The Singer and the Song:
The Uses of Swedish Ballads in the Nineteen Century

By

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to my father and my mother, my grandfather Roark, my great-uncles – it is your fault I love stories, songs, and people; I dedicate this study to my siblings, their children, to my dearest Friends (particularly you, dear Ratty), and to those who shall come and to those who sang, sing, and shall sing. May your songs ring! "*Wårt land, vårt land, vårt fosterland / fins öfverallt på jord*."

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Abstract

This study focuses on Swedish ballad collection and publications in the nineteenth-century (1809-1909), approaching the topic from the perspective of folklore studies and the history of ideas. Seven important ballad editions are examined, along with letters and manuscripts from intellectuals who collected and edited the editions, and socio-economic and cultural contexts of the singers from whom the ballads were collected. In each chapter, one singer and a ballad is selected for a contextualized close reading and interpretation, readings which are compared to the representations of the songs and singers offered by editors. The study argues that in creating a national narrative, Swedish intellectuals silenced the voices of ballad singers. Editors misrepresented their sources and ignored contexts from which the songs emerged in order to create an image of a unitary ancient literary history for Sweden. The study looks at the ways that class and gender were erased in order to justify middle class values and imagine what Benedict Anderson has referred to as "deep, horizontal comradeship." The ballad editions demonstrate a changing attitude towards lower class people, particularly as they became more literate over the course of the nineteenth century. In the latest collections examined, people of lower class status shifted the focus from texts to people. The study contributes depth and complexity to the notion of causality so central to Benedict Anderson's analysis of nationalism, focusing on the methods used to make people and texts into national symbols, and how singers created counter-narratives to nationalist stories. The collections and singers examined are: Leonhard Fredrik Rääf's ballad manuscripts and the singer Greta Naterberg, Erik Gustaf Geijer and Arvid August Afzelius's *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden* (1814-1818) and Greta Naterberg, Adolph Ivar Arwidsson's *Svenska fornsånger* (1834-1842) and the singer Beata Mems(en), Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius and George Stephens' *Sveriges historiska och politiska visor* I (1853) and *Eriksvisan*, Eva Wigström's *Folkdiktning* I (1880) and Richard Bergström's *Svenska folkvisor* (1880), August Bondeson's *Viskbok* (1903) and the singer Adolf Olsson, and railway worker Karl Sigfrid Johansson's handwritten songbook (1906-1908) and his musical parody of a Johan Ludvig Runeberg poem.

Introduction

"*Den [naturpoesi] kan även utmärkas under namn av folkpoesi, ej såsom skulle den leda sitt ursprung från en råare samhällsklass, utan emedan den härstämmar från tider av en för oss knappt mera fattlig enfald i karaktären, tider då ännu i bildingen blott den nationella individualiteten var uttryckt, den enskilda ännu så utvecklad, att ett helt folk sjöng såsom en man*" (Geijer SS I, 374).

"[Nature-poetry] can also be denoted by the name of folk-poetry, not because its origin should be traced from a cruder social class, but because it originates from times that are, for us, of a hardly comprehensible simplicity of character; times when only national individuality was expressed in culture, when the individual was still so developed that a whole folk sang as one man" (Geijer SS I, 374).[1]

Erik Gustaf Geijer wrote these words in his introduction to the first volume of *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden* (1814). The phrase "... a whole folk sang as one man" has become a well-known citation in Nordic folklore studies and illustrates the sentiments of national-romanticism in nineteenth-century Scandinavia. The story that Geijer constructs in the essay is beguiling. He realigns the idea of *folk* [folk] from signifying lower social class members of society to signifying all members of society. He elevates "folk" to include the rising middle classes and other elite. Moreover, he believes in a unity of a people in the past that could be regained via *folkpoesi* [folk-poetry], i.e., ballads. He calls for national redemption via the morality found in ancient songs. His introduction is a foundational text of Swedish folklore and ballad studies and his discussion of ballad aesthetics and form has shaped the understandings of these topics up to today.

