse into the alien conceptual horizon of the receiver in order to obtain an interpretation of the utterance and the speaker's own conceptual horizon (Bakhtin 1986a: 280–282; cf. chapter 1.4.1).

Bakhtin thought that the polyphony of Dostoevsky's works was an extreme form of outsidership (Emerson 2000: 211); acts, on the other hand, must, if they are to be responsible, be performed from one's own, unique place in existence, i.e., outside the other (Bakhtin 1993: 40–42, 46). Both

presuppose responsiveness in order to exist at all: without addressivity, one would not be moved to act, or to engage in dialogue. Outsideness and addressivity are closely interrelated in so far as the latter requires an outside position to the person or voice to be responded to, and the former presumes responsiveness to be meaningful.

Dialogue, as Caryl Emerson notes (Emerson 2000: 230), further assumes trust: trust not to be betrayed or abused, confidence enough to hazard participation in genuine dialogue. These women have that trust from the start, despite the slightly inauspicious nature of their first meeting (see chapter 3.3). The human woman turns to the other, even in her animal shape, and responds to her needs. The latter reciprocates by letting her husband ask her benefactress to be the godmother of the child she is carrying, indicating complete confidence in the reliability of the human woman. In this text, godmotherhood also entails assistance at the delivery, another gesture of trust on the troll woman's part, and of responsiveness and pity on the human woman's. The answer to this benevolent deed is ministered by the male troll by paying the midwife for her services with the seemingly worthless chips of wood, later transformed into a fortune. This sequence of acts could be construed as dialogic not simply because it is an exchange, but again, due to the attitude to the other evinced in it; a dialogical attitude, as mentioned above, is primarily characterized by the ability to listen and the will to understand—addressivity, in other words—a trait evidently present in the relation between the women. Even though dialogue may be more conducive to positive unfinalizability, positive consummation might not be wholly alien to it.

The relationship between the human couple and the male troll is more strained. He represents negative unfinalizability, focused on the interior aspect. His physical form is never described, but it does not appear to be a problem. The real bother is that his interior is spirit rather than soul: according to Bakhtin, the soul is the spirit of the other viewed from outside (Bakhtin 1984: 111), finalized, but the operation of this phase of consummation seems to be flawed. Therefore, the exterior and interior of the troll fail to coincide, and the humans are left with a sense of unease. As in the previous text, the potential unexpected actions of the unfinalized supernatural is the main cause of alarm. Outsideness becomes precarious, incapable as it is to fill its function completely; it fails to create that finalized image of the other, and thus, to some extent, to predict his actions.

When the troll arrives to extend the invitation, the humans can barely be persuaded to follow him. There is no trace of the open, generous atmosphere prevailing between the women. The next crisis occurs when the human woman has discharged her duties and they prepare to leave. The fear of an unexpected attack, fed by the unfinalizability of the troll, looms large until he soothes their anguish with the words "You needn't fear, I'll take you back to the place where I took you". The first part of the sentence is a vernacularized rendition of the exhortation of the angel in, e.g., Matthew 28: 7 ("Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified"). The humans are comforted by this assurance and consequently have faith enough in the good intentions of the troll to eat and drink under his auspices. After that, the troll rewards the woman for her kindness, and conducts the couple back to their home.

Here dialogue is impeded by the lack of trust; the troll is doing his best to keep it going, but he gets poor results. The problem is not really the absence of responsiveness, for it is present, even though the answers are negative; the crux of the matter is that dialogue is never given a proper chance, unconditionally, it is not undertaken in earnest like the dialogue between the women.

In sum, the female and the male troll represent different approaches to finalization and unfinalizability: the former is consummated, while the latter is characterized by negative unfinalizability. This has repercussions on dialogue; in the former case, the interaction between the supernatural and the human woman is dialogic, marked by trust and responsiveness, whereas in the latter case, the relation between the human couple and the male troll is distinguished by addressivity, to be sure, but not by dialogue. An interesting detail in this context is that the woman, by assisting at the birth of the troll woman's child, has contributed to the propagation of the unfinalizability she and her husband fear.

This text is very interesting due to this coupling of finalizing dialogue, linked to the troll woman, and unfinalizable monologue connected to the male troll. The situation is an inversion of the one encountered by Bakhtin in his analysis of the polyphonic and the monological novel. Unfinalizability may still be said to be the guiding principle, since the male troll dominates most of the story. For the narrators, Maria and Sofia Bergström from the village of Härkmeri in the parish of Lappfjärd, the emphasis on the indeterminacy of the male troll entails a maintenance of their dialogical posi-

tion in relation to the supernatural: they give the troll free reins to unfold its personality, in this instance a rather kindly one. By constantly stressing the potential unexpectedness of the male troll's actions, the performers embrace the ideal of unfinalizability prevalent in the genre of narratives of the supernatural.

The next story to be discussed differs from the ones hitherto examined in its exclusive focus on the arbitrary and inexplicable nature of the actions of supranormal beings. Part of the effect is probably due to the narration, which is not entirely skilful, but most of it springs from the events described in the text.

3) *flikkun, sãm vart taiji áv trulli*

he var in flikku, sãm vart tröytt á sãmna. sã kãm in vit bjön ásta lig la me inar. bjönin va i trul. dem tsjört bãrt an, men an kãm tibak, tãu flikkun á kasta un åp på i bjãrg. tãr byra un ga. hun kãm til in flikku, sãm spann pu in gullrãk. sã frãga un, vart öster á vester va. hun visa, men visa áurett sã flikkun kãm til in jãnbyggning tãr jik un in á ásta frãg. sã kãm in kar ut ásta vis inar, men i stelli fö ti vis, sã byra an dans me inar pu brãu-trappun á dansa ihãl un. (SLS 37, 8:29)

3) *The Girl Who Was Taken by the Troll*

There was a girl who became tired and fell asleep. Then a white bear came to lie beside her. The bear was a troll. They chased it away, but it returned, took the girl and threw her up on a hill. There she started to walk. She came to a girl who was spinning on a golden spinning wheel. She asked in what direction east and west was. She showed [her], but showed improperly, and the girl arrived at a building of iron. There she also went in to ask. A man emerged to show her, but instead of showing [her] he began dancing with her on the stairs and [he] danced her to death.

The narrative begins with the attribution of a definite physical form, that of a white bear, to the troll. It is doubtful whether the narrator actually had a polar bear in mind; the white colour may signal the supernatural identity of the bear, as the colours white and black often function as markers of a metaphysical character. They denote the abnormal and the sacred, the unusual and the unnatural, as Jochum Stattin, referring to the theories of Edmund Leach, has observed (Stattin 1992: 98–99; Siikala 2002: 234). Yet in spite of the concrete shape of the troll, unfinalizability is enhanced rather than diminished because of the symbolic implications of the material form. The spatial frame of the troll is thus finalized, but the temporal one, its soul, is not. Once again, the position of outsidership is to no great avail for the human characters; it enables them to perceive the body of the troll, but

its chosen form exacerbates its unfinalizability. The uncertainty concerning the intentions and possible actions of the white bear also induces the human characters to try to chase it away, and to remove the unfinalizable element from their everyday world, but the bear returns to claim the girl and kidnap her.

From this point onward, the erratic behaviour of supranormal creatures dominates the story: the bear abducts the girl, but does not bring her to its habitation; it merely abandons her on a hill. The supernatural girl occupied with spinning on a spinning wheel of gold points the human one in the wrong direction for no obvious reason, and the man living in the house of iron, a rather demonic setting, is supposed to show her the way home, but suddenly starts dancing her to death. The randomness and horrifying consequences of unfinalizability on the level of the individual are increasingly emphasized as the narrative progresses, and the dangers of the pronounced selfhood of supranormal beings become wholly apparent. There is very little to fix them in space, time and meaning, to make their interior and exterior coincide, to make them an object for human cognition. They continually transcend the categories intended to circumscribe them, and escape almost every type of finalization: they are always spilling over the brim, as Bakhtin put it. This means that they are also denied the blessings of finalization, the conferral of form as a gift. We may perhaps surmise that they effect a finalization of the human characters, since the plot implies it; the supernatural creatures can manipulate the human girl, for example, precisely as they wish, which indicates that she conforms to the image they have of her, and hence to their consummation of her.

Moreover, there is no dialogical relation between man and troll in this text. It is implicit that they talk to each other, but not in order to listen to and understand one another. The purpose of speech is purely instrumental, pertaining to the question "How do I find my way home?". When the information required has been received, further discussion becomes unnecessary. Rather, a dialogical position is assumed by the narrator only *vis-à-vis* the supranormal beings, and on this level unfinalizability comes to full fruition. The story is quite exceptional in its profuse celebration of negative unfinalizability; like Dostoevsky in Bakhtin's reading, the narrator seems to provoke the supernatural creatures to surprise him or her, to allow them to struggle against any definition of their essence imposed from outside. He permits them to reveal themselves in their acts, since verbal dialogue is not

depicted, and the fact that they choose to exhibit their most sinister features does not change the dialogical attitude adopted toward them. The narrator remains constant in his ambition to maintain the polyphonic relation to them, just as Dostoevsky remained true to his polyphonic design despite the atrocities perpetrated by his characters, or personalities, as Bakhtin would have it. Dialogue, as noted above, does not require truth and beauty to work, it can survive in the absence of these.

7.3 Halting Unfinalizability?

The unfinalizability of the troll, especially in terms of its acts, poses a serious problem for the characters in the folklore texts. Some, as mentioned above, take radical action in order to arrest the play of indeterminacy in the figure of the troll: they decide to kill it. The slaying of the troll is of course motivated by the plot, but that plot is generated by the image of the troll presented, and I would like to argue that the death of the supernatural being has the additional function of neutralizing negative unfinalizability. Whether this goal is actually achieved will be the object of inquiry below.

In a text recorded by Gustav Åberg in the village of Lappom in the parish of Strömfors, the demise of the troll is rather inaccessible to a normal human being. The hero of the tale is a young tailor endowed with nine times the strength of the lion, nine times the speed of the dog, the swan and the hare, and nine times the minuscule size of the ant. The record has been made in standard Swedish.

4) Så flög han i två dagar och kom till en kungsgård. Där var en prinsessa, som satt i en bur och inte vågade gå ut, så skulle ett troll fara af med henne. Då sade han åt prinsessan, hvad han var för en karl. Prinsessan sade då: "Var nu här till morgonen, så skall jag gå under bara himmelen, efter du kan flyga så hårdt". – När dagen blef, så hade han henne att gå under himmelen. Strax kom ett troll och for af med henne. Han lagade sig till svan och flög bakefter, men fick inte fast henne. Han flög två dagar bakefter. Så kom han till en bärgklack ut i villa hafvet. Han var trött och hvilade sig. Som han går och spatserar och äter gullstenar, så hittar han ett litet hål och lagade sig nio gånger mindre än myran och kröp dit och där träffade han prinsessan. När prinsessan såg honom blef hon glad och så gingo de ut och ackorderade, huru hon skulle slippa härifrån. Så sade han åt henne: "Nu skall du narra af trollkärigen, att du får veta, hvar hon har sin död gömd, och så skall jag taga lifvet af henne". – Sedan gick hon in och sade: "Hvart har farmor sin död gömd?" – "Huruså?" sade trollet. – "Annars bara", sade hon. – "Jag har den där i sopkvasten", sade trollet. – Då lätsade hon inga bättre veta, bara klädde den grann. När trollkärigen sedan kom in, så sade hon: "Hvarför har du klädt

den så grann?" – "Nå, när farmor har sin död där gömd", sade prinsessan. – "Ja, kvin-folket har långt hår och kort förnuft", sade trollet och menade: "Min död är så många hundra mil härifrån, så att ingen kan komma längre. Där vid världens ända är en mjöl-nare och i kvarndammen hans fins en drake, som är så stark att ingen orkar få lifvet af den. Och om någon får lifvet af den, så rinner därifrån en dufva och den flyger så kvikt, att ingen får fast den. Men om någon skulle få fast den, så rinner därifrån en hare, som springer så hårdt, att ingen orkar springa fast den, och om någon får fast den, så rinner därifrån en gullpärla, och däri är min död". – När pojken fick höra det, så gick han ut och lagade sig till svan och flög i tre dagar. Då kom han till mjölnaren och fick tjänst där. Sedan sade mjölnaren: "Jag har en gammal farbror, och åt honom skall du hvar dag gifva ett gödt svin till mat". – Men han gaf inte, utan släpte löst svinet och svälte ut draken. När han tredje dagen kom och icke hämtade mat då håller, så sade draken: "Kom hit, så skall jag äta upp dig". – Då gjorde pojken sig nio gånger starkare än lej-onet och så togo de i hop och så slogos de i två dagar. När han sedan fick lifvet af dra-ken, så rann därifrån en dufva, som han endast med mycken möda fick fast. Men när han tog lifvet af den, så kom därifrån en hare, såsom trollkäringen sade, och först när han hade fått lifvet af den, så fick han gullpärlan, som hennes död var uti. Då sjuknade käringen genast, när pojken fick pärlan och sedan kunde hon inte mera taga lifvet af prinsessan. Sedan for pojken bort ifrån mjölnaren och kom tillbaka till bärgen och så sade han åt käringen: "Här är döden din". – Då sade hon: "Gif den åt mig". – Men han gaf inte, utan han slog den i golfvet, så att käringen dog. Sedan foro de bort däri-från, pojken och prinsessan, och så gifte de sig med hvarandra, och om de icke ha dött, så lefva de väl ännu lyckligt tillsammans. (*Nyland* 1887, 180: 210–211)

4) He flew for two days and came to a royal farm. There was a princess there who was sitting in a cage and dared not go out, since a troll would take her away. Then he told the princess what kind of a man he was. The princess said: Be here until the morning, and I will walk under the open sky, as you can fly so fast".—When day broke, he made her walk under the sky. Soon a troll came and made off with her. He made himself into a swan and flew after them, but could not catch her. He flew after them for two days. He came to a rock in the wild sea. He was tired and rested. As he is walking and strolling and eating stones of gold, he finds a little hole and made himself nine times smaller than the ant and crawled in and there he met the princess. When the princess saw him she was glad and they went out to discuss how she should escape. He said to her: "Now you shall trick the old troll woman, so that you get to know where she has hidden her death, and I will slay her".—Then she went in and said: "Where has grandmother hidden her death?"—"Why?"", said the troll. —"Just because", she said. —"I have it there in the broomstick", the troll said. Then she pretended not to know better, but simply dressed it finely. When the old troll woman came in later, she said: "Why have you dressed it so finely?"—"Well, since grandmother has her death hidden in it", the princess said.—"Well, women have long hair and a stunted mind", the troll said and stated: "My death is so many hundreds of miles from here that no-one can get any further. There, at the end of the world, is a miller and in his mill pond is a dragon which is so strong that no-one manages to kill it. And if anyone manages to kill it, a dove comes out of it and it flies so quickly that no-one can catch it. But if anyone would

catch it, a hare comes out of it, and it runs so fast that no-one manages to run at its pace, and if anyone manages to catch it, a pearl of gold comes out of it, and in it is my death".—When the boy got to hear that, he went out and made himself into a swan and flew for three days. Then he came to the miller and got work there. The miller said: "I have an old uncle, and to him you shall give a fattened pig for food every day". — But he did not give, rather he released the pig and let the dragon starve. When he came the third day and did not bring food then either, the dragon said: "Come here, and I will eat you". —The boy made himself nine times stronger than the lion, and they got together and fought for two days. When he managed to kill the dragon, a dove came out of it, and he managed to catch it only with great effort. But when he killed it, a hare came out of it, as the old troll woman said, and only when he had managed to kill it did he get the pearl of gold in which her death was. Then the old woman instantly fell ill when the boy got the pearl, and after that she could no longer kill the princess. Then the boy left the miller and came back to the rock, and he said to the old woman: "Here is your death". —She said: "Give it to me". —But he did not give, but threw it on the floor so that the old woman died. Then they went away, the boy and the princess, and they married each other, and if they have not died, they probably still live happily together.

In the beginning of the passage quoted, the princess has locked herself into a cage in order to protect herself from the unfinalizable troll. Once more the insufficiently finalized temporal image of the troll results in immense fear, as its actions are, if not unpredictable, at least fickle and menacing. At this point, the spatial whole of the troll appears quite unproblematic: it is hardly mentioned, and the characters behave as if it were self-evident. In this case, the defective temporal finalization of the troll becomes closely linked to its temporal boundaries, especially its death. Finding and effecting this death is not an easy task, however, and the tenacity with which the troll defends and defers it is almost admirable. It is as if the physical unfinalizability of the troll has been transposed to the embodiment of its death, which assumes many guises, and the very notion of a death concealed within layers of living creatures indicates a certain insubstantiality; the only "essence" the troll possesses is its unfinalizability, everything else is changeable.

Notwithstanding, the actual death of the troll serves to create a finalized image of it, and to move it from the category of another self to that of an other. For once, its temporal boundaries become tangible and possible to define, and viewed stripped of its future, the future and the present are assimilated into its past. In this text, the other is literally dead for the self, and the play of indeterminacy is halted, or so it would appear. I say appear,

because death seldom furnishes a final solution to a problem, according to Bakhtin. Caryl Emerson has summarized his position regarding death in the following words: "death is an event solely for another, as yet living consciousness, and thus it 'finalizes nothing' in the larger realm of the spirit" (Emerson 2000: 137). The person may have died, but the words he has uttered during a lifetime still participate in dialogue, since they are retained in the memories of the deceased's interlocutors (Emerson 2000: 137). The same may perhaps be said of unfinalizability: its power will not fade merely because one of its representatives has been vanquished; it lingers in the memories of those who have encountered it, though there is nothing in the narrative to imply that the princess and the boy are necessarily harried by disturbing reminiscences of the indeterminacy of the troll, and thus they may not have been keeping it alive in this specific sense.

As in the previous texts, outsidership is initially of limited use, but following the death of the troll, it prevails and succeeds in consummating the recalcitrant supernatural being. It is not a dialogical form of outsidership, and therefore there is no real dialogue between man and troll. Each confines him- or herself to a monologue of his or her own. This story is an example of that category of texts in which the narrator, who is unknown, abandons his or her dialogical attitude to the troll, ending on a note of finalization. Nevertheless, prior to that consummation, the performer has, in accordance with the traditional structure of the tale, elevated the spiritual unfinalizability of the troll to an art form; in spite of the troll's eventual demise, the indeterminacy of its soul and of the form of its death is what remains memorable, and that memorability allows the troll to live on in the listener's or reader's mind. Thus, the reminiscences of the unfinalizability of the troll are to be found on the level of the text's audience rather than of its characters. In that sense the narrative respects the genre's requirement of unfinalizability.

The difficulty of attributing any consummating effect to the death of a supranormal being is more lucidly exemplified in the following extracts, taken from a story narrated by the former tenant Grönholm in the village of Backa in the parish of Ingå:

5) de va en kong som add tri prinsessor o dom sku int slipp ut för en dom sku bli sju år gamla, men sen bijära dom läv at slipp ut en da o slapp o. so när dom va ute komd en sju o to bort dem [...] me sama kom trollkongin imm o sa: "är loftar kristi blod". "he

ska du fá si", sa soldatn o uggd ywo áv an o sat nesdukin imillan, at int blodn sku flyt ióp. men tongon talt i mun fast ywu va á: "detta skulle du ikke hava jort". (SLS 137 I, 1: 9)

5) There was a king who had three princesses, and they weren't to be allowed to go outside before they'd turned seven years old, but one day they asked for permission to go outside and got too. When they were outside a cloud came and took them away [...]. Immediately the troll king came home and said: "[It] smells of Christian blood here". "That you'll see", the soldier said and decapitated him, and placed a handkerchief in between so that the blood wouldn't meet. But the tongue talked in his mouth though the head was off: "Thou shouldst not have done this".

The story begins with emphasizing the unfinalizability of the material shape of the troll. In the guise of a cloud it abducts the three princesses, and it is only later in the narrative that its "real" identity emerges. Insecurity about its actions and designs, i.e., doubts connected to the unfinalizability of its soul, has provoked the introduction of a taboo for the girls not to stay outdoors until they have reached seven years of age. These precautions fail as the princesses violate the taboo. When the soldier comes to liberate them from the clutches of the troll, he gets more than he has bargained for. The troll king does indeed die as the soldier beheads it, but that does not stop it from talking. It is too stubborn, and too unfinalizable, for that. It refuses to be placed in the category of the other, and demands to be perceived as another, alien self. In other words, it overtly requires the adoption of that extreme form of outsideness characteristic of polyphony (Emerson 2000: 211), or something akin to it. The humans never assume a truly dialogical position *vis-à-vis* the troll, they never try in earnest to let it reveal itself in dialogue, but they are forced to acknowledge the impossibility of consummating it once and for all.

The troll disdains any attempt to reduce the unity of its life, which is a unity of meaning, to a spatio-temporal unity. The death of its spatio-temporal form proves to be irrelevant, since it is incapable of making the exterior and the interior of the troll coincide, or of condensing and rhythmicizing its life. No significant boundaries exist for it, as even death contributes to its unfinalizability, and neither during its life nor after its passing is any requiem needed. The troll is simply, and perpetually, a self. The narrator exploits that fact, using the conventional story-line to stress the utter unfinalizability of the troll and his own dialogical attitude to it, both aspects conforming to the generic code.

7.4 Aborted Dialogues

A rather special relationship between man and troll can be observed in some tales of the stupid ogre; some of the humour of these tales is based on the literal interpretation of what is said on the part of the human protagonist. In these cases literalism is the instrument of a hoax. Charles Lock has contended that “[n]ot to recognize metaphor or metonymy—to be taken in by the literal—is to be a victim of catachresis, that is, to be unconscious of the word in its embodiment, as a solid that casts a shadow, makes a figure” (Lock 2001c: 133–134), and my objective is to explore how it affects the dialogue between man and troll.

In the following example the hero is infected by (pretended) literalism, and the consequences for the troll are disastrous:

6) Når dom sidan kom' hejm, so ha' trullis bãne' smutsa' neder se', o pojtsjin bãd trulli' [d.v.s. trollet bad pojken] gá rens. Pojtsjin lydd', men skár opp bãne' o tåo' inelvuna iur e, o hengd kroppin på knappan me' dörin, sidan 'an 'a' tvetta' e som e anna slaktjiur. To 'an ha jáost he dé, so fréga' trulle': " 'vast jáol' dö óv bãne'?" "Ja' rensa' ju e o tvetta' e o hengd' e på knappan me' dörin," svara' pojtsjin. "Nö vejt ja int', 'vast ja' ska' jer' ov de'. nö ha' dö pota' ögunin iur all' jejten, o nö ha' dö teji' líve óv bãne', nö ska' ja' eld iunin o hev' de' tíd," sá' trulle', o so byra' 'an eld iunin. (R II 67)

6) Then when they came home, the troll's child had got itself dirty, and the boy asked the troll [i.e., the troll asked the boy] to go and cleanse it. The boy obeyed, but cut up the child and removed the entrails, and hung the body on the knobs by the door when he had washed it like any other animal to be butchered. As he had done that, the troll asked: "What did you do with the child?" "Why, I cleansed it and washed it and hung it on the knobs by the door," the boy answered. "Now I don't know what to do with you. Now you've plucked the eyes out of all the goats, and now you've killed the child, now I'll heat the oven and throw you into it", the troll said, and it started heating the oven.

The problem lies in the verb *rensa*, which literally denotes the act of gutting an animal. It can also be used more metaphorically in the sense of *to clean*, and that is the way in which the troll expects it to be taken, but it underestimates the evil designs of the boy. He seizes the opportunity to inflict pain on the troll by slaughtering its progeny, exploiting literalism as an excuse for doing so, and invoking feigned daftness as his alibi.

The troll in this text does not exhibit any dialogical inclinations. When it converses with the boy, it is completely focused on eliciting the replies it

wants to hear, and in challenging the boy to different contests it commands him rather than politely asks him to participate in them. The boy has no dialogical ambitions either, he is merely intent on destroying the troll and everything it holds dear.

Nevertheless, in order to understand the import of literalism in these stories, another aspect of it must be taken into consideration. Literalism, characterized as it is by the inability to see the word in its embodiment, to grasp it as a solid that casts a shadow and makes a figure, as Charles Lock writes (Lock 2001c: 133–134), is a form of monologue, the opposite of dialogue. The defining trait of all monologue is that it allows for only one voice, one interpretation. It reduces the plurality of the world and of meanings to a single proposition, and turns language into something indubitable, peremptory and all-encompassing (Bakhtin 1986a: 285–287, 296–298, who discusses the monologism of poetry, but his observations are valid for other kinds of monologue as well). This is what happens in the boy's "misinterpretations" of the troll's words; it intentionally reduces the word to a single proposition, a single voice.

In the quoted text there is no dialogue based on addressivity to speak of to disrupt by monological literalism. Instead literalism reinforces the monologue already embraced by the characters, making it slightly more aggravating than it would otherwise have been.

7.5 Unfinalizability, Dialogue and Stories of the Supernatural

In this chapter I have tried to come to grips with a feature I believe is distinctive of narratives of the supranormal, namely the unfinalizability or indeterminacy of supernatural beings. In other words, I have argued that it is difficult, if not impossible, to attribute a definite physical and spiritual form to the troll, and that this fact affects the relationship between man and troll. Likewise, I have suggested that the narrator assumes a dialogical position *vis-à-vis* the troll in order to achieve this effect of indeterminacy. Now it is time to consider to what extent my suppositions are correct, and whether they need to be qualified.

If we begin by surveying the relation of unfinalizability and finalization in the texts on the level of the characters, we can note that most of them stress unfinalizability in the beginning of the narrative at least. One story ends on a note of finalization (text 4: *Nyland* 1887, 180), in one text final-

ization and unfinalizability co-exist, distributed on two different supernatural characters (text 2: R II 336). One narrative endorses unfinalizability throughout (text 3: SLS 37, 8), while two others reaffirm unfinalizability after the human characters have attempted to finalize the troll (text 5: SLS 137 I, 1; text 1: R II 70). Finally, one story is difficult to analyze in terms of finalization and unfinalizability (text 6: R II 67).

Thus, there is a variety of ways of approaching the problem of unfinalizability. Correlating these results with the presence or absence of dialogue, it becomes evident that dialogue is indeed a rare thing, as Bakhtin himself acknowledged. Dialogue is present in some form, at some point, in only two narratives. Dialogue is combined with unfinalizability in one of these (text 1: R II 70), and this is the only instance of dialogue as Bakhtin envisioned it. The boy initially shows respect for the troll girl's unfinalizability, but later in the story he prefers to finalize her. The second example of dialogue is coupled with finalization, which serves as a reminder that unfinalizability might not be the sole option (text 2: R II 336). The remainder depict monological relations linked with either finalization (text 4: *Nyland* 1887, 180) or unfinalizability (text 2: R II 336; text 3: SLS 37, 8; text 1: R II 70) at the close of the narratives; two texts finishing with finalization commence with a mixture of monologue and unfinalizability (text 4: *Nyland* 1887, 180; text 5: SLS 137 I, 1). The last story (text 6: R II 67) also embraces monologue, but it is hard to tell whether it intermingles with finalization or unfinalizability. In order to facilitate an overview of the ratio between finalization and unfinalizability, and monologue and dialogue in my sample of material, I will provide a representation of the structure of the texts in this regard:

text 1: R II 70

monologue/unfinalizability – monologue/finalization – monologue/unfinalizability
(parents)

dialogue/unfinalizability – monologue/finalization – monologue/unfinalizability
(boy)

text 2: R II 336

dialogue/finalization (humans' relation to troll woman)

monologue/unfinalizability (humans' relation to male troll)

text 3: SLS 37, 8

monologue/unfinalizability

text 4: Nyland 1887, 180

monologue/unfinalizability – monologue/finalization

text 5: SLS 137 I, 1

monologue/unfinalizability – monologue/finalization – monologue/unfinalizability

text 6: R II 67

monologue/?

Thus, unfinalizability is an important ingredient in the construction of the image of the troll at some point in most of these narratives. It is interesting to observe that the troll is more intent on dialogue in one of the narratives (text 2: R II 336). The reason for this might be rather simple: trolls have less to lose in a dialogical encounter because they can always retreat into their own world whenever they wish, where humans cannot follow them, but the human sphere is constantly vulnerable to the intrusion of the supernatural, and humans must therefore guard their interests more carefully. For them, monologue brings relative protection, demarcation and exclusion of the other, an other that far too often reveals itself as too much of a self.

The unfinalizability of the troll has serious consequences for the relationship between man and troll. Fear of the troll is explicitly mentioned in two texts (text 2: R II 336; text 4: *Nyland* 1887, 180), and it is implicitly present in one narrative (text 1: R II 70). All stories but two (text 3: SLS 37, 8; text 2: R II 336) portray overt or covert hostility to the troll. This situation is not exactly conducive to dialogue, which is effectively obstructed by these reactions and attitudes.

In contrast, the narrator usually assumes a dialogical position *vis-à-vis* the troll. For him the unfinalizability of the troll is essential as it offers the prospect of a good story, and even in those cases when the performer allows the troll to be finalized eventually (text 4: *Nyland* 1887, 180), the troll is nevertheless given much leeway in all its indeterminacy. Unfinalizability is thus deeply embedded in the image of the troll, which brings us to the posited generic significance of unfinalizability in stories of the supernatural. It does seem to be an important element in these narratives, but it is not an

absolutely necessary ingredient. Obviously, this conclusion is only tentative, since the research material is limited and the analysis fairly brief, but it might give an indication of the import of this aspect in the construction of the narratives. Though I have attempted to single out a miscellany of texts in which the ratio of unfinalizability and finalization varies, the selection is not entirely representative; my ambition has been to provide a sample of the possible approaches to unfinalizability, not an exhaustive catalogue.

To summarize, my assumptions about the importance of unfinalizability in stories of the supernatural appear to have been quite correct, but the question would merit a more thorough analysis. The rather extensive occurrence of finalization surprised me somewhat, and the very pronounced dominance of monologue was also slightly unexpected.—It might be added that the predominance of monologue is largely due to the definition of dialogue employed. The utilization of the original, Bakhtinian conception of dialogue accounts for the divergence of my findings and Lotte Tarkka's for example, since Tarkka works with a different conceptualization of dialogue based on her notion of metaphor and metonymy. The metonymic element connecting the poles of the metaphor, the human sphere and the other-world, creates a dialogical relation between the worlds (Tarkka 1994: 293–294), but that dialogue is on another level than the one discussed here.

It is also pertinent to consider how well-suited Bakhtin's theories are for the investigation of the indeterminacy of the troll. Evaluating each aspect in turn, it is apparent that the notion of unfinalizability as the malfunction of finalization is quite apt for describing the characters' reactions to the encounter. The emphasis on the failure of outsidership in several of the stories is in line with this observation. Notwithstanding, when outsidership does work, it emerges as a prerequisite for truly helping the other, as in text 2 (R II 336), for instance, thereby filling one of its main functions in Bakhtin's scheme of things. That particular narrative confirms two other important points as well; it demonstrates the significance of aesthetic love in achieving finalization, a finalization, moreover, that is a gift from the self to the other. In many of the other stories, consummation is not a gift, it is a strategy for containing and incapacitating the troll. Bakhtin's later, negative view of finalization as a reductionist practice would seem to be more appropriate for these texts.

The conception of spatial and temporal (corporeal and spiritual) unfinalizability is crucial in scrutinizing the construction of indeterminacy. The

sample contains two extreme variations on this theme: the first is the instance of invisibility rendering finalization utterly impossible and unfinalizability completely uncontrollable (text 1: R II 70), the second is the examples of the slaying of the troll in order to halt unfinalizability and effect finalization (text 4: *Nyland* 1887, 180; text 5: SLS 137 I, 1). Finalization as a type of dying gains a very concrete dimension in the latter.

The analysis of the finalizing ambitions of the human characters is further aided by the distinction between the unity of the other, which ought to be spatio-temporal in nature, and the unity of the self which must be a unity of meaning, according to Bakhtin. The fact that the unity of the troll is very much a unity of meaning violates this basic principle, and it causes great unease among the human characters. The narrator is rather the one to cherish the troll's insistence on being categorized as a self, and the notion of the author's, or in this case narrator's, dialogical position *vis-à-vis* his characters has been useful in describing the performer's attitude to the troll.

More generally, both the early, non-dialogic and the later, polyphonic theory have proven useful in understanding the relationship between man and troll from the point of view of the indeterminacy of the latter. Each has been applied where it has furnished the best solution to an analytical problem, and they have been equally valuable.

8 DISCUSSION

In this dissertation I have attempted to examine the relationship between man and troll from different perspectives. In chapter 3 I studied the more practical aspects of their interrelation, concentrating on the dynamics of encounter. The site of encounter is commonly nature, the forest or the wilds. Man is the unwitting transgressor of the boundary between the human and the supranormal spheres in this case. Humans may also enter the realm of the troll intentionally in order to rescue abducted women, beg the troll for help or to overthrow it and seize its castle and riches, but only men make this kind of transgression of boundaries; other candidates for the role are male animals. The troll functions as the transgressor of boundaries when it penetrates into the human world to find a midwife for its spouse, to abduct women or children, or to exchange human babies for its own ill-favoured offspring. In addition, there are some instances of men being visited by the troll in their homes; the objective is mainly to discuss matters falling under the authority of the head of the household, but younger men might be visited for amorous reasons.