However, as the rest of his essay makes clear, Geijer implicitly discusses modernity's destruction of old Swedish "authenticity" and "tradition."[2] In this discussion, he reduces human beings to a single organic group: "the folk." In this reduction, he glorifies the nation as a singular

[1] All translations are my own unless otherwise noted in the citations. I take full responsibility for any mistakes.
[2] These terms have received substantial scholarly problematization in the two centuries since Geijer's essay first appeared. Two important studies are Regina Bendix's *In Search of Authenticity* (1997) and Dan Ben-Amos's "The Seven Strands of Tradition" (1984).

individual and erases the uniqueness of the human being. Like other intellectuals of his day, he obscures and occludes individual singers and ethnographic events and instead claims that texts originate from a collective past. The anthology which Geijer and Arvid August Afzelius published together, *Svenska folkvisor* (1814-18), erased most singers and suggested that the singers were mostly rural and of lower social status. Only in two cases did Afzelius include the names of singers.[3] Later works continued these practices, so that eventually only text and tradition could be read. The singers became assumed, theoretical. In this study, I examine how intellectuals accomplished this erasure and the consequences of these editorial practices.

It is my contention that Geijer and his co-editor Afzelius erased human beings not out of ill intent, but in order to draw together a nation in the turbulent aftermath of a military defeat, the crumbling of an empire, and a consequent royal dynastic crisis. Together with other Swedish intellectuals, they imagined and shaped a supposedly ancient Swedish literary heritage. The national project of revealing Sweden's literary history, even at this early date, already vacillated between mystical humanism and rational scientificism, tendencies which continued throughout the century. Geijer and Afzelius erased singers from ballad texts partially because including names with the printed songs would imply authorship, something which they felt was not an accurate description of the singers' relationships to their songs. Even the great scientific collector Leonhard Fredrik Rääf only seemed to include names on his manuscripts in order to precisely locate the variant, modeling his practice on that of a botanist recording where and under what conditions he found a particular specimen. Arguably, Rääf is already moving towards an early geographic method would eventually develop into the historical-geographic method of folklore research, developed by Kaarle Krohn in

[3] Geijer, in particular, was aware of the problems in claiming that the ballads in their edition were "*från forntiden"* – from ancient times, as his letter to A.A. Afzelius, dated 7.14.1814 shows [KB Vs 126a: A "Brev från Geijer till A.A. Afzelius 1814-1816: 1]

Bär (wolf) und Fuchs (1888). Perhaps, it was also partially because of the need for unity that Geijer and his contemporaries felt they needed to have national, collective symbols, ones that spoke to and for all people that they saw as Swedish.

The above analogy of folklore's collection with botany's is particularly apt. One of Sweden's great exports and status symbols during the eigthteenth and nineteenth centuries was Carl von Linné [Carl Linnaeus] (1707-1778), who contributed to the development of the taxonomic system and nomenclature still in use today. His classic works, *Systema Naturae* (1735), *Genera Plantarum* (1735), and *Fundamenta Botanica* (1751), systematized a hierarchical classification for plants and animals. He was not the first to suggest such a system, but he pioneered its consistent application based on empirical evidence (cf. Morton 1981, 256-276). He also invented the index card – another familiar of folklorists (British 2009). While perhaps not immediately apparent, his system had a lasting influence on folklore. He invented the binomial naming system, and ordered kingdom, phylum, class, order, family, genus, species, and specimen, which became an influential model for folkloric classification and ordering systems of genre, group, class, type, and variant. While folklorists of many nations have also collected and classified folklore (including Svend Grundtvig, Francis Child, or the brothers Grimm), I have noticed that many early Swedish folklorists had

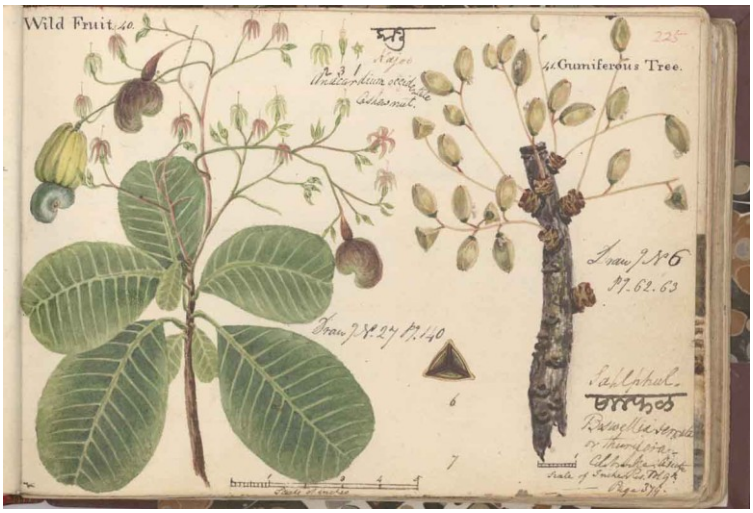

Figure 1. Botany illustrations that show a remarkable similarity of metadiscursive practice and textualization to ballads collected from peasants. William Sykes (1790-1872). Library Special Collections at Natural History Museum (http://www.nhm.ac.uk/)