The interaction between man and troll is often characterized by conflict, which is primarily due to the latter's propensity for abducting women. Nevertheless, the relationship can be tolerant as well, and be based on mutual assistance or simply the absence of any deeper enmity. However, this truce is sometimes uncomfortable: the human agents do not feel safe in the company of the troll and continue to fear it despite its protestations of goodwill. Furthermore, the relation may change in the course of the narrative, moving from tolerance to conflict, or from conflict to tolerance. The former is more frequent; of the latter I have found only one example. Finally, the relationship might be ambivalent, in which case the troll can be hostile at times and benevolent at other times, or malevolence and benignity may be personified by two different troll personages. The end of the interaction is usually effected by a human male, though trolls, women, children, animals and impersonal phenomena, in descending order of frequency, occasionally bring it about.

In chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 I approached the problem of the construction of the image of the troll through an application of various theories of intertextuality, intergenericity, and unfinalizability and dialogue. In chapters 4 and 5, I used Lotte Tarkka's notion of metaphor and metonymy, and of a

series of metaphors, to describe the intertextual relations between troll texts, other folklore texts and Biblical stories. The primary material consisted of two groups of texts on abduction and the banishment of trolls collected in the Ostrobothnian parish of Vörå. I suggested that folklore and the religious tradition formed parts of the same network of associations, and that folklore could not be interpreted in isolation from Christianity and the dialogue it pursues with it because of the sustained contacts between the traditions. I also considered how other discourses affected their relationship, utilizing the concept of interdiscursivity elaborated by Norman Fairclough. The investigation of the power relations between discourses is a crucial aspect of the theory, and I therefore combined it with Michel Foucault's conception of power which emphasizes the emergent nature of relations of power and the inseparability of power and resistance. Thus, the dominant discourse, the religious discourse, and the dominated discourse, folklore, were in a constant struggle for ascendancy, and the labels *dominant* and *dominated* are not absolute. The high status of the religious discourse was reinforced by its institutional backing and its claims to knowledge and truth, as it professed to offer an eternal truth of salvation in Christ. Here the forms of intertextual relations discussed—agreement, inversion or reversal, and negation—become important as they may indicate the relative strengths of the two discourses. Agreement might hint at the dominance of the religious discourse, while inversion or reversal and negation may represent challenges to it, functioning as vehicles of critique of the religious tradition, either an ideological critique as in chapter 4, or social critique as in chapter 5. Although such a correspondence between intertextual relation and power relation is by no means universal—there are several exceptions to the rule—it works as a preliminary hypothesis which must be reassessed in each individual case.

Some of the contemporaneous discourses influencing the power relation between folklore and religion have been presented: the discourse of the discipline of folkloristics which partially raised the status of folklore, and the discourse of liberalism which advocated the detachment of the individual from the authority of the church. The discourse of popular enlightenment reinforced both the religious and the popular discourse in the beginning of the period, but shifted more toward the popular discourse later on.

A potential development of the concerns of this study might be an extension of the analysis to include the link to early modern contexts and

mentalities; in spite of the social changes of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the rural population was still a part of that context to some extent. Nevertheless, since this subject constitutes a separate field of research with its own methods and points of view, I have not been able to pursue that inquiry further at present.

To summarize the findings of chapters 4 and 5, the image of the troll is woven out of elements drawn from different texts and discourses which belong to the same system of referentiality or web of associations; Biblical texts and images consequently supply the pagan troll and its dominion with some of their attributes through the intertextual connections likening the spiteful troll to Christ revealing the secrets of ordinary men and women, and the bounteous world of the troll to the primordial Garden of Eden. These conclusions contribute to our knowledge of the construction of religious beliefs and expressions in a local community influenced by religious revivals, in this case the Ostrobothnian parish of Vörå.

Regarding the distinguishing characteristics of the notion of intertextuality, one might ask how it differs from conventional comparison. The principal divergence seems to be the implications of an intertextual analysis and a comparison respectively. In the former case, the text under study and its intertexts are perceived as forming integral parts of "an entire system of referentiality", as Laura Stark-Arola so eloquently puts it (Stark-Arola 1998: 188), while in the latter instance that is seldom the case. The first approach accords greater interpretative value to the relation between texts, and assumes a different sort of connection between them; they constitute a more intimately linked network of associations than a mere comparison would permit.

In chapter 6 I scrutinized the generic components of the image of the troll, and examined how the manipulation of these elements could alter the conception of it. Two peculiar stories narrated by the carpenter Johan Alén from the parish of Vörå furnished the primary objects of analysis. To come to terms with the problem of genre, I employed Charles Briggs' and Richard Bauman's theory of intertextual gaps supplemented with Mikhail Bakhtin's conceptualizations of parody, chronotopes, novelization and un-finalizability to understand the relation of Alén's narratives to their generic model. I found that the first text was linked to not one, but two generic models, those of the (parodied) wonder tale and the (parodying) legend, while the oddity of the second narrative was due to the incorporation of

episodes not common to most Swedish-language variants of the type in question. In the former case, the intertextual gap between text and generic model was minimized on the level of the parodied wonder tale, but maximized on the level of the parodying legend, producing a simultaneous presence of minimization and maximization which contributed to the parodic effect of the story. The introduction of the parodying language of the legend through intertextual allusion also changed the chronotope of the narrative, endowing it with more sinister overtones. In the latter instance, the maximization of intertextual gaps through the adoption of "alien" episodes in the story resulted in the modification of the usual chronotope of the semi-supernatural being, converting it into a novelistic one stressing the evolution and unfinalizability of the character.

Hence Johan Alén's two narratives demonstrate the importance of generic framing in the construction of the image of the troll. The manipulation of intertextual gaps and chronotopes allows a different conception of the troll to emerge.

In chapter 7 I continued pondering the generic constitution of the troll on the basis of a more extensive material than in the previous section. I argued that the indeterminacy of the troll was an essential element in the construction of it in the context of narratives of the supernatural, and that the requirements of the genre and the interests of the characters diverge on this point. For the latter, unfinalizability is a source of anxiety, while it is the lifeblood of the former, and the prerequisite for a good story. Thus, I complemented Bakhtin's notion of unfinalizability with his early formulation of the concept of finalization in order to study the relationship between unfinalizability and finalization in the texts. The difficulties experienced by the characters in their struggle to finalize the troll were centred on either the physical indeterminacy of the troll or its spiritual unfinalizability, or both. In several of the narratives, there is an interplay of finalization and unfinalizability, but the latter tends to win out in the end.

I also related the problem of unfinalizability to Bakhtin's conception of monologue and dialogue, positing that the narrator usually assumed a dialogical position *vis-à-vis* the troll, i.e., that he treated it as an unbounded, unfinalizable being, in order to accomplish the effect of indeterminacy distinctive for the genre. On the level of the characters, monologue was predominant in the relationship between man and troll. Dialogue of some sort was evinced in only two texts of those examined, and just one of these

exhibited the Bakhtinian form of dialogue in which it is coupled with un-finalizability. Intriguingly, trolls were somewhat more inclined to engage in dialogue than humans were. From the point of view of the latter though, monologue entails protection and demarcation from, as well as exclusion of, the supranormal other. In other words, un-finalizability constitutes a serious obstacle to a dialogue between man and troll, as it engenders fear and explicit or implicit hostility to supernatural creatures.

An important task for future research would be to examine the generic significance of un-finalizability in narratives of the supranormal using a considerably larger body of material than the one consulted here. The conclusions drawn from my rather limited corpus are merely tentative, even though I believe they might be pointing in the right direction.

To summarize, theories of intertextuality and genre help to explain the realization of images of the supernatural in narrative by linking the elements employed in the construction of these images to other texts and discourses in which they are current, and to the genres/generic models which they contribute to the reconstruction and reconfiguration of.

Finally, it is imperative to contemplate the wider applicability of the methods of interpretation utilized in this dissertation. The three concepts of intertextuality discussed—intertextuality proper, interdiscursivity and intergenericity—form a coherent interpretative framework in that they are all based on the same underlying principle, namely the absorption and transformation of another text or discourse, or of a generic model, into the text/discourse under study. Context is comprehended in the notions of text, discourse and genre, and is therefore a constitutive feature of intertextuality, yet only one among many. In the present case, some aspects of context, such as situational context, have been impossible to address due to the nature of the sources, but scholars working with contemporary material might have more opportunities to develop this facet further.

The advantage of this tripartite model is that it can be employed to chart the relations between different domains within a culture, or between elements of a single domain. As such, it is a valuable instrument in cultural research, which attempts to understand the workings of human culture. It might be added that the link between folklore and the religious tradition is only one of many examples, albeit an important one, and so is the legendization of the wonder tale in parody. The framework could also be supple-

mented with a theory of the intertextualized subject to cover that aspect as well; unfortunately I have not been able to elaborate that point in this study.

It has been my ambition to promote a more holistic perspective on folklore, folk belief and images of the supernatural by stressing the associations between official religion and folk belief in the examples provided by my material. For the narrators of the late 19th- and early 20th centuries, these discourses were integrated constituents of their lives, their world views and their stories, and in our interpretation of folklore this must be taken into account. My investigation also points to the existence of popular conceptions about the expression of religion; since it is not meaningful to separate folk belief from official religion when both deal with the same themes and structure them in similar ways, folk belief should perhaps be regarded as a form of religion. These similarities hint at a common store of expressions of religion, the use of which is subject to considerations as yet unexplored. This aspect would merit further attention.

In addition, my study underlines the significance of the active construction of genre in the creation of images of the supernatural in folk belief, and could probably be extended to the generation of images in folklore in general. It also indicates the crucial role of chronotopes in the construction of narratives, and highlights the mutability and multiplicity of chronotopes utilized in narrative, especially in ironic and parodic stories. Similarly, the notion of unfinalizability helps to explain the relationship between man and supranormal beings constructed in folk belief.

9 ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

AT	Aarne & Thompson 1961
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
FF	Folklore Fellows
FU	Förhandlingar och uppsatser ('Negotiations and Essays')
NIF	Nordiska institutet för folkdiktning (Nordic Institute of Folklore)
R	Ranckens samlingar (The Rancken collection)
SLS	Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland (The Swedish Literature Society in Finland)

Unpublished

Helsingfors:

Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland (SLS), Folkkultursarkivet:

SLS 1, SLS 10, SLS 21, SLS 22, SLS 28, SLS 31, SLS 33, SLS 37, SLS 45, SLS 56, SLS 59, SLS 65, SLS 71, SLS 72, SLS 80, SLS 98, SLS 137 Sagor I, SLS 137 Sagor II, SLS 166, SLS 192a, SLS 202 Sagor I, SLS 202 Sagor II, SLS 208, SLS 213, SLS 215, SLS 217, SLS 220, SLS 226, SLS 228, SLS 255, SLS 275, SLS 280, SLS 290, SLS 299, SLS 319, SLS 320, SLS 324, SLS 333, SLS 338, SLS 374

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Appendix A: The Recorded Narratives of Johan Alén

- R II 5: Hvad är en välgärningsmans lön? ('What Is a Benefactor's Reward?');
AT 155 The Ungrateful Serpent Returned to Captivity – Fable
- R II 12: Soldaten och bonden ('The Soldier and the Peasant'); AT 1539*
The Soldier, the Peasant, and the Statue – Jocular Tale
- R II 13: Bonden och fäktmästaren ('The Peasant and the Fencing Master') –
Jocular Tale
- R II 14: Tsjittargrå ('Tsjittar Grey'); AT 1353 The Old Woman as Trouble
Maker – Jocular Tale
- R II 15: Handelsmannen och djefvulen ('The Merchant and the Devil'); AT 1170
The Evil Woman in the Glass Case as Last Commodity – Jocular Tale
- R II 27: Tre Prinsar ('Three Princes'); AT 402 The Mouse (Cat, Frog, etc.) as
Bride – Parody
- R II 30: Gossen och köpmannen ('The Boy and the Merchant'); AT 460B
The Journey in Search of Fortune – Wonder Tale
- R II 31: Lejonet och björnen ('The Lion and the Bear'); AT 157 Learning to Fear
Men – Fable
- R II 57: Matts Sluger ('Clever Matt'); AT 1088 Eating Contest – Tale of the
Stupid Ogre
- R II 58: Lisl Matt ('Little Matt'); AT 650A+301B Strong John+Quest for a
Vanished Princess – Parody
- R II 74: Berättelse om den i vinterdvala fallne skytten ('Narrative of the
Hibernating Marksman'); AT 672D The Stone of the Snake – Legend
- R II 77: Sjömamsellen ('The Sea Damsel') – Legend
- R II 78: Kaptenen och djefvulen ('The Captain and the Devil'); AT 1179
The Ogre on the Ship – Jocular Tale
- R II 79: Den upphöjde soldaten ('The Promoted Soldier'); AT 1670* How the
Soldier became General – Jocular Tale
- R II 80: Porträttet [sic] ('The Portrait') – Jocular Tale
- R II 116: Den fattige bonden, som blef doktor ('The Poor Peasant Who Became a
Doctor'); AT 332 Godfather Death – Wonder Tale
- R II 117: Askfis ('Cinderfart'); AT 675 The Lazy Boy – Wonder Tale
- R II 119: De tre friarne ('The Three Suitors'); AT 940 The Haughty Girl –
Jocular Tale
- R II 122: Bedragen ('Deceived') – Jocular Tale
- R II 130: Gossen och hans tre grisar ('The Boy and His Three Pigs') – Jocular
Tale

- R II 131: Löpargossen och hans katt ('The Errand Boy and His Cat'); AT 1651 Whittington's Cat – Jocular Tale
- R II 162: En annan berättelse om en bortbyting ('Another Narrative of a Changeling') – Legend
- R II 218: Sagan om Doktor Klok och Vis ('The Tale of Doctor Sensible and Wise'); AT 1641 Doctor Know-All – Jocular Tale
- R II 219: Resan till konungariket Midnattssol ('The Journey to the Kingdom of the Midnight Sun'); AT 400 The Man on a Quest for his Lost Wife – Wonder Tale
- R II 220: Kvinnan som sålde smör på Åbo Torg ('The Woman Selling Butter in the Marketplace in Åbo'); AT 1382 The Peasant Woman at Market – Jocular Tale
- R II 221: Gumman som alltid var missnöjd med sin man när han kom hem från staden ('The Old Woman Who Was Always Discontent with Her Husband When He Came Home from Town'); AT 1383 The Woman Does not Know Herself – Jocular Tale

Appendix B: Select Narratives of Johan Alén

1) *Soldaten och bonden*

Ejngang fåor in bund osta sälg' höj o mätvaror åt soldátan. Han fi' fy' lasse' sett hundra jyllin. To 'an sidan fåor heim, so steld' in soldát se' i fy'vig fy' an på vejin, so bundin henda' opp 'an. Soldátin byra' to gá o brask' me' 'an o funder, om 'an int' sku' bihöv' se' in siup o in píp'-tubak, "he bihöver ja' o", sá 'an vídare. "ja' har int' na pängar, int' kan ja' få me' in siup o in píp' tubak", svara' bundin. "Int' har ja' na pängar helder, men in bita jedan, so je' in bildståod, som hejter Dellforius; han a' holpi' me' flejra gangor förr o nåok jælper han me' nö o, bara vi går tíd o beder 'an, ja' ha' bedi' 'an förr o, o fá jælper", tykt soldátin. Bundin fald' me' 'an, o dem jig ti' han di bildståodin. To dem kom tíd, so let soldátin bundin tsjenn' se' i fikkuna, he 'an va' iutan, men líkafullt so há' 'an in jyllin. Sidan foll 'an på kné fy' bildståodin o låsa' bid: Bundin, han sá' he läppan röst, men int' höld' 'an soldátin sej' najnting. To an stejg opp, so lá' 'an öra åt bildståodis munnin o låsa' hör' va' 'an sku' sej'. Som 'an ha jáost he dé, so ji' 'an bost från bildståodin o sá' åt bundin: "han seger he ja' hár in jyllin i fikkun, o vig ska' dejl hálftin ti' mans". Bundin tsjend' i fikkun hans o tár fanns in jyllin. Dem jég sidan ti' e värshius o soldátin dejla' me' bundin han di jyllin, o dem tåo' se' líti' i munnin. To pängan va' sliut, so jig dem ádrun gangun ti' han di bildståodin, o soldátin föll på kné o låsa' bid'. Munnin sá' bundin soldátin ruka', men int' höld 'an 'an sej' najnting. Sidan 'an 'a' bidi, so la' 'an öra måot bildståodis munnin o låsa' lyss' va' 'an sku' sej. To 'an tåo' bost öra sett från bildståodis munnin, so sá' 'an åt bundin: "he finns hundra jyllin i din fikkun, o to ja' ha' dejla' öv hun di lisl' siumun ja' há' i min fikkun, so ska' do dejl' öv hun di stór som to hár i dín." Som bundin höld he, so vila 'an vríd sonder se', men to 'an tåo' dejl i hun di lisl siumun, so motta' han dejl me' se' öv hundi stór. Han sku' int' va' so snål. (R II 12)

1) *The Soldier and the Peasant*

Once a peasant went to sell hay and foodstuff to the soldiers. He received one hundred gulden for his load. When he went home, a soldier placed himself ahead of him on the road, so that the peasant caught up with him. The soldier started talking with him and wondered if he didn't need a dram and some pipe tobacco, "I need it too", he said further. "I don't have any money, I can't get myself a dram and some pipe tobacco", the peasant answered. "I don't have any money either, but a short distance from here there's a statue called Dellforius; he's helped me several times before and he'll surely help me now too, if we just go there and ask him, I've asked him before and been helped", the soldier thought. The peasant followed him, and they went to that statue. When they got there, the soldier let the peasant feel in his pockets that he was without [money], but still he had a gulden. Then he fell to his knees in front of the statue and pretended to pray: the peasant, he saw that his lips were moving, but he didn't hear the soldier say anything. When he rose, he put his ear to the statue's mouth and pretended to listen to what he would say. As he'd done that, he walked away from the statue and said to the peasant: "He says that I have a gulden in my pocket, and that we should split it in half." The peasant groped in his pocket and there was a gulden in it. They went to an inn, and the soldier split the gulden with the peasant, and they took something to drink. When there was no money left, they went to that statue a second time, and the soldier fell on his knees and pretended to pray. The peasant saw the soldier moving his lips, but he didn't hear him say anything. When he had prayed, he put his ear to the statue's mouth and pretended to listen to what it would say. When he removed his ear from the statue's mouth, he said to the peasant: "There are a hundred gulden in your pocket, and as I've shared the small sum I had in my pocket, you should share the big one that you have in yours." When the peasant heard that, he wanted to squirm, but when he had a share in the small sum, he had to share the big one. He shouldn't be so stingy.

2) *Bonden och fäktmästaren*

He va' ejngang in fektmestar, som fälást okring o fekta me' vem som vila; sliutligen träffa 'an in bund, som va' nögd ti' fekt' me' 'an. Bundin, han tao' slagun, men dem sku föst vís 'va' strekk var o ín briuka. På e torg sku' dem jer' fysök. Bundin vila to he fektmestarin föst sku' vís' 'va' strekk 'an briuka. Fektmestarin rejð to okring torji' o fekta' me' verjun, än som 'an sku' ha' anfalli', än som sku' ha' fy'svara' se'. To 'an ha' jäost he dé, so sá 'an åt bundin he 'an sku' vís' 'va' strekk han briuka: "Ja' briuka' bara bundstreck ja" tykt bundin o sláo' 'an me' slagun i huvu', so 'an föll óv hestryddjin. (R II 13)

2) *The Peasant and the Fencing Master*

Once there was a fencing master who travelled around fencing with anyone who wanted to; finally he met a peasant who was content to fence with him. The peasant, he took his flail, but first each of them would show the tricks they used. They would make an attempt on a square. The peasant wanted the fencing master to show what tricks he used first. The fencing master rode around the square and fenced with his rapier, at times as if he was charging, at other times as if he was defending himself. When he had done this, he said to the peasant to show what tricks he used: "Me, I only use dirty tricks", the peasant thought and hit him with the flail in the head, so that he fell off the horse.

3) *Tsjittargrã*

He va' ejngang e pa'folk, som lævd' lyklit o aldri' grãla'. To int' fãnin lykkast fã dem ti' perr' o stríd', so ji' 'an ti' Tsjittargrã o sã': om hun sku' fã he di pa'foltsji' ti' grãl', so sku' 'un fã e pa' pjeksor. Tsjittargrã hun lova' jer' e, o ji' fõst ti' tsjern'jin o sã' åt hennar: "om dö får skuri' bost tem di trí strãnin 'an (hennes man) hãr i stjeddje' sett, so vãl 'an ännu beter. Han je' mytsji' redd fy' dem, to ska' sí et' to do luskar 'an". Sidan ji' 'un ti' kãrin hennas o sã': "to ska' sí de' nåoga fyri nesta gang, to tsjern'jin dín luskar de', hun tenker stjer striupan óv de'". To tsjern'jin sidan luska' gubbin sen, so vila 'un sí i stjeddje' hans o, fy' ti' fã bost skuri tem di strãnin. Som 'un sku' sí i stjeddje' hans, so trãodd' han som Tsjittargrã sã' he tsjern'jin hans vila stjer' striupan óv 'an, o byra' perr' o dra' se' undan, o ti sliut so byra' dem sláss'. Tsjittargrã hun iutretta' no he som int' fãnin va' kãr til'. Frãn tan tídin ha' pa'foltsji' grãla', int' förr. Tsjittargrã je' hun, som fõst jãol' he, o fãnin motta' som 'an lova' sãm' åt 'in e pa' ny pjeksor. Han sat på tsjyrkkamban o söma' dem, o bekksnõrin rekt' enda neder ti' jãolin. To 'an ejn gang (det var om en söndagsmorgon) drão' opp snõre', so rykt' 'an me' ti sama opp in tsjerng. Fãnin tykt to: "he kom fy' stãor kniut", men sã' 'an: "he ska' ful änto dog' åt Tsjittargrã", o klappa' líti' om 'an me' hamarin. To pjeksuna va' fãdi', so dösa' int' fãnin jev' dem åt Tsjittargrã, annan bãr dem på in humbelstang o rekt' dem yvi' älvín ti' ádrun sídun åt Tsjittargrã. (R II 14)

3) *Tsjittar Grey*

Once upon a time there was a couple that lived happily and never quarreled. When the Devil didn't get them to tease and fight, he went to Tsjittar Grey and said: if she got that couple to quarrel, she'd get a pair of boots. Tsjittar Grey promised to do it, and first she went to the woman and said to her: "if you can cut off those three hairs he (her husband) has in his beard, he'll be even better. He's very anxious about them, you should look when you're delousing him." Then she went to her husband and said: "you should be very careful the next time your wife delouses you, she's going to cut your throat." When the woman deloused her husband, she wanted to look in his beard too, to get those hairs cut off. As she was going to look in his beard, he believed his wife wanted to cut his throat, as Tsjittar Grey said, and started teasing her and withdrew, and finally they started fighting. Thus Tsjittar Grey now did what the Devil couldn't do. From that time onward, the couple has quarreled, not before. Tsjittar Grey is the one to accomplish it first, and the Devil had to sew a pair of new boots for her, as he'd promised. He was sitting on the church roof sewing them, and the wax-end laces reached to the ground. Once when he pulled up the lace (it was a Sunday morning), he pulled up a woman at the same time. The Devil thought: "the knot is too big", but said: "it'll surely be good enough for Tsjittar Grey anyway", and struck it a little with the hammer. When the boots were ready, the Devil dared not give them to Tsjittar Grey, but carried them on a pole and handed them over the river to the other side to Tsjittar Grey.

4) *Handelsmannen och djefvulen*

He va' ejngang in rík handilsman, som há' mytsji' gambel varor, som 'an int' vast óv me'. Sidan so kom in kãr til' 'an o sã': "om dö lovar de' åt me', to tem di varuna je' sliut, so ska' dem nåok gã åt. Handilsmannin lova' se' åt 'an, om 'an sku' fã sold alt, o dem jãol rigtít kontrakt se' imillan. Sidan byra' nåok handilin gã, handilsmannin tsjöft' mejr varor, o alt

strojk me'. To e byra' váliut me' varuna, so vast handilsmannin redd o byra' frukt' han di kárin som 'an 'a' lova' se' át, fy' he va' fänin. Som 'an grubla' på he dé, so kom Tsjittargrá til' 'an o sá: "om dö jer' e glásskáp, o setter me' i e, so får int' fänin de', fy' me' vil' 'an int' hav. Handilsmannin jáol' som 'un vıla: let jer' e glásskáp, o sett' Tsjittargrá i e o bjeod iut' e, men in'jin vıla tsjöper' e. To fänin kom so fréga' 'an át handilsmannin: "ha do fá sold all' varuna dín nö?" "nej, e skáp je' kvár", svara handilsmannin o tilla': "vil' dö tsjöper' e?" "jeo" tykt' fänin "ja' tsjöper' e. To fänin sá' skápe' o vast var Tsjittargrá i e, so sá' 'an: "jasso he je tö Tsjittargrá, ja' tsjender de' nåo', ja' tsjöper' de' int' ". So slapp handilsmannin frí fy' fänin, som fi' fa' vejín sen. (R II 15)

4) *The Merchant and the Devil*

Once upon a time there was a rich merchant who had many old wares he couldn't get rid of. Then a man came to him and said: "if you promise yourself to me when those wares are sold, they'll be sold.["] The merchant promised himself to him, if he'd sell everything, and they even made a contract between themselves. After that his business started thriving, the merchant bought more wares, and everything was sold out. When the wares were beginning to sell out, the merchant became frightened and started fearing the man he had promised himself to, 'cause it was the Devil. As he was brooding on this, Tsjittar Grey came to him and said: "if you make a glass case and put me into it, the Devil won't get you, 'cause he doesn't want me. ["] The merchant did as she wished: he made a glass case, and put Tsjittar Grey in it and offered it for sale, but nobody wanted to buy it. When the Devil came he asked the merchant: "Have you sold all your wares now?" "No, a case is still left", the merchant said and added: "Do you want to buy it?" "Yeah", the Devil thought, "I'll buy it["]. When the Devil saw the case and noticed Tsjittar Grey in it, he said: "Oh, it's you Tsjittar Grey, I know you, I won't buy you". In this way the merchant was liberated from the Devil who had to go his way.

5) *Lejonet och björnen*

Ejngang treffast lejune' o bjönin, o to fréga' lejune át bjönin: "har do sítt najn, som do je' redd?" "In kár je' ja' redd", svara' bjönin. "In kár je' ja' int' redd" svara' lejune' ti'bák'. Dem jáol' no sellskap o fældis át, so dem sku' fá sí in kár. Föst mött' dem in lislán pojk o to fréga' lejune': "je' han dé in kár?" Han 'a' int' henda váli' kár ánnu", svara' bjönin. To dem sídan vandra' víðare, so mött' dem in gambel gubb, o lejune' frega': "je' he dé in kár?" "Nej, han 'a' vari' kár, men je' int' na mejr" svara' bjönin. Dem vandra' víðare vejín framát, test dem sku' fá treff' in kár. To dem vandra' e stykk, so mött' dem in kasakk ti' hest. "Je he dér in' kár? fréga' lejune', to e sá' kasatsjin kom' ríðand'. "Já he dér je' in kár, o no gár ja' undan" svara' bjönin o jii' brejver vejín. "Han di je' ja' int' redd helder", svara' lejune' o stádd på vejín. Kasatsjin, to han sá' lejune', so byra' 'an skiut' so mytsji' 'an henda'. Ti sliut so motta' lejune' gá undan. To e sídan treffa' bjönin, so fréga' han: "va ság 'an át de'?" Han spotta' hejtt som fán", svara' lejune'. (R II 31)

5) *The Lion and the Bear*

Once the lion and the bear met, and the lion asked the bear: "Have you seen anyone you're afraid of?" "I'm afraid of a man", the bear answered. "I'm not afraid of a man", the lion answered back. Then they accompanied each other and went together to get to see a man. First they met a little boy and the lion asked: "Is he a man?" ["]He hasn't become a man

yet", the bear answered. When they continued on their way, they met an old man, and the lion asked: "Is that a man?" "No, he's been a man, but is no longer" the bear answered. They continued on their way until they'd meet a man. When they had walked a while, they met a Cossack on a horse. "Is that a man?["], the lion asked when it saw the Cossack come riding. "Yes, that's a man, and now I'll be off", the bear answered and walked beside the road. "I'm not afraid of him", the lion said and stayed on the road. The Cossack, when he saw the lion, he started shooting as much as he could manage. Finally the lion had to go away. Later, when it met the bear, he asked: "What did he say to you?" ["]He spat as hotly as hell", the lion answered.³³

6) *Berättelse om den i vinterdvala fallne skytten*

Ejngang ji' in kár in höst tí skáojin osta stjytt' o so treffa' 'an i skáojin på e stell', tár e va' fy'skretsjeli' mysji' ormar. Kárin ji' tíð o tenkt' tí byr' klobb' dem, men to dem va' so myt-sji' so vága' 'an int' rör om dem. Ejn óv tem di orman va' háo'löst stáor, o lá' nára in slét kvist, tár e hol va' brejver i jáolin. Vast et' in orm kom, so bejt 'an i han di kvistin o fáor neder i jáolin. To all' tem di små orman ha' biti' i han di kvistin o krupi' neder i he di hole', so bejt han di stáor ormin i han di kvistin o fáor neder i jáolin. Han di stjyttin stáo' o skoda o på altsammans. To han sá, hur tem di orman bejt' i han di slét kvistin o fáor' neder i jáolin, tan ejn báket' tan annan, so tenkt' han: "ja' ska' o frejst' bit i han di kvistin." Han jáol' som 'an tenkt' o jí' o bejt i han di kvistin. Som han 'a' jáost he, so byra 'an tsjenn' se' áovánlit tung o sómnu', so 'an int' orka' hejm anna ji' tí' in fiskarbastu, som va' på han di sjóholmin, tár 'an va' o stjytta', osta vil' se. Når 'an sidan vakna', so va' bössun hans rá-ostu, o matin meolu, som 'an ha' me' se', o utan fy' dörin va' in stáor snódrivu, so 'an mot-ta' arbejt' o bloka' iut se'. To 'an kom iut, so va' snópláttan jár o tár på jáolin, fy' he va' sama tíðin om váran, to orman kviknar veder o komber kriupand' iur jáolin. To 'an kom hejm, so vast' dem fy'skrekt', fy' dem tráodd' he an sku' va' död, to dem int' hitta' 'an om höstin, to dem ha' skalle' et' 'an. Når sidan höstin kom tan tíðin, to orman kreker neder i jáolin, so vart an tung o sómnu', so dem motta' byr' vakt' 'an, so 'an int' sku' som' bort. So va' e sidan vart ár so leng' 'an lávd' om höstan. (R II 74)

6) *Narrative of the Hibernating Marksman*

Once a man went to the forest to shoot in the autumn, and he ran across a place in the forest where there was an awful lot of snakes. The man went there and was going to start killing them, but when they were so many, he dared not touch them. One of those snakes was incredibly large, and it lay near a smooth twig, where there was a hole in the ground nearby. As each snake came, it bit that twig and went down into the earth. When all those small snakes had bitten that twig and crept into the hole, the big snake bit the twig and went down into the earth. The marksman stood watching it all, too. When he saw how the snakes bit the smooth twig and went down into the earth, one after another, he thought: "I'll try to bite that twig too." He did as he had thought to do and bit the twig. As he had done so, he started feeling unusually heavy and sleepy, so that he was too tired to go home, and went to a fishing bath-house, which lay on the islet where he was shooting, to rest. When he woke up, his gun was rusty and the food he had brought mouldy,

³³ Literally: 'He spat as hotly as the Devil'.

and outside the door was a big snow drift, so that he had to work and wedge himself through. When he came out, there were patches of snow here and there on the ground, 'cause it was that time in the spring, when the snakes wake up and come crawling out of the earth. When he came home they were horrified, as they thought he was dead when they didn't find him in the autumn when they'd made a search for him. When autumn came around that time when the snakes creep down into the earth, he became heavy and sleepy, so that they had to start guarding him to stop him from falling asleep. It was like that each year in the autumn for as long as he lived.