extensive training in the systematics of Carl von Linné. The divide between so-called hard science and humanities was not always clearly drawn at this period, and many collectors at the beginning of the nineteenth century took courses in botany; though class also plays a factor here. Arvid A. Afzelius's undergraduate thesis, for instance, was in botany. During his student specimen expeditions during the summers, he collected plants during the day, and folksongs in the evenings in his home province, Västergötland (Afzelius 1901, 81-2; Jonsson 1967, 401-2). He likely saw parallels between the two efforts.

The main focus of this study centers on how intellectuals influence the ways that ethnographic objects are interpreted. I have approached this topic with two main questions in mind: one concerning history, and the other concerning insights from recent folklore scholarship. The first question relates to the history of ideas: *what do intellectuals accomplish when they select, collect, textualize, order, classify, name, and interpret musical performances*? Naturally, this question leads to other questions, such as: What songs are worth selecting, and from where? What stories and moralities do they promote in these textual translations of localized and ephemeral musical performance as they disseminate them via print to a wider national public? How do intellectuals order and represent texts, music, narratives, ethnographic events, and singers in their editions, and how do these representations speak to and for nationalism? As I will show, nineteenth-century intellectuals posed selective and interpretive strategies that promoted a worldview that differed significantly from the worldview of the singers.

The second question that has motivated this study pertains to the worldviews of singers and their implied audiences, drawing on contemporary theories and methodologies in folklore studies: *how can we interpret these historical folklore texts differently from past collectors-editors using recent interpretative approaches*? Specifically, I seek to interpret or (more properly) *read* ballads ethically in the socio-

economic and political contexts of the singers and their worlds. In *Teaching the Postmodern*, Brenda Marshall writes "*Every act of interpretation is a domination*" (1992, 185; emphasis in original). She calls for responsibility on my part. I cannot offer responsible interpretations of the ballads, I read. I hope that we read them together, that I read them with their singers in mind. But even in "reading" ballads, I, the folklorist, am really interpreting and taking dominion over these texts and their singers, even as I critique scholars for doing so. In the final chapter, I attempt to speak to this problem. As I suggest below, their understandings were often grounded in specific situations, rather than in national history. The following questions further clarify my object in applying contemporary research and link it also to the questions posed above. Who is speaking for whom in these songs? What are they saying? How do their viewpoints differ from those which intellectuals articulated in their notes and publications? These questions point towards a significant issue that faces all folklorists, ethnologists, and others who do ethnographic work: How do we create ethical ethnographies? How can we approach informants ethically, both living and dead? My criticism of Swedish intellectuals in this project is personally and professionally important, as my project here also selects, collects, orders, classifies, and interprets. To personalize it: How do I do this work? – a question I face in my last chapter.

Fundamentally, my study argues that people have agency, from the very low to the very high, from the singer of ballads to the editors of ballad collections. Even within the cages of class, gender, race, status, power, religion, and environment, human beings can be and most often are active agents of their own lives, though agency may be hidden and limited by the unseen mechanisms of power listed above. They are "... as a living being capable of response, judgment and action in and on the world ..." to borrow from Marshall Berman's formulation (1982, 27). Class, gender, etc., do indeed influence a person's individual identity and how a person responds to the world, expresses a self, and acts in the world. But a person always chooses who they are and how they interact and

respond. Sometimes class, race, sexual orientation, and gender are nearly inescapable pressures and limit choices. But a person resists, and is one's self always, even if this resistance is nearly invisible to the history of nations, to history of great men, to socio-economic big picture histories that fail to see the human beings clearly in their broad strokes.