7) *Sjömamsellen*

Ejngang kom på e stjepe', to e just sku' kom' i land in mamsell undan fartyi' om báol, o stjepe stádd', just to 'un kom opp. Hun há e brejv, som 'un lemna' át in sjöman o bá', he 'an sku' skaff' fram e til' klokkun sex om morunin. Hun sá' namne' på gatun o numrun på gálin tíð 'an sku' gá, o nemd' han o i namn, som sku' há e. Sjömannin tåo' brejve' o lova' för' fram e o, o hun di mamsellin fáor undi' stjepe' tibák'. To 'an kom i land, so byra' 'an siup', o dröjdd' enda tí' etmiddáin föri 'an hoxa he 'an ha' e brejv, som 'an 'a' lova' skaff' fram. To 'an kom ti han di gálin, tíð brejve' sku' föras, so fanns injin tár, som ha e tuku namn som stáo' på brejve'. Sliutligen hoxa dem he kattun ha' e tuku namn. Sjömannin biuga' se' to o rekt' kattun brejve'. Kattun tåo imåot e, men vart me ti sama in mensk o sá': "de här ha do báoda va' jár me' i morust klokkun sex." Som 'un ha' sakt he, so tåo' 'un sjömannin i örúnin o fáor iut me' 'an midt emillan tvá fönster, o gluddjin lemna' opp báket' fránn ett fönster ti ti anna, fast e va' stejnhús. Kattun ha' vari sextun ár i he di hiuse'. (R II 77)

7) *The Sea Damsel*

Once a damsel came from the sea onboard a ship when it was coming to shore, and the ship stopped at the moment she came up. She had a letter that she gave to a sailor and asked him to deliver it by six o'clock in the morning. She said the name of the street and the number of the house to which he should go, and mentioned the one who was supposed to have it by name. The sailor took the letter and promised to deliver it too, and the damsel sank beneath the ship again. When he came to shore, he started drinking, and dallied until the afternoon before he remembered he had a letter he had promised to deliver. When he came to the house to which the letter should be brought, there was no-one there with such a name as the one written on the letter. Finally, they realized the cat had such a name. The sailor bowed and gave the cat the letter. The cat received it, but became a human at the same moment and said: "You should've brought this here this morning at six o'clock." As she had said that, she caught the sailor in the ears and went out with him between two windows, and the hole was left open from one window to another, even though it was a house of stone. The cat had been in the house for sixteen years.

8) *Den upphöjde soldaten*

In svensk soldat, som ejngang sku' stá på post, to konun'jin sku rejs', ji' osta sim', to e va' mytsji' varmt om dáin, o kungen byra dröj' fy' leng'. Når 'an va' i vakne' so best so höld' 'an, he konun'jin kom tsjörand'. Han stjynda' to opp me' in hískeli' fast, men henda int' kle' på se' klénin, annan kasta' renselin på ryddjin o jiväre' på axlan, o hattin på huvu'. Sá stáo 'an to konun'jin fáor fy'bíd. Dáin báket' vast 'an kalla' opp tí' háve klokkun 12 på dáin

i sama unjiform, som 'an va i, to konun'jin fáor fy'bíd 'an. Han kom. To 'an kom in på háve', so föll 'an på kné o bád om náð. Konun'jin sá he 'an sku' stíg' opp, int' va' he na tí' va' redd. To 'an steig opp, so fréga' konun'jin át hávfröknar, om naun vila hav 'an tí' man. Dem teyg. Kungen högd' opp 'an tí' löjtnant o fréga' áter, om naun vila hav 'an tí' man. Dem teyg. Han vast sidan opphögd tí' kaptejn o kungen fréga, om naun hávfröken vila hav 'an tí' man. Dem teyg. Han vast opphögd tí' majór, o sídan tí' öväst, men int' naun hávfröken vila hav 'an tí' man. Sliutligen opphögd' konun'jin 'an tí' övastlöjtnant, o fréga' át hávfröknana, om naun vila háv 'an tí' man. Nö va' e ejn, som svara' he 'un vila hav' 'an tí' man. Han fi' nö byr' gá i skáolan o lær' se' tí' ovastlöjtnant. (R II 79)

8) *The Promoted Soldier*

A Swedish soldier, who was standing sentry when the king was going to travel, went to swim when it was very hot during the day and the king was getting late. When he was in the water, he heard the king come driving. He hurried up with a terrible speed, but he didn't have time to put on his clothes and just threw the knapsack on his back and the gun on his shoulders, and the hat on his head. He was standing like that when the king passed. The next day he was summoned to [the royal] court at 12 o'clock noon, in the same uniform he had worn when the king passed him. He came. When he entered the court, he fell to his knees and begged for mercy. The king told him to rise, there wasn't anything to be afraid of. When he rose, the king asked if any maid of honour wanted him as husband. They were silent. The king promoted him to lieutenant and asked again if anyone wanted him as husband. They were silent. Then he was promoted to captain and the king asked, if any maid of honour wanted him as husband. They were silent. He was promoted to major, and then to colonel, but no maid of honour wanted him as husband. Finally, the king promoted him to lieutenant colonel, and asked the maids of honour if anyone wanted him as husband. Now there was one who answered that she wanted him as husband. Now he had to start school and be trained as lieutenant colonel.

9) *Porträttet (sic)*

In pottrettmálar kom ejngang tí' in herrgál, tár herrin vila he 'an sku' mál' e pottrett óv 'an men i riddardrekt, me' jálm, spjiut, hánisk o sväd. Málarin lova' jer' e, o ji' i e anna rium o mál'. Han mála' herrin tí' kokk me' grytor, tsjittlar, pannor o slejvar. To pottrette' va' fädit, so ströjk 'an yvi' e me' vattfergun o mála' in riddar ovanpå. Han lemna' nö pottrette' át herrin, som tykt' he va' brá mála', men he va' so mulit. Málarin gáv 'an in svamp, o in flasku o sá' to fjáostun dagar ha' vari', so sku' 'an hell' iur flaskun på han di svampin o stryjk på pottrette', so sku' e fá glansin på se'. Herrin va' nögd o lova' jer' som málarin bifalt 'an. To 14 dagar ha' vari', so bjeöd herrin fremmand he dem sku' fá sí hur' málarin ha' stofära' iut 'an. Når all' va' fy'sambla', so held' herrin iur hun di flaskun på svampin o ströjk yvi' pottrette', o to kom kotsjin fram, nå' vattfergun ji' bost. Herrin fi' nö sí 'va' málarin ha' mála' 'an til', o han ha fari' vejin sen, sidan 'an ha váli' väl bitáld fy' arbejte' sett. All' byra' skratt' át pottrette' hans, to dem sá' kotsjin, grytor, pannor, tsjitlar o slejvor. (R II 80)

9) *The Portrait*

Once a portrait painter came to a manor, where the lord wanted him to paint a portrait of him, but in a knight's dress, with helmet, spear, armour and sword. The painter promised

to do it, and went into another room to paint. He painted the lord as a cook with pots, cauldrons, pans and ladles. When the portrait was finished, he brushed water colours over it and painted a knight over it. Now he gave the portrait to the lord who thought it was well-made, but it was so dark. The painter gave him a sponge and a bottle, and said that when fourteen days had passed, he should pour from the bottle onto the sponge and apply onto the portrait, and it would become glossy. The lord was content and promised to do as the painter ordered. When 14 days had passed, the lord invited guests to let them see how the painter had tricked him up. When everyone was assembled, the lord poured out of the bottle onto the sponge and applied onto the portrait, and then the cook emerged, when the water colours were removed. The lord got to see what the painter had painted him as, and he had gone away after being well-paid for his work. Everyone started laughing at his portrait, when they saw the cook, the pots, the pans, the cauldrons and ladles.

10) *De tre fríarne*

He va' ejngang in rík mamsell, som há' trí fríarar som int' vist' he, annan 'var o ejn tráodd' he 'an va' emsend. Sidan so hend' e se' e kveld, he dem kom' alliháop til' 'inar, men ejn i sendes. To tan föst kom, o sá' árande sett, so sá' hun di mamsellin: "om dö gár i klokkstapulin, tár je' in táom líktsjistu, o legger de i hennar, o ligger tár nattin yvi', so ska' dö fá já." Han ji' ti' klokkstapulin o ládis i in táom líktsjistu, som va' tár. To han ha' gá', so kom tan annan fríarin o framföld' sitt árand. "Om dö gár i klokkstapulin, o klappar hejla nattin me' tsjeppin i in líktsjistu, som je' tár, so ska' dö fá já", sá mamsellin. "Nåok dör ja' jer' he", svara' fríarin o jig. To 'an kom ti' klokkstapulin, so' stáo' 'an tár, o klappa' i líktsjistun hejla nattin. Báket' han so kom tan tredi' fríarin ti' hun di mamsellin o bejdist 'in ti' hustru. Hun svara' 'an: "om dö klér' in víf stjåostu på de', o gár o spassárar hejla nattin på tsjyrkgálin, so får dö já". Han 'va' nögd ti' jer' 'va' 'un bá' 'an: klédd på se' in víf stjåostu, o spassára' frá'n o til' hejla nattin på tsjyrkgálin. To 'an ji' o vandra' so fi' 'an hö' hur' tan annan klappa' i líktsjistun i stapulin, o han som stáo' o klappa', fi' sí hejla nattin han di annan gá o vander i en víf stjåostu, iutan ti' vit' vem e va', o han di som lá' i líktsjistun fi' hö' klappase' hejla nattin. To morunin kom, so ji' föst han di bost, som vandra' på tsjyrkgálin. Han ji' to ti' hun di mamsellin, som fréga' hur 'an ha' mádd undi' nattin. "Brá, men he klappa' hejla nattin i klokkstapulin o líktsjistun", svara' han 'in. Han ji' sidan in på e vashius, som va' nära til' fy' ti' ta' se' in siup. To han ha' gá', so kom han dé, som stáo' o klappa' i líktsjistun i klokkstapulin, ti' hun di mamsellin. Hun fréga' to hur 'an a' mádd' undi' nattin. "Brá, om int' in víf kár sku' ha' gá' o vandra' hejla nattin yvi' på tsjyrkgálin," svara' han. Han ji' sidan ti' he di sama vashius' som tan föst osta tá se' in frukost. To han ha' gá', so kom han dé, som lá' i líktsjistun ti' hun di mamsellin. Hun fréga' to hur 'an ha' mádd' undi' nattin. "Brá" tykt' han, "men he 'a' klappa' hejla nattin i líktsjistun." Han ji' sidan ti' he di vashius' o tá se' in frukostiup, o to treffa' 'an tem di áder tvá fríarar tár. Tem byra' to tal' om 'va' som ha' hend' undi' nattin iutan ti' tsjenn' 'varáder. Föst sá han dé, som ji' o spassára' på tsjyrkgálin, vann 'an ha' vari, o hur' e 'a' buldra' hejla nattin i klokkstapulin. To han dé som klappa' i líktsjistun höld' he, so sá' 'an: "he va' ful tö han di víf, som ji' o vandra' i natt på tsjyrkgálin?" "Já" tykt' han. So snast han dé, som lá' i líktsjistun höld' he, so sá' han át han dé, som klappa': "he je' ful tö, som ha' klappa' hejla nattin i líktsjistun, so ja' int' ha' fá sáv?" "Já" tykt' han. Nö läd' tem di trí fríarar se' tsjenn' 'varáder, o to dem fi' vit' he hun di mamsellin ha' so mang fríarar på ejngang o ha' narra' dem tilíka, so lemna' dem 'in alliháop. (R II 119)

10) *The Three Suitors*

Once upon a time there was a rich damsel who had three suitors who didn't know of this, but each of them thought he was the only one. Then it so happened one evening that all of them came to her, but one at a time. When the first one came and stated his business, the damsel said: "if you go to the belfry, there's an empty coffin there, and lie down in it, and lie there during the night, you'll get a yes." He went to the belfry and lay down in an empty coffin that was there. When he had left, the second suitor came and stated his business. "If you go to the belfry and knock with your cane on a coffin that's there all night, you'll get a yes," the damsel said. "I'll dare to do it, surely," the suitor said and left. When he came to the belfry, he stood there and knocked on the coffin all night. After him the third suitor came to the damsel and asked her to be his wife. She answered him: "if you put on a white shirt, and walk on the graveyard the whole night, you'll get a yes." He was content to do as she asked him: he put on a white shirt and walked to and fro on the graveyard the whole night. When he was walking, he heard how the other knocked on the coffin in the belfry, and the one doing the knocking saw the other walking in a white shirt all night, without knowing who it was, and the one lying in the coffin heard the knocking all night. When morning came, the one walking on the graveyard left first. He went to the damsel, who asked him how he had felt during the night. "Well, but there were knocks in the belfry and on the coffin all night," he answered. Then he went to an inn that was nearby to get a drink. When he had left, the one doing the knocking on the coffin in the belfry came to the damsel. She asked him how he had felt during the night. "Well, if a white man hadn't been walking on the graveyard all night," he answered. Then he went to the same inn as the first one to get breakfast. When he had left, the one lying in the coffin came to the damsel. She asked him how he had felt during the night. "Well," he thought, "but there were knocks on the coffin all night." Then he went to the inn to get a breakfast drink, and he met the other two suitors there. They started talking about what had happened during the night without knowing each other. First, the one walking on the graveyard said where he had been, and how there had been noise in the belfry all night. When the one doing the knocking on the coffin heard that, he said: "It was surely you, that white [man] walking on the graveyard last night?" "Yes," he thought. As soon as the one lying in the coffin heard that, he said to the one knocking: "It was surely you knocking on the coffin all night, so that I couldn't sleep?" "Yes," he thought. Now the three suitors got to know each other, and when they learned that the damsel had so many suitors at the same time and had fooled them too, they all left her.

11) *Bedragen*

In kvinnu ji' ejngang ti' in gullsméd o bisteld' se' e par ny silverjusstakar ti' in bistemd dæg. Hun sá' se sku' há' dem át in präst, som sku' hald kálas. Gullsméðin jáol' som 'un víla o laga' e par silverjusstakar át 'in ti tan dáin 'un bistemd. To hun di kvinnun ha' gá' fráñ gullsméðin, so ji' 'un ti' prästin o fréga', om 'un int' sku' fá kom' til' han me' kárin sen, han grublar, so 'un tráor 'an vál táoku. Prästin sá', he 'un sku' fá kom' tan annan dáin, solejs just tan sama dáin, to jusstakan sku' vál fáði'. Tan annan dáin so jig 'un ti' gullsméðin o fréga' om tem di jusstakan va' fáði'. "Jeo'," tykt gullsméðin o táo' fram dem. Kvinnun linda' dem i in víf handdiuk, o bá' gullsméðin sjálv kom' me' ti' prästin, so sku' 'an fá bitálning. Gullsméðin fáld' me' 'in. To dem kom' ti' prästis, so bá 'un gullsméðin gá in i kamarin

hans, so sku' 'an få bitálning fy' jiusstakan sín, o låsa' sjálv gá át tsjötsje'. Gullsmedin jí' tíð 'an' vast víst o tsjern'jin hun tsjila' óv, iutan at najn vist 'vast 'un tåo' vejin. To gullsmedin kom in tí' prästin, so ståo' dem in gåod stond o sá' på 'varáder iutan ti tal' e åol'. Sliutligen sá' gullsmedin, he 'an sku' vil' hav bitált fy' tem di silverjiusstakan 'an a bisteld. Prästin, som tráodd' 'an sku' va' hun di kvinnus man, som grublar (på silver o gull) huld to in veldi' predíkan på gullsmedin, he 'an int' sku' grubel yvi' silver o gull o jáodiska ríkdåomar, som 'an änto ejngang mott' lemn'. Int' grublar ja' yvi' na, annan ja' vil' há bitálning fy' tem silverjiusstakan som paståorin ha bisteld' tí' in viss dág," svara' gullsmedin. Hur' leng' dem fundära' me' 'varáder, so merkt' dem, he dem va' bidreji' båd två. Prestin bitála' änto tan ejn jiusstakan fy' tí' dejl' skadan me' gullsmedin. (R II 122)

11) *Deceived*

Once a woman went to a goldsmith and ordered a pair of new silver candlesticks for a certain day. She said she was getting them for a priest who was going to hold a party. The goldsmith did as she wanted and made a pair of silver candlesticks for the day she had fixed on. When the woman had left the goldsmith, she went to the parson and asked, if she couldn't come to him with her husband, he was brooding, so that she thought he was going crazy. The parson said she could come another day, that is, the very day the silver candlesticks were supposed to be ready. That day she went to the goldsmith and asked if the candlesticks were ready. "Yes," the goldsmith thought and brought them out. The woman wrapped them in a white towel and asked the goldsmith to come along to the parson to get his payment himself. The goldsmith followed her. When they came to the parson, she asked the goldsmith to go into his chamber, and he'd get the payment for his candlesticks, and she pretended to go to the kitchen herself. The goldsmith went to the place he was shown to, and the woman, she ran off, without anyone knowing where she went. When the goldsmith came in to the parson, they stood for a good while looking at each other without speaking a word. Finally, the goldsmith said he wanted to be paid for the silver candlesticks he had ordered. The parson who thought he was the woman's husband brooding (on silver and gold) held a great sermon for the goldsmith, [saying] he shouldn't brood on silver and gold and earthly riches that he'd have to leave behind anyway. ["I'm not brooding on anything, I want payment for the silver candlesticks the pastor has ordered for a certain day," the goldsmith answered. When they mulled it over with each other, they noticed they had been deceived, the both of them. The parson nevertheless paid for one candlestick in order to share the damage with the goldsmith.

12) *Löpargossen och hans katt*

He va' ejngang in fatin vänlös pojck, som hendelsevís fi' erv óv rík slektingar, som int' há na brýstarvingar in pängsiumu. To 'an fi' pängan, so jig 'an neder tí' sjön, o kasta' altsammans tíð, o sá': tí årettfädit sku' få sjonk' o tí rettfädit sku' flyt'. Altihåop sank neder, so bara in tvástyverslant flöjt. Han di slantin tåo pojtsjin o fåor tí' in rík herrgål o vast tår som leöparpojck. To 'an ha' vari' tår najn tíð, so laga' dem e farty' tí' iutlande. 'Valinda matråos fig ta na me' se' fy' tí' få fy'yer i he di lande' tíð dem sku' sigel. Dem sá' allihåop he han di leöparpojtsjin o sku' ta na me' se' "Ja' hár int' ná tí' ta me' me'," svara' pojtsjin. "Noh ta kattun me de!" tykt' kaptejnin. Han jáol so. To dem sidan kom tí' iutlande', so kom dem tí' klarár' lastin på e slott. När kaptejnin jí' tíð, so sprang in fy'skretsjele' háop me' möss tår.

Kaptejninn fréga' to, om dem int' hár naun katt. He vist' dem int' 'va' he va' fy' e jjur. Katt-namne' ha' dem aldri höst. "Ja' hár in kajiutpojk, som hár e lislát jjur, som hejter kattun, hun tager nåok bost mössin" tykt' kaptejninn. Kattun vast et'stjikka'. To kattun kom, so tåo' hun in hejl håop me' möss, o skremd' bost ti áder. Tem tsjöft' nö hun di kattun óv kajiutpojtjinn, o han fi in ståor siumu me' pångar fy' 'in. So vast 'an rík jinom kattun, fast 'an kasta' i sjön 'va' 'an fi' erv. (R II 131)

12) *The Errand Boy and His Cat*

Once upon a time there was a poor, defenceless boy who happened to inherit a sum of money from rich relatives who had no direct heirs. When he got the money, he went down to the lake and threw everything in it, saying: the unjustly [gained] could sink and the justly [gained] should float. Everything sank down so that just a two-penny coin floated. The boy took the coin and went to a rich manor and stayed there as an errand boy. When he had been there for some time, they sent a ship abroad. Every sailor could bring something to sell in the country they were sailing to. All of them said the errand boy should take something too[.] "I don't have anything to take with me," the boy answered. "Well, take the cat with you!" the captain said. He did so. When they arrived at the foreign country, they came to a castle to declare their cargo. When the captain went there, an awful lot of mice ran there. The captain asked if they had no cat. They didn't know what kind of animal that was. They had never heard of the cat. "I have a cabin boy who has a small animal called the cat, she'll take away the mice," the captain thought. The cat was sent for. When the cat came, it took a whole lot of mice, and scared off the others. They bought the cat from the cabin boy, and he got a big sum of money for it. Thus, he got rich through the cat, even though he threw what he'd inherited in the lake.

13) *Resan till konungariket Midnattssol*

He va' ejngang in ejnstaka' bundgål, som há' in á'sidis ákerjálu, som vext' brá 'valit ár, men vast 'valenda messomasnatt nedertrampa', o int' vist' dem 'vem som jáol' e. I han di sama gálin va trí söner, o tem kom' sliutligen överens, he dem sku' vakt' ejn i gangun 'var messomasnatt. Tan föst messomasnattin so ji' tan gamblast sonin til' hun di jálun o vakt' o tåo' bössun me' se. To 'an kom tíð o sku' byr' vakt', so vast 'an sömnu, o somna'. To 'an vakna' opp, so va' jálun nedertrampa', o int' vist dem 'vem som ha' jáost e. To tan annan messomasnattin kom, so tåo' tan millast sonin bössun óv veddjin o ji' ti' hun di sama jálun o vakt', men he ji' int' betér fy' han än fy' bråodrin: han vast sömnu' o somna', o to 'an vakna' opp va' jálun nedertrampa'. När sidan áter e ár ha' ga' o tan tredí messomasnattin kom, so tåo' tan tredí bråodrin bössun óv veddjin o ji' ti' hun di á'sides jálun o vakt. Fy' han ji' e betér än fy' ti' áder tvá; han somna' int', annan va' vetsjin. To e vast midt i nattin, so kom klokkun tolv in hejl håop me' gásor o byra' tramp' neder jálun. Pojtjinn stjeöt to e skot, o ejn lemna'. Som 'an stjeöt so vast' tem di gásuna ti mamselder o fáor' sin vág. Hun dí, som 'an stjeöt, hun vast bara blasára'. To pojtjinn kom tíð o sí, o 'un va' i líve', so fréga' 'an 'vadan 'un va'. Hun svara: fráñ "konunga ríket Míðnattssól" Han tåo 'un to tí' gálin me' se', o to 'un vast frísk, so byra' 'an frí' ti' 'un. Ti sliut so jifta' dem se'. To 'un sidan ha varí' najñ tíð i gálin, so byra' 'un fá drygt o lejsamt o víla' tí'bak' tí' konungaríket Míðnattssól. Gubbin hennas víla int' slepp 'un, men to 'un int' gáv se', so sá' 'an, he 'un sku' fá fa', men han sku' kom' me', men he víla' 'un int'. Ti sliut motta' 'an let 'in fa' 'emsend. To 'un sku' fá', so breöjt 'un vígningsrin'jin sin som ha' hennas o hans namn i se' i tvá bitar o gáv

tan bitan át gubbin sen som ha' hennas namn i se, o táo tan bitan sjálv, som bár gubbis namn. Síðan fáor 'un, men kom alder tibák'. To 'un int' kom tí'bák', so fáor mannin hennas osta sök' et 'in. Han sökt' 'in som 'an tykt' verldin rund, men hitta 'in int'. Tí' sliut, to 'an ha' sökt' allanstejis o int' hitta', so fáor 'an osta sök tí' skáojin om 'an sku' hitt' 'in tár. Når 'an sökt i skáojin, so kom 'an tí' e stáost slott, tár in draka stáo' vakt me' páosti. Som kárin sá 'an, so tykt' 'an fyr se sjálv: "va' nö va' dö vill, visst stjiuter ja'" Han stjeöt o drakan föll neder tí' jáolin. To drakan föll, so jí' kárin tí' páostin o byra bult' pá 'an. Når 'an bulta', so kom in mamsell o táo opp 'an. To 'an kom jinom 'an so fréga' hun 'va 'an ha fy' árand. Han sá' to árande' sett: he 'an sökt' hustrun sín, som va' frá konunga ríket Mídnattssól. Som 'an 'a' sakt he, so' sá' hun dí mamsellin, he hun va' huvu' fy' all fiular, o om int' dem sku' vit', so sku' ful hun sej', vann konunga ríket Mídnattssól je'. Me' tí sama so blást 'in í in pípu, o to kom allsostes fiular tíd. Hun fréga to óv tem, om int' dem vejt, vann konungaríket Mídnattssól je'. Tem vist' int' he, men so va' in fiul bost ánnu, in stáor ön, o dem tráodd' he han sku' vit e. Tí' sliut kom han o. Han ha vari tí' konunga ríket Mídnattssól, o tárfyri rekt' e so leng' förán han kom fram. To önin kom, so fréga' hun dí mamsellin óv 'an , om 'an int' vist' vann konunga ríket Mídnattssól va'. "Jeö'" svara' önin, o bíratta', he 'an just kom tidan. Hun sá' to, he 'an sku' för han dí kárin tíd, som söker et' tsjern'jin sín. "He ska' ja' jer'" svara' önin, o táo' 'an pá ryddjin sen, o fáor me' 'an tíd 'an vila. Når dem kom' tí' konunga ríket Mídnattssól, so va' tár e stáost slott. Önin, han bulta' pá páostin, he kárin sku' slipp' in. Dem yppna' páostin, o to kárin kom in, so va' tár in hejl háop me mamselder, tí sama gásuna som briuka' fálas o tramp' neder hun dí á'sídis jálun. La' me' tem va' o hustrun hans. To 'un fí' sí 'an, föll 'un 'an om halsin, o táo' 'an í stjeöte. Síðan huld dem jessbode, o he va' stór án alt anna. To konunjin, vas dáotror tem dí mamseldrin va' dödd' so vast han dí kárin rejárand í konunga ríket Mídnattssól enda set tills nú. (R II 219)

13) *The Journey to the Kingdom of the Midnight Sun*

Once upon a time there was a single farm that had an outlying field that grew well each year, but every Midsummer's Eve it was trampled, and they didn't know who did it. In the same house there were three sons, and finally they agreed to guard it in turns each Midsummer's Eve. The first Midsummer's Eve the eldest son went to that field to guard it and took the gun with him. When he came there and was going to start guarding, he became sleepy and fell asleep. When he woke up, the field was trampled, and they didn't know who'd done it. When it was the second Midsummer's Eve, the middle son took the gun off the wall and went to the same field to guard it, but he didn't succeed better than his brother: he became sleepy and fell asleep, and when he woke up, the field was trampled. Then, as a year had passed and it was the third Midsummer's Eve, the third brother took the gun off the wall and went to that outlying field to guard it. He succeeded better than the other two: he didn't fall asleep, but stayed awake. When it was in the middle of the night, at twelve o'clock a whole lot of geese came and started trampling the field. The boy fired a shot, and one [of them] remained. As he shot, the geese turned into damsels and went away. The one he shot, she was only wounded. When the boy came to take a look, and she was alive, he asked her from where she was. She answered: from "the kingdom of the midnight sun". He brought her with him to the farm, and when she was healed, he started wooing her. Finally, they got married. When she had been at the farm for some time, she started to yearn and got sad and wanted to return to the kingdom of

the midnight sun. Her husband didn't want to let her go, but when she didn't relent, he said she could go, but he'd accompany her, but she didn't want that. At last he had to let her go alone. When she was going, she broke her wedding ring that had her and his name in it in two pieces, and gave the piece with her name in it to her husband, and took that piece herself which bore the husband's name. Then she went, but never returned. When she didn't come back, her husband went looking for her. He sought for her around the world, as he thought, but didn't find her. Finally, when he had searched everywhere and didn't find [her], he went to the forest to search, if he'd find her there. When he was searching in the forest, he came to a large castle, where a dragon stood guard by the gate. As the man saw it, he thought to himself: "be whatever you want, I'll surely shoot". He shot and the dragon fell down to the ground. When the dragon fell, the man went to the gate and started knocking on it. When he knocked, a damsel came to open it. When he passed through, she asked him what his business was. He stated his business: that he was looking for his wife who was from the kingdom of the midnight sun. As he'd said that, the damsel said she was the head of all birds, and if they didn't know, she'd surely say where the kingdom of the midnight sun was. At once she blew in a pipe, and then all kinds of birds came there. She asked them if they don't know where the kingdom of the midnight sun is. They didn't know that, but one bird was still missing, a big eagle, and they believed it'd know it. Finally it came too. It had been in the kingdom of the midnight sun, and that's why it had taken so long for it to arrive. When the eagle came, the damsel asked it, if it didn't know where the kingdom of the midnight sun was. "Yes," the eagle answered and told them that it had just been there. She said it should take the man who was looking for his wife there. "I'll do that," the eagle answered, and took him on its back and brought him to the place he wanted to go to. When they came to the kingdom of the midnight sun there was a large castle there. The eagle, it knocked on the gate to let the man in. They opened the gate, and when the man came in, there was a whole lot of damsels there, the same geese that used to come and trample the outlying field. His wife was among them. When she caught sight of him, she fell on his neck and took him in her embrace. Then they held a feast, and it was bigger than any other. When the king, whose daughters those damsels were, died, the man reigned in the kingdom of the midnight sun up until now.

Appendix C: Select Troll Narratives

In this appendix I have included some shorter narratives, translated in full.

1) En karl vart bergtagen och vart gift med trollen, och hade flera barn. Han var gift förut och längtade bort. En gång slapp han till kyrkan och var där osynlig, men så kröp han under kappan på prästen och vart då synlig och trollen hade ingen makt med an mera. (SLS 280: 136)

1) A man was abducted and married to the troll, and had several children. He was previously married and longed to get away. Once he was allowed to [go to] church and was invisible there, but then he crept under the parson's gown and became visible, and the trolls had no power with him any more.

2) När man haft skäl att misstänka, att ett barn varit bortbyting, har man eldat ugnen riktigt duktigt, tagit barnet på armarna, ställt sig framför ugnsgimanet, svängt barnet och sagt sig ämna kasta det i lågorna i ugnen. Trollet, barnets mor har då, drifven av moderskärleken, velat rädda sitt barn och utlämnat det riktiga barnet samt återtagit sitt. Och detta har skett utan att den, som stå med barnet i händerna märkt det. (SLS 65: 44)

2) When one has had reason to suspect that a child is a changeling, one has heated the oven well, taken the child in one's arms, stood in front of the oven door, rocked the child and said that one is going to throw it in the flames in the oven. The troll, the child's mother has then, driven by maternal love, wanted to save its child and [it has] returned the real child and taken its own back. And this has happened without the one standing with the child in her arms noticing it.

3) En kvinna hade råkat ut för ett bergtroll, som aldrig ville lämna henne i fred. Hon tänkte då ut en list och sporde en dag bergtrollet: "vad skall jag göra åt korna mina, som inte får gå i fred för bergtjuren?" "Du skall skaffa dig dyvelsträck, bävergäll och ålandsrot och giva dina kor", sade bergtrollet. Då tog kvinnan själv in det som trollet ordinerat åt hennes kor och sedan hade han ingen makt över henne mer. En dag, när hon gick i skogen i närheten av trollets berg, hörde hon honom säga:

"dyvelsträck, bävergäll och ålandsrot,
och tvi vale mej som dig gav bot!"
(SLS 215, 250: 80–81)

3) A woman had encountered a hill troll which never wanted to leave her alone. She invented a trick, and one day she asked the hill troll: "What should I do about my cows which are not left in peace by the hill bull?" "You should get asafetida, castor and *inula helenium* and give to your cows", the hill troll said. Then the woman herself took what the troll had prescribed for her cows, and after that he had no power over her any longer. One day, when she was in the forest in the vicinity of the troll's hill, she heard him say:

"asafetida, castor and *inula helenium*,
and woe is me who gave you the cure!"

4) i måun ha e stjedd he in bundtjärng, sãm jig i skåujin åsta sök et fårin sin, ha vali bjärg-teji. tå un kãm pu na låg hellur sãm je jyst veder nygås heimani, så tykkt un he un va pu i hökt bjärg, sãm va så brant, så un åumöyli sku kunn slipp tedan elu eis tröst freist jev se nederet in tukan högd. men hur un nu bisinna se, så sveipa un tjåulan sin kring lårin å sestist neder pu steinin å sa: jissus velsini me! å tängkt let e byr ga nederet, men me ti sama fi un fötrin pu jåulin, å tå un skåda bak se et bjärji, så findist int e na. (Freudenthal 1889: 197)

4) In [the village of] Monå it has occurred that an old peasant woman who was walking in the forest in search of her sheep was abducted. When she came onto some low rocks which are just by the Nygård homestead, she thought she was on a high hill that was so steep that she could not possibly escape from it or even dare to try to descend such a hill. But she collected herself somehow, swept her skirts around her thighs and sat down on the rock and said: Jesus bless me! and was going to start the descent, but immediately she got her feet on the ground, and when she looked back on the hill, it no longer existed.

5) Vanligtvis hålla sig trollen i rörelse när det är halfskymning och dimmig väderlek. Under sådana förhållanden såg en kvinna en gång bergtrollens barn i landsvägsdikedet. De voro mycket vackra, prydligt klädda och qvicka, men strax som hon tilltalade dem: "Kva i Jisu namn jär ni út i réinveddre?" försvunno de och först då visste hon att det ej var verkliga människobarn hon talat till. (SLS 56: 153)

5) Usually the trolls are moving when it is partial dusk and foggy weather. In such conditions a woman once saw the hill troll's children in the ditch by the main road. They were very beautiful, neatly dressed and swift [or clever], but as soon as she spoke to them: "What in Jesus' name are you doing out in the rain?" they disappeared, and only then did she know that it was not real human children she had spoken to.