The main genre I focus on is the ballad. Most scholars agree that ballads are strophic narrative songs of certain structural, stylistic, and formulaic elements. Scholarly views on the details of the defining elements vary widely. But ballads are not a given genre, singular and wholly unified. The "ballad" has been constructed from scholarly desires and expectations. Thomas Pettitt notes in the introduction to *Ballad as Narrative*, the ballad as a separate scholarly genre to be studied is something of a nineteenth century construction (Andersen, Holzapfel, & Pettitt 1982, 3), though people certainly recognized the differences between narrative and lyric in emic categories in the nineteenth century. W. Edson Richmond discusses the ways that early collectors and editors sought to find poetry rather than song (1990). Reimund Kvideland also discusses the origin of ballads as a genre (1989). Pettitt, Richmond, and Kvideland problematize the genre of the ballad, pointing out that the genre as defined was created by a desire to have national poetry on the level with epics such as *Iliad* and *Ossian*. Kvideland points out that concentrating on ballads has limited researchers' insights (1989, 166).

In *The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* (1978), editors Bengt Jonsson, Svale Solheim, Eva Danielsson, Mortan Nolsøe, and W. Edson Richmond define ballads, but it is important to note that their work, like many others before it, sees ballads as an ancient, or even natural genre. They define ballads as:

> ... a genre of orally transmitted song that is defined by its form (sometimes couplets with one or two burdens, sometimes quatrains with one burden), by its narrative content, and by its objective style, the latter characterized not least by the frequent use of formulaic expressions and the so called "commonplaces". The ballad may, on the basis of these criteria, be effectively distinguished from

other categories of folksongs which lack one or more of these characteristics. In fact, the ballad is one of the many folksong categories, the common denominators of which are oral transmission and the fact that there is no such thing as an authorized version. A ballad is an 'idea' in the Platonic sense; there is no archetype; from the point of view of a folklorist, every text is as good as any other. (14)[4]

The editors follow long taxonomic traditions in Scandinavian ballad scholarship, ultimately leading back to Geijer and Afzelius's categorizations:

A. Ballads of the supernatural (*naturmystiska visor*)
B. Legendary ballads (*legendvisor*)
C. Historical ballads (*historiska visor*)
D. Ballads of chivalry (*riddarvisor*)
E. Heroic ballads (*kämpavisor*) (TSB 1978, 15)

They also include a group of songs that editors and scholars in the nineteenth century rejected outright, the jocular ballads (*skämtvisor*) – group F. Additionally, the editors further subdivide each group into several minor groups on the basis of dominant plot and characters.

My study contributes to ballad studies by exploring ways to read ballads in context, showing awareness of the ways that folklore and collection affect the way we read ballads. I present case studies of individuals and the ballads they sing, using what documentation exists, following Pertti Anttonen, who writes that "... not all information is necessarily lost in the documentation" (2013, 162). Although, given that some information in documentation may shed light on the singer and the reading of the texts, ballads are already an indeterminate genre. Ballad scholars such as Francis Gummere have long remarked on the "leaping and lingering" (Grummere 1907, 91) and that ballads often begin *in media res* (cf. Gerould 1932, 5) which contribute to this indeterminacy. Following Foley (1991) and Hymes (1981 & 2003), I contend that the singer, the audience, the collector, the editor, the reader, the scholar all fill in these gaps of indeterminacy. I agree with their assertion that it is possible to glean a great deal about a singer and her worldview from the transcriptions of oral tradition. The readings I provide in these pages are my own, which I make based on my knowledge

[4] Bengt Jonsson's *Svensk balladtradition* goes into far more detail (1967, 1-3)

of the singer and context. As such, they may not reflect what the singer meant or what the audience heard into the performance of the song. My readings are not end-all interpretations; rather, they are just that: readings that I believe fit well based on the evidence of singer and context. All interpretations come with culturally determined baggage, and my readings are no different, though I seek to hear a song based on what the singer may have wished to convey to her audiences.

In part, scholars have defined ballads as an instrumental convenience. But they also do so to take authority and possess their subject. We see the traces of this control in Geijer and Afzelius' 1814 edition. While Geijer and Afzelius did not strictly or explicitly define what the Swedish ballad was, in the act of including certain songs and excluding others, they effectively defined the ballad.[5] Several Swedish scholars have examined in detail the creation of texts and genres via editorial scholarship, including Tore Wretö (1991), Sven-Bertil Jansson (1991), and Paula Henrikson (2010). Henrikson characterizes editorial scholarship "as a societal method for organising and promoting the written memories of a culture -- that is, memories not as a device for a merely passive recognised, accumulated, and documented past, but memories as an active and continuous recalled idea of the past, or even a performance of the past, enacted to change the course of the future" (2010, 103). She examines the editorial concept of "variants" in the nineteenth-century and how this notion of variants signals a shift to a more scientific mode of editing, one which has important consequences in and for editions of folksongs. Both Henrikson's and my work focus not on editorial scholarship's minutiae (spelling, punctuation, etc.) – though these can be important markers of how editors conceptualize the material they work with and how they articulate their visions. Instead, we focus on how editors organize knowledge and create narrative. Likewise, both Benedict Anderson (1991) and Adrian Hasting (1997) maintain that the rise of nationalism was closely connected with the printed

[5] However, Geijer made a sort of preliminary definition of ballads, which I do not have time to truly explore here, like many of the important political statements he makes in the essay. (cf. Geijer SS I, 379).

word and the creations of national texts. I consider the editorial scholarship of the 1800s and the story which editors of ballad collections wished to tell about Sweden.

I have grounded my study in folklore's theories and methodologies but I have also approached it as a study in the history of ideas, in the vein of Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and Per-Johan Ödman's *Kontrasternas Spel* [The Play of the Constrasts] (1995). The history of ideas, like history in general, seeks to discover how "we" got here. But instead of looking at grand events (wars, famines, migrations), important persons, or technological innovations, the history of ideas looks at discourse, ideology, and cultural understandings. The history of ideas looks at continuities and discontinuities, both real and imagined, to find out how "we" arrived at our conceptualization of the world, specifically, in this case, our ideas of the folk, of folk songs, of nations, and community. In folklore studies, folksongs, alongside folktales, were one of the first genres collected, published, and studied. Ballads developed in various historical contexts but as a genre, but this genre is a historical construct. Intellectuals used them to represent the world as they wanted it to be. Their usage spoke to an expression of power. "Ballads" are entangled in the ideas of modernity, tradition, individualism. To help tell this story, I look at questions of genre, literary criticism, gender and sex, ethnicity, conceptions of past and history, editorial scholarship, science, and the history of the discipline of folklore itself. While any of these concepts alone would make for an insightful narrative, combining them sheds light on important developments in the ways we conceptualize society and culture.

I intend this study as an intellectual history of "folklore," the practice of folklore in Swedish culture and the image of folklore that nineteenth-century intellectuals shaped. In her article "Den nasjonale kulturarven – en del av det moderne" [National cultural heritage: a part of the modern] Anne Eriksen points out that those who research culture do not merely describe reality, but shape

and fashion it (1993,16). As folklorists in the early twenty-first century, we may take for granted the importance of humans interacting and creating, and we help create this reality. I believe that we need to accord respect to past informants and intellectuals and my study seeks to accomplish that goal. My study will join many other folkloristic works which wrestle with the importance of talking about singers, collectors, and editors; that seek to describe ethnographic events, performance, context, and melodies rather than "texts" on a page; that investigate the reification of text and tradition; consider how intellectuals erase human actors and their actions; that document how editors represent songs and why. I look at how intellectuals shaped ideas of the "nation" as ageless, masculine, and entitled, erasing class and gender.

An important part of my study concerns how collectors and editors dealt with and approached gender in particular. For example, of those ballads traceable to a singer in *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden* (1814-18), 98-100% of them were collected from women.[6] The statistics for *Svenska fornsånger* (1834-42) are similar.[7] Despite the appearance that women were only "collected from," the entire enterprise of collection and editing involved women in this period. Not only did women from different social classes sing ballads; some upper class women wrote down songs or transcribed them for male relatives. Some collected as well. My discussion of gender benefits from a number of important studies including those of Klein (2013), Ehrenberg (2003), Gavel Adams (2006), Jansson (2002), and Kolodny (1975).

It is a commonplace thought within folklore studies that early folklore and nationalism or nation-building went hand in hand throughout the nineteenth century. In this study, I examine how elite intellectuals transformed singers into symbols and erased ethnographic events in order to re-

[6] Actually, there is a possibility that one song may have been collected from a man. SMB and Jonsson (1967) point out that it is impossible to tell. Cf. SMB 219A. But even when I assume the ballad was collected from the man, 98% were collected from women. See chapter 2.
[7] Approximately 97%. See chapter 3.

imagine and recontextualize Swedish traditions, narratives, and people. I discuss how intellectuals made a coherent whole of ballad tradition both by highlighting and erasing discontinuities and fragments and by obscuring individual singers in published editions. The relationships between singers and intellectuals changed over time, but remained consistently unequal, as intellectuals held the power of representation of song and folk. Intellectuals took authority over texts by ordering, classifying, and naming them. Nonetheless, singers managed to represent themselves as individuals with agency, a counter-narrative and assertiveness which we can read in their song texts and which contrasted with intellectuals' representations of the folk. These contradictory processes form the primary focus of my study. As Adrian Hastings has stated it "texts can build nations" (1997, 20).

It is impossible to speak of the history of folklore in Europe and avoid the subject of nationalism. Anderson defines the nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (1983/1991, 6). I focus less on nationalism and the ways that ballads are instrumental in inventing or imagining the nation than do previous scholars (cf. Anderson 1983/1991 & Hastings 1997). Instead, I look more at how the acts of collecting and editing cohered with the idea of nations. The narrative I present in this study enhances Anderson's ideas of causality of nationalism and the nation state. Instead of focusing on tradition, singers, collectors, and songs as symbols, I concentrate on people and performance, which came to be used as symbols.

While nationalism is not my primary focus, I do touch on the subject of nationalism in Sweden. Sweden as a nation-state and a kingdom or empire has existed since the fifteenth century at least, with Gustav Vasa taking the crown and uniting some parts of what is now modern Sweden, claiming in so doing to be restoring a Swedish independence that had predated the Kalmar Union. As a dominant power in Europe during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Sweden ruled over much of the Baltic region, including what are now the nations of Finland and Estonia.

Historians refer to this time as *Stormaktstiden* [the "great power era"] (roughly 1611 to 1721). Historians suggest that this period ended because King Charles XII made the classic and historically repeated blunder of invading Russia. Over the remainder of the eighteenth century, Sweden gradually lost power and territory, until finally, in 1809, Russia invaded the Finnish territories. Sweden forfeited its claim to Finland to Russia in the Treaty of Fredrikshamn, at the moment when my study begins. My main guide to Sweden's history in the nineteenth-century has been *Sveriges Historia: 1830-1920* vol. 5 (2012) by Bo Stråth as a general historical overview.[8]

For Swedish nationalism, I have relied on Paula Henrikson (2010) and Patrik Hall in his book, *Den svenskaste historien* [The Most Swedish History] (2000). Hall tends to agree more strongly with Hastings and traces Swedish nationalism back to the sixteenth century. However, he divides Swedish nationalism into three different stages. The first is a genealogical nationalism, where the nation derives from royal and aristocratic genealogies, classical and biblical origin narratives. Hierarchy is most pronounced here: everyone has his given place in the nation. This type of nationalism is demonstrated most strongly in Olof Rudbeck's *Atland eller Manheim* (1672). The second is the individualistic nation, which is the sort of nationalism that Benedict Anderson identifies, born from Enlightenment ideas and steeped in Romantic essentialism. The individualistic nation dwells in the very being of every individual, in the present moment. Hierarchy continues to exist, but it is not a given, but rather something that is achieved, with the middle-class as its motivating force. The dominant metaphor in this period is the nation as an individual, formed of characteristics, habits, and features, as Geijer's essays and lectures express. This stage of Swedish nationalism is the period where my focus lies. The third period lies outside my study; Hall calls it

[8] For cultural and social historical background, I have looked at Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren's *Culture Builders* (1979/1983), Ingrid Eriksson and John Rogers' *Rural Labor and Population Change* (1978), David Gaunt's *Familjeliv i Norden* (1983), and *Det rena landet* (2006), by Maja Hagerman.

"the integrative nationalism," a national idea which emphasizes the state's needs over the individuals. This nationalism aspires for ethnic homogeneity.

This study focuses on the history of ballad collecting and publishing in Sweden. Although quite different in terms of international status and power, a telling comparison can be made to the history of ballad collection and study in Germany and England. Conceptions of the folk and folk-poetry that developed in these countries partially inspired Swedish scholars. But this influence was by no means unidirectional, and in some ways, the development of these ideas unfolded in a similar manner in Sweden. In "Esse est percipi," W. Edson Richmond discusses continental text collectors who wanted to build nations and early ballad scholars' hopes and disappointments with ballads (1990, 313-338). Johan Gottfried Herder's (1744-1803) response[9] to James Macpherson's (1736-1796) various renderings of Ossian poetry (1760-3), coincided with and led to a wider European interest in vernacular national literatures. Giuseppe Cocchiara writes that "Herder had maintained popular poetry was the most precise and loftiest expression of a people's 'character'" (1952/1980, 174). Herder saw folksongs as a way to create national literature – leading "German poets 'to a better way'" (ibid.). The ballads did not stand up to Homer in the ways that early intellectuals wanted, but nonetheless collector-scholars made them historical bases for national literature and poetic genius. In addition to Macpherson's and Herder's enormous influence on Swedish folk song ideas, English works, such as Thomas Percy's *Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1767), Joseph Ritson's *Ancient Songs and Ballads* (1790), Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802), and Robert Jamieson's *Popular Ballads and Songs* (1806), also had significant impact, such that Erik Gustaf Geijer cites them extensively in his above-mentioned introduction. Moreover he and Afzelius included translations of six English ballads from these sources in *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden*.

[9] *Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker*. [Selection from correspondence on Ossian and the songs of ancient peoples]. (1773).

Like Swedish intellectuals, early English ballad scholars lamented the march of modernity while keeping step with its relentless march. Already in 1790, we read scholars contrasting ballads as "traditions" to the products of modernity, where modernity – in the form of corrupting print – murders and destroys the simple, natural, and artless oral poetry of the folk; the idea of g*esunkenes Kulturgut* which Bendix (1997) discusses and what Alan Dundes (1969) called "the devolutionary premise" was implicit in folklore collecting early on. Joseph Ritson[10] wrote that "[t]he art of printing was fatal to the Minstrels who sung …" (1790/1877, xxii). Modernity left tradition behind, prompting Sir Walter Scott[11] to write, "Who will not regret, with the editor, that compositions of such interest and antiquity should be now irrecoverable?" (1802/1812, cxx). And thus they collected, in part to salvage remnants of a disappearing world, in part to underscore this world's disappearance. Like Ritson, Jamieson pitted the land and the "folk" and the ballad against an artificial, mechanized, industrialized world, even if he did not state so directly. He wrote of the ballads he knew from his childhood, and his childlike love of poetry, isolated from the refined poetry of upper-class Britain. He placed ballads in the mouths of "rustic maidens" - echoing a conception of folk songs that we will see repeated in Swedish publications, where ballads, and folk poetry, are depicted as feminine, something to be won over and taken by the male collector.[12] Bishop of Dromore, Thomas Percy[13] wrote of "a pleasing simplicity" and "many artless graces" that ballads displayed, derived from the ancient bards of old and "remembered" and kept alive by untutored present-day folk. The early scholars, collectors, and editors in England imagined ballads as a historical window through which to find the past, views that Swedish scholars shared, borrowed, and exchanged.

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[10] 1752-1803; an English antiquarian who attacked Thomas Percy for inauthenticity. He caused uproar for his fierce demand for truth among other literary person in England. Walter Scott was one of the few men Ritson got on with.
[11] 1771-1832. Probably the best known of the English editors and collectors I cited above, though more likely for his historical romances, such as *Ivanhoe* (1820).
[12] Again, A.A. Afzelius speaks of collecting ballads from young peasant women in farmers' homes in the evenings during his botany research in Västergötland.
[13] 1729-1811. Collected the ballads for one of the first great ballad collection editions, which contributed significantly to the Romantic movement; the collection was likely in part inspired by James Macpherson's Ossian poetry.

Although this study's focus on narrative folksong alone is narrow, I have examined this genre in a wide chronological scope. I cover a period from 1809 to 1909, using the loss of Finland to Russia in 1809 and the Swedish General Strike of 1909 as bookend events, marking the remarkable era from the end of the Swedish Empire to the very beginnings of twentieth-century Swedish Social Democracy. I claim that during this period, intellectuals reified text and tradition and increasingly made singers into symbols, while towards the end of the nineteenth century, collectors and editors of less elite background and status – e.g., labor activists, shoe-maker's sons, and teachers – began to dismantle this reification. To trace these developments, I analyze the following works: *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden* (Geijer & Afzelius, 1814-18), *Svenska fornsånger* (Arwidsson, 1834-42), *Sveriges historiska och politiska visor* I (Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens, 1853), *Folkdiktning* (Wigström, 1880), *August Bondesons visbok* (Bondeson, 1903) and a handwritten songbook (SVA H1515, 1906-08), created and edited by a railway laborer (navvy), Karl S. Johansson.

Scandinavian scholars have produced many notable studies on the history of folklore studies: Andersson (1936), Bringéus (1966), Jonsson (1967), Byrman(2008), Danielson, et al., (1990), Jacobsen (2001), Jansson (1999), Ek (1936), Klein (2013), Lönnroth (1978), Kvideland and Sehmsdorf (1989 & 1999), Palmenfelt (1993), Ling (1965), Ternhag (2008), Rooth (1953), Strömbäck (1971), Hellspong and Skott (2010), Wretö (1990), Holbek (1987), Tangherlini (1994 & 2013). My study differs from these in certain ways but responds to this larger corpus of Swedish scholarship on folklore and folklife from a historical perspective, particularly with that of Palmenfelt (1993), Holbek (1987), and Tangherlini (1994 & 2013). These works generally cover only single collectors and limited time periods, and deal mainly with folktales, marvel tales, and legends. Often, they focus on informants in relation to their repertoires, which I do not. Nils-Arvid Bringéus' *Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius som etnolog* (1966), Sverker Ek's "En traditionsbärarska från 1800-talet början,", and Jan

Ling's *Levin Christian Wiedes vissamling* (1965) look at singers and collectors in the time period covered by my study. Bengt R. Jonsson's monumental work, *Svensk balladtradition* (1969), concentrates on ballads in a wider time frame. However, Jonsson focuses on source criticism, with a view to create a new critical edition; he and others succeeded in their goal with *Sveriges medeltida ballader* (1983-2001). Johanna Micaela Jacobsen's essay (2001) on the professionalization and institutionalization of folklife studies in Sweden covers a similar period as my study.*The Ballad as Narrative* (1982) edited by Flemming Andersen and others contains essays that touch on my subject. Flemming Andersen's *Commonplace and Creativity* (1985) applies oral theory to ballad formulas. David Buchan's *Ballad and the Folk* (1972) applies oral theory to ballads while also considering the social and historical context of Scottish ballads in the early nineteenth-century singers.

The search for origins formed a crucial part of early folklore study. The early scholars sought to find the *Urform* of a ballad text, seeking to reconstruct the most antiquated forms possible using known variants, especially the oldest ones, and eliminating "corruptions" that seemed obvious to them. Kaarle Leopold Krohn (1863-1933) developed his research on the basis of the work accomplished by his father (Julius Krohn) with Finnish and Karelian songs. Julius Krohn died relatively young and his research was incomplete (cf. Hautala 1969, 66-88). Son, like father, "understood folk songs as organisms" (ibid., 72). Kaarle Krohn's research and methodology came to be known as the Finnish or Historical-Geographic Method; his book *Folklore Methodology* (1926/1971) details the search for origins and age of folklore material.[14] The search for origins and its attendant ideas have been examined and critiqued by scholars such as Regina Bendix in *In Search of Authenticity* (1997) and Jouko Hautala in *Finnish Folklore Research 1828-1918* (1969). I do not find the questions of ballad origins particularly interesting or helpful, especially as I look at ballads as

[14] Chapter five (89-138) of Jouko Hautala's *Finnish Folklore Research 1828-1918* looks at Kaarle Krohn's development and production of the Finnish Method (in particular see pages 111f, 121f) The last two pages discuss some of the critiques leveled at Krohn's search for origins. The book is adapted from research on *Kalevala* songs.

parts of an individual's larger repertoire and life in a particular space-time. Personally, I regard the origins of ballads as an unknowable puzzle which only succeeds in turning research away from human beings who lived.[15] David Colbert's *The Birth of the Ballad* (1989) discusses a possible origin for Scandinavian ballads.[16]

In Bengt Holbek