6) En gång i medlet av 1800-talet var ett notlag från Söderby och drog not i fjärden på (?) sidan om Pellinge, på kvällen lämnade de noten och båten i Båtsviken och gick hem däriifrån. Ett ovanligt åskväder rådde den kvällen med täta blixtrar, åskknallar och regn. Då de komma till Bötet (en äng som ligger nära berget) gick där en vit häst på bete. Notanföaren en gammal man från Brandts vist genast att det var trollet som visade sig, då ingen vit häst fanns på ön och sade: Har du inte haft tid att gå i bete förr änn vi sku kom jär förbi [i marginalen:] eller jaså de har lämnat dig utan havre i kväll [marginalanteckning slut]. Då for hästen upp i berget, med en stark fart och gnistor slog under hovarna. Några av notfolket bland dem en kvinna blevo så rädda att de inte ville orka gå hem. (SLS 374: 11–12)

6) Once in the middle of the 19th century a seine team from Söderby was fishing with a seine in the bay on the (?) side of Pellinge, in the evening they left the seine and the boat in Båtsviken and walked home from there. An unusual thunderstorm reigned that evening with frequent flashes of lightning, thunderclaps and rain. When they came to Bötet (a meadow situated close to the hill) a white horse was grazing there. The leader of the team, an old man from Brandts knew immediately that it was the troll showing itself, when no white horse existed on the island and said: Didn't you have time to graze before we passed by here [in the margin:] or indeed, they left you without oats this evening [comment in margin ended]. Then the horse went up in the hill, with high speed, and sparks flew under the hooves. Some of the team members, among them a woman, were so frightened that they hardly managed to go home.

7) För omkring 50 år sedan skall en yngling från Böle by i Mustasaari hava blivit bergtagen. Han försvann under vistelse i skogen och kunde oaktat träget letande ej återfinnas. Hans föräldrar, som trodde att han omkommit, läto ringa för honom i kyrkan. Strax därefter återvände ynglingen och berättade, att han av en gammal gubbe blivit förd in i ett bärg, men då kyrkklockorna ringde förlorade bärgstrollet sin makt över honom. (*Hembygden* 1910: 145)

7) About 50 years ago a youngster from the village of Böle in Mustasaari [Korsholm] had been abducted. He disappeared during a sojourn in the forest and could despite assiduous searching not be found. His parents who believed he had died let the bells ring for him in church. Soon thereafter the youngster returned and told them that he had been brought to a hill by an old man, but when the church bells rang the hill troll lost its power over him.

8) För c: a 45 år sedan voro några gossar och flickor på bärplockning i skogen invid Valsberget i Övermark. Medan de ivrigt voro sysselsatta med att fylla sina korgar, ropade plötsligt en av flickorna: "se, bergtrollet!" Alla blickade upp mot berget, där trollet stod på ett utsprång, icke långt från en av de plockande gossarna. Det var litet till växten, hade skepnad av ett ungt fruntimmer och var klätt i den allra finaste dräkt, vilken liksom utsände strålar. I handen höll det ett stort, gammalt ben, på vilket det gnagde. Barnen blevo så förskräckta, att de hals över huvud sprungo hem. (*Bygdeminnen* 1910: 41)

8) About 45 years ago some boys and girls were picking berries in the forest by Valsberget in Övermark. While they were eagerly occupied with filling their baskets, one of the girls suddenly shouted: "Look, the hill troll!" Everyone looked up toward the hill, where the troll was standing on a ledge, not far from one of the [berry-]picking boys. It was short of stature, had the shape of a young woman and was clad in the finest of dresses which kind of emitted rays [of light?]. In its hand it held a large, old bone which it nibbled at. The children were so frightened that they ran home headlong.

9) Vid Idureve, en vik i Norra Vallgrund i Replot, säges ett kvinnligt bergtroll ha haft sin bostad. Flere gånger hade hon blivit sedd, klädd än i vitt, än i rött, än i svart. En gång hade hon hängt ut en mängd kläder, av vilka somliga skimrade av silver, andra av guld, men när folk kom närmare, försvunno kläderna. Bergtrollet brukade även röva kor. En ko hade hon tagit flere gånger, men så snart kons ägare kastade skällkons klave och tre påtända stickor i ugnen, kom kon hem, ty bergtrollet hade då ej längre makt att kvarhålla den. (*Bygdeminnen* 1912: 56–57)

9) By Idureve, a bay in Norra Vallgrund in Replot, a female hill troll is said to have had her dwelling. She had been spotted several times, dressed in either white, red, or black. Once she had hung out some clothes of which some shimmered of silver, others of gold, but when people came closer, the clothes disappeared. The hill troll also used to steal cows. She had taken one cow several times, but as soon as the cow's owner threw the bell cow's collar and three burning sticks into the oven, the cow came home, because the hill troll then had no power to keep it any longer.

10) Ejn bond vistast för langa tid tibaka i värde i skoje å bränd potasko. Bäst som ha sjöjtt om eldn, byrja a hör huru hä hviska å tassla emilla trädä å sa: kom ti bröllops åt fridasqvälidi klocko nie". Hä va trollä, som bjöud ti bröllops. Tå sku ä va lustot ti vara me, tänkt gubbe, som int just var na rädd åf sä. Får ja kåma na? fråga a. Jo, bara dö klocko 12 om fridasnattä slår 3 hugg me yxklattje på häte bjerje som ä jär nära til, så slipper dö in, svara bjergtrolle. Bondn gick djena väje te prästn åsta funder om satjä. Prästn gaf a na lite nattvardsvin å ba a ti spill na droppor åf hä i matn, som trollä sku äta på bröllope. På hate föresatta tin gick bondn ti bjerje å slo mä yxklattje tri hugg, som hä va sagdt å vart insläft i ejn vakera bröllopsal. Tär vardt ha lika väl emottäje, som ejn präst i helviti, å tär satt spelman ve bole å spela å ti ar dansa å hadd så hjärtandis rolit. Tå di sku byri rejdt ti bröllopsmeddan, ba bond, att ha sku få vara kock, å hä gick trollä in på. Oförmärkt spillt a några droppor vin i matn. Täråf vardt trollä så i strykfyllo, så int visst ti nahanda, hva di huld på, utan ti byrja sifvas å slåas senemillan. Ti slut så sa ejn åf trollä, hä ä hate karn, som ni ha slarva hi, som rår för de här krakele, å tärför ä hä bäst a ha tar sä järifrån så fort som möjlidt. Brögumme

gick tå å sa åt bondn, hä a sku laga sä bort. Men a svara: "Int vil ja ga förn bröllope ä överstaje". Bara dö gar nö, sa brögumme, så ska dö få så mytje pängar, som dö orkar bära". Så to a fram ejn säck å öjst ti nie skoflar silfvermynt å gaf sättje åt bondn, som lag a (?) på ryddje å gick nöjd å glad hem. (SLS 71: 32–34)

10) Long ago a peasant stayed in the forest in order to burn potash. While he was tending the fire, he started hearing how it whispered between the trees and said: ["]Come to the wedding on Friday night at nine o'clock." It was the troll giving invitations to the wedding. It'd be nice to participate, the old man, who was not exactly timid, thought. Can I come too? he asked. Yes, if you just knock with three raps of the heel of your axe on the hill that's here nearby at 12 o'clock on Friday night, you'll get in, the hill troll answered. The peasant took a shortcut to the parson to deliberate on the matter. The parson gave him some sacramental wine and asked him to spill some drops of it in the food the trolls were supposed to eat at the wedding. At the appointed time the peasant went to the hill and knocked with three raps with the heel of his axe, as agreed, and was let into a beautiful wedding hall. There he was as well received as a priest in hell, and there the fiddler sat by the table playing and the others danced and amused themselves heartily. When they were going to prepare dinner, the peasant asked if he could be the cook, and the trolls agreed to that. Stealthily he spilt some drops of wine in the food. The trolls were so inebriated by this that they didn't know what they were doing, but started squabbling and fighting between themselves. Finally one of the trolls said that it is that man you've dragged here who's responsible for this mess, and therefore it's best if he leaves as soon as possible. The groom then went to tell the peasant that he should go. But he answered: "I don't want to leave before the wedding is over". ["]If you just go now["], the groom said, ["]you'll get as much money as you can carry". He took out a sack and scooped nine shovels of silver coins in it and gave the sack to the peasant who put it (?) on his back and went home happy and content.

11) En gång händ e se 'at to in kvinno va' ömsand heim i stugun sín, so kom in gobb upp úr tjällarin o bá at hústrun i húsi sku' kóm jelp tsjeljin hans, som va' barnshúk. Hun je' me' gobbin o he va' líksom trappor nér i berje. To dom kóm nér va' ter et stórt rúm o lampor lyst op bóle o vaddjen. Tsjeljin jól kva' un kuna' o förlöst bergtrolles tsjelg. To bane vart född, lest un som vi brúkar: "Herrens välsignelse öve e. Når bergtrolle hört he, so sá e: "kva' ska' vál ov hitsje barn, to en kristen kvinno ha förlöst e!" Når alt va' slút o tsjeljen sku' böri gá bot, sá bergtrolle: "ni hittar ful int heim, ja' ska' kóm o föli er" Hun sku' ny böri gá, men to sa bergtrolle: "ja' ska' föst jev en betálning för he ni ha kumi o jelft tsjeljen mín, kóm in hit ti tsjistun so ska' ni få!" Hun jíg o bergtrolle sá at un sku' bejd upp förkle sitt. Hun jól sá, o to öjst bergtrolle so mytji som ji i förkle henars som hun tykt hövelspånor. Hun kuna int na anna än tå, o han lá so mytji an fi ti gá i förkle henars me rogan åp. To un int kuna tå na mejr sá an: "ja ska' kóm o föli er" o so ji dom. To un kom heim, so tänkt un för se shölv: "kva' jér ja' me hitsje o kasta althóp i brasun. Men so snart dom kóm i eldin vart dom ti gulltsjedjor o anna dyrbara klénoder, so at un skúnda se' so fort som möjlit at me branstakan drá dom ti bák úr eldin. (R II 339)

11) Once it happened, when a woman was home alone in her cottage, that an old man came up from the cellar and asked the mistress of the house to come and help his wife who was in labour. She went with the old man and there were sort of stairs down into the rock.

When they came down there was a large room there and lamps lit up the table and the wall. The old woman did what she could and delivered the hill troll's woman. When the child was born, she pronounced, as we usually do, the Lord's blessing over it. When the hill troll heard that, it said: "What's to become of this child, when a Christian woman has delivered it!" When all was finished and the old woman was going away, the hill troll said: "You won't find your way home, I'll follow you" [.]. She was now on her way, but then the hill troll said: "First I'll give you payment for coming to help my wife, come here to the chest to get it!" She went and the hill troll said that she should spread out her apron. She did that, and then the hill troll scooped as much as possible into it of what she thought [was] shavings. She could only take it, and he laid as much as he could cram into her apron with full measure. When she couldn't take any more he said: "I'll follow you", and they went. When she came home, she thought to herself: "What do I do with this["] and threw all of it in the fire. But as soon as they came into the fire, they turned into chains of gold and other valuable treasures, and she hurried to draw them back out of the fire with the poker as fast as possible.

12) På Antus var pigan i gården, "gammelSändån", och måkade ihop dyngan undan korna. Bäst det var vart det bara blanka silver pengar. Hon vurt rädd och sprang bort. Om natten kom trollet och sa åt husbonden, att han sku ta bort den ko, som var sist i nötset för att det vurt vått på bordet var gång hon lät sitt vatten rinna. (SLS 280: 362)

12) At Antus the maid in the house, "old Sändån", was clearing out the dung of the cows. Suddenly it just turned into shiny silver money. She was afraid and ran away. At night the troll came and told the master of the household to remove the cow standing farthest away in the cow-shed because the table got wet every time she let her urine flow.

13) En kvinna från Kvevlaks säges ha varit gift med ett bergtroll. De levde samman i sju år och kvinnan hade ett gossebarn med trollet. När de sju åren var gångna, försvann trollet utan att sedan låta höra av sig. (SLS 215, 248: 80)

13) A woman from Kvevlax is said to have been married to a hill troll. They lived together for seven years and the woman had a boy with the troll. When the seven years had elapsed, the troll disappeared without any further news from it.

14) Ett stycke in mot Esse-skogen finnes ett af stora flata stenhällor bestående berg, som kallas Blå-berget. Der sägas trolLEN hålla sitt "plenum plenorum" midsommarkvällen. De roa sig derunder med danser, vilda, bullersamma, under det spelmännen sitta i grantopparna och spela flöjt. En gammal vallgumma hade gått vilse en midsommarkväll och kommit dit bland trolLEN. Hon kvarhölls der tills man ringde helig på lördagskvällen, då hon af ett troll beledsagades till skogskanten, der hon lemnades ensam. Här fann hon sin eftersökta boskaps hjord, men sitt förstånd hade gumman förlorat. Hon talade ständigt, men oklart och utan sammanhang om sitt besök på trollens samlingsplats. (R I 86: 2-3)

14) Some distance toward the Esse forest there is a hill consisting of large flat rocks which is called Blue Hill. There the trolls are said to hold their "plenum plenorum" on Midsummer's Eve. They amuse themselves with dances, wild, noisy, while the musicians sit in the tops of the spruces playing flute. An old shepherdess had gone astray on a Midsummer's

Eve and come there among the trolls. She was detained there until they rang the church bells on Saturday evening, when she was accompanied by a troll to the edge of the forest, where she was left alone. Here she found her sought-for cattle herd, but her sanity the old woman had lost. She constantly talked, but vaguely and incoherently, about her visit to the meeting point of the trolls.

15) En tsjalg va' engáng o to' löve vär Bösberje o hág e bân me se som un sätt osta siti vör berje, so léng un sku' arbet. To un ha vuri i arbete in stond, so försvann bâne. Móðren kom i ángest o byrja lejt et a, men hitta int a. Slútligen so sá un tvinna fälan upp et berje i sándin, líksom óv in bäsmanklapp. (trä besman, som är rund i båda ändarne). Hun jissa to at nó ha na bergtroll furi óv me bâne henars. Hun fár sidan ti prestin at han skú kóm tíft o skaff oter bâne henars ur berje. Prestin kom ti sama ställe, o byrja tross' tibak tsjeljinas bâne o all ars me, som dem ha taji bânén óv. Han va mytji iveri o predika degligt, o stótt me tsjappin i berje o sá at dem sku för ti bák, hva dom ha taji. För án an byrja predik, so sag' an át tom, som va me an, at dem sku' va' sakta. Tom va som an ság, o nog byrja dom hör bânstej in i berje jude kóm alt höger o höger upp át. Men so kóm me he samm tvá vildgastar (elaka pojkar) o han di in sá át han anin o skratta "Sir et hande prestin me langt tsjeddje sett, o spotte som yr om in munin to an predikar". Mejr behövis int för án bân-jude sank läger o ti slút försvann. Anin dájín för prestin tíft ómsand, o let int najn kom me se o byrja oter predik och tros' fram bânén, o stótt nu tsjappin i berje. To kom tsjeljinas bân o máng ár bân me upp. Nagir sá de va' hundra o óvi hundra ár gambel, men va änto små som dom ha vari, to dem ha váli taji. Prestin kresna dem, o tó vat tom, som va över-áldri ti bare stoft. Tom ár, som va ynger byrja lev. (R II 325)

15) Once an old woman was collecting leaves by the Bötom Hill and had a child with her which she placed to sit by the hill while she was working. When she had been working for a while, the child disappeared. The mother was in anguish and started looking for it, but couldn't find it. Finally she saw twin footprints along the hill in the sand, as if from the tongue of a steelyard. (Wooden steelyard which is round at both ends.) She guessed that some hill troll had stolen her child. Then she went to the parson so that he'd go there and get her child back from the hill. The parson came to the same place, and started coaxing the old woman's child back and all others' too, from whom they had stolen children. He was very eager and preached well, and rapped with his stick on the hill and said that they should return what they had taken. Before he started preaching, he told those who were with him to be silent. They were [silent] as he said, and they did start hearing the steps of children in the hill; the sound came higher and higher upward. But all of a sudden two madcaps (naughty boys) came and one said to the other and laughed "D'ya see that priest with his long beard, and the spittle flying out of his mouth when he's preaching". More wasn't needed before the sound of the children was muted och finally vanished. The second day the parson went there alone, and didn't let anyone come with him och started preaching and coaxing the children out once again, and now he rapped with his stick on the hill. Then the old woman's child and many other children too emerged. Some said they were a hundred and more than one hundred years old, but were still small as they had been when they were taken. The parson baptized them, and those who were too old turned into only dust. The others who were younger started to live.



Fig. 1. *Jakob Edvard Wefvar (1840–1911) was a prominent collector of folklore in the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland, and also a well-known lay preacher.*

Courtesy of the Department of Folklore, Åbo Akademi University. IF bnr 1983/34. (Photographer unknown.)

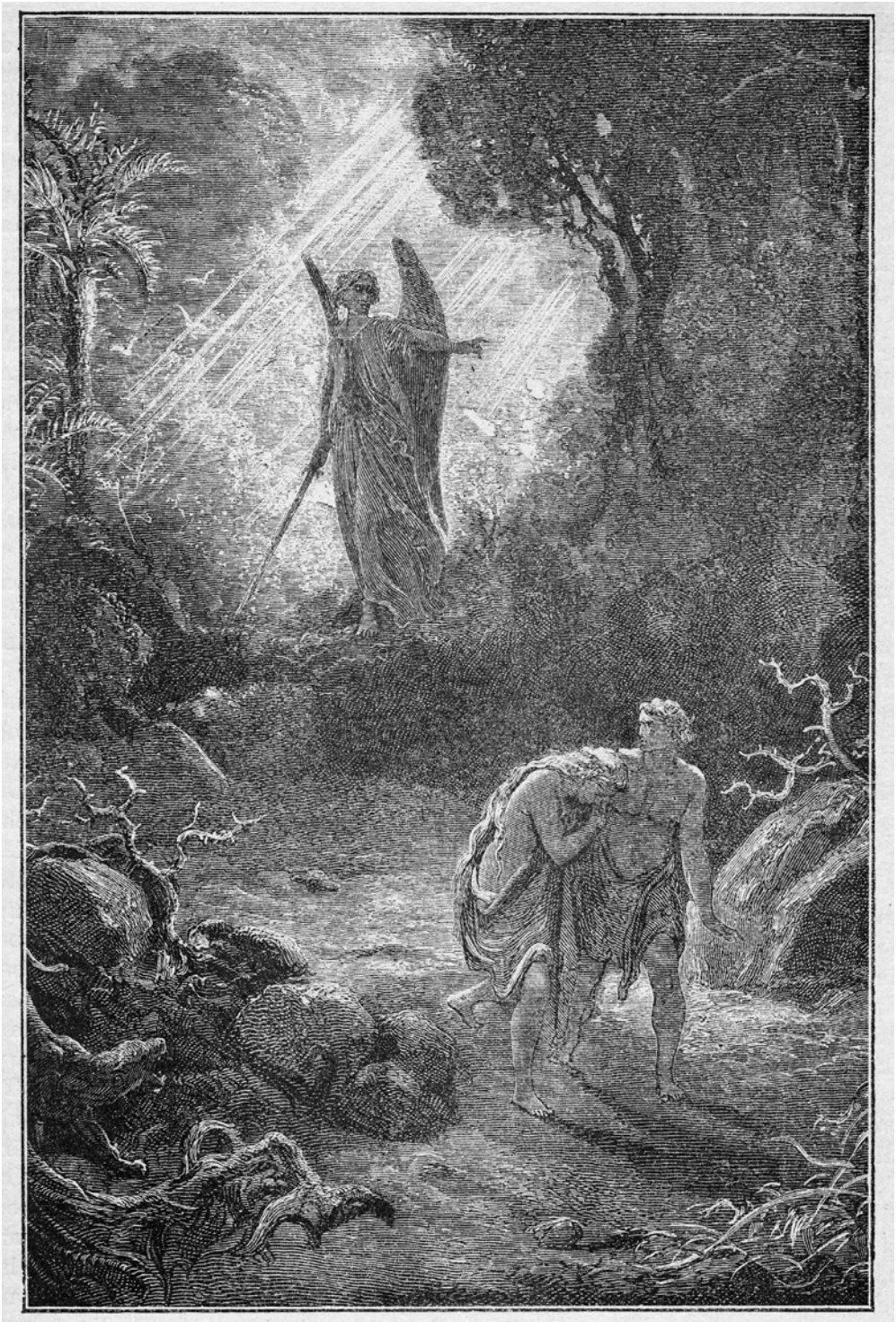


Fig. 2. *The banishment of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3:24).*

Illustrerad handbibel eller Den heliga skrift, C. & E. Gernandts förlags Ab, Stockholm 1897.

Biblical stories were not only disseminated as texts, but also in the form of pictures. This and the following illustrations by Gustave Doré (1832–1883) have greatly contributed to the visualization and memorization of Biblical narratives.

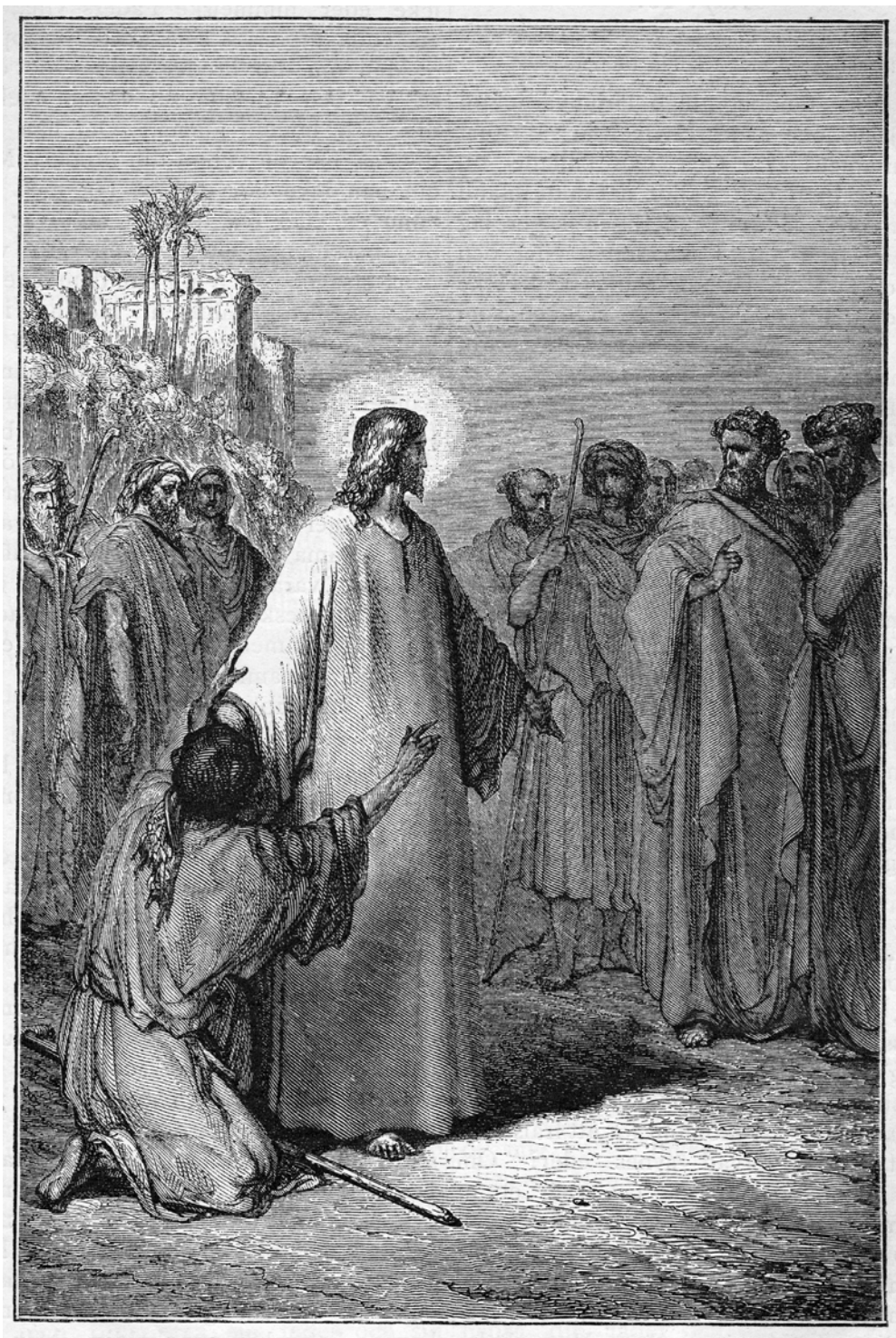


Fig. 3. *Jesus healing the boy possessed by a dumb spirit (Matthew 17:14–21).*

Illustrerad handbibel eller Den heliga skrift, C. & E. Gernandts förlags Ab, Stockholm 1897.



Fig. 4. *The Prodigal Son* (Luke 15:20).

Illustrerad handbibel eller Den heliga skrift, C. & E. Gernandts förlags Ab, Stockholm 1897.

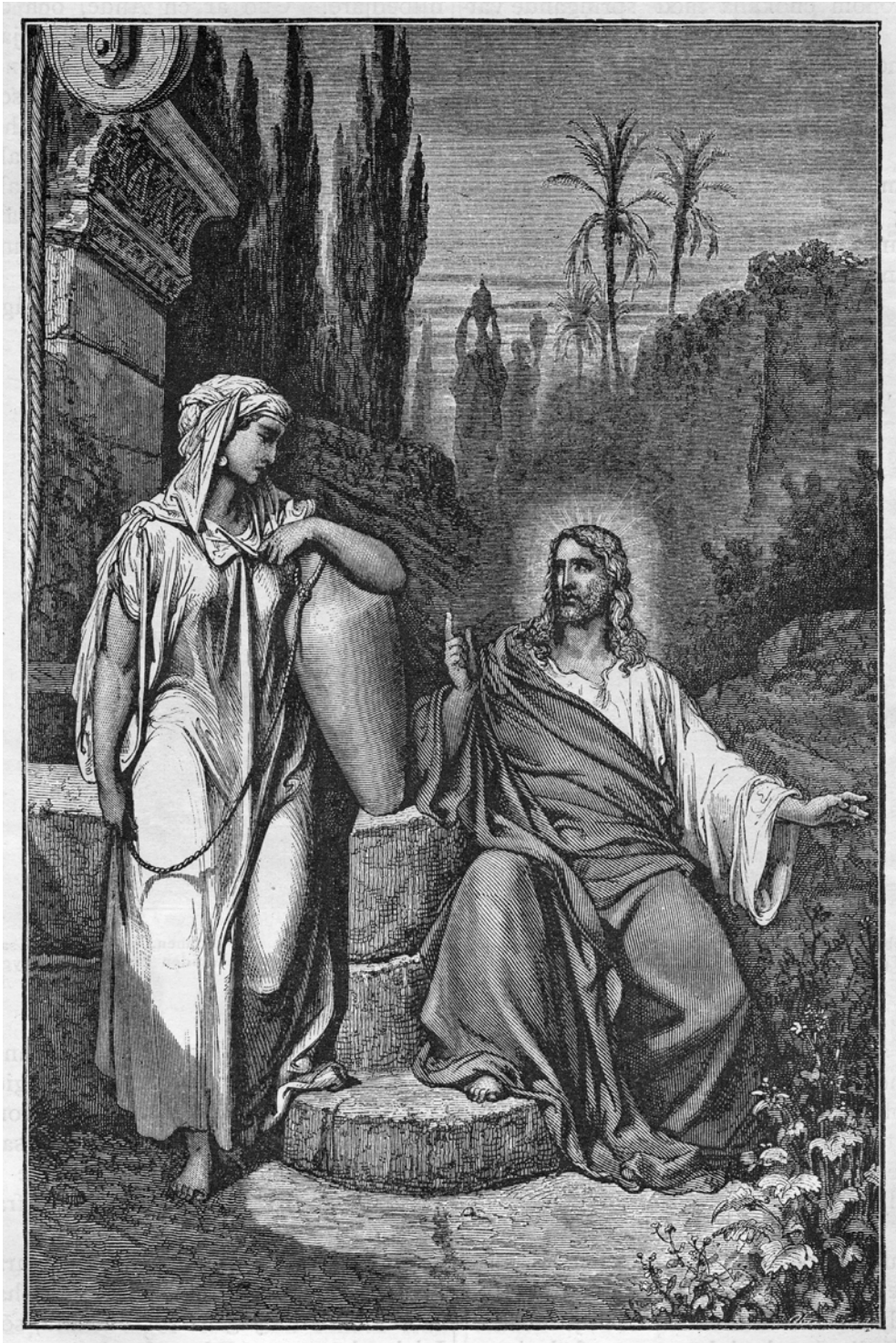


Fig. 5. *Christ and the woman of Samaria by the well (John 4:14).*

Illustrerad handbibel eller Den heliga skrift, C. & E. Gernandts förlags Ab, Stockholm 1897.



Fig. 6. *Peter denies Christ (Luke 22:58).*

Illustrerad handbibel eller Den heliga skrift, C. & E. Gernandts förlags Ab, Stockholm 1897.



Fig. 7. *The disciples of Christ are filled with the Holy Ghost (Acts 2:3).*

Illustrerad handbibel eller Den heliga skrift, C. & E. Gernandts förlags Ab, Stockholm 1897.

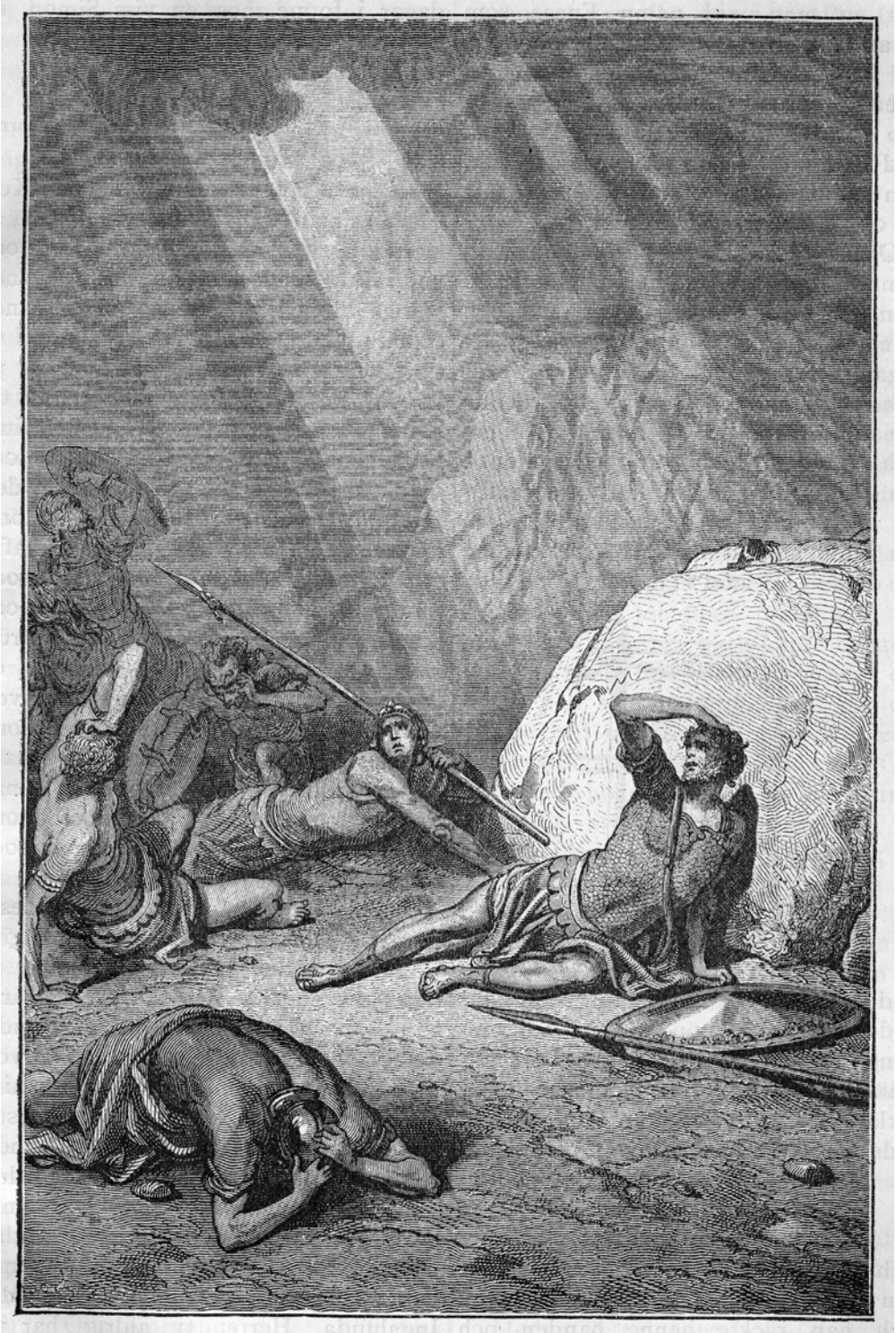


Fig. 8. *The conversion of Paul on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:3–4).*

Illustrerad handbibel eller Den heliga skrift, C. & E. Gernandts förlags Ab, Stockholm 1897.

Folk belief narratives sometimes exhibit a tangible similarity in structure and motifs to Biblical stories and other Christian writings and teachings that people encountered in their daily lives. “The Genre of Trolls” discusses this phenomenon with narratives of trolls as a point of departure, and relates it to the social and cultural context of 19th- and early 20th-century Swedish-speaking Finland, in order to elucidate its implications for the interpretation of the folklore of the period.

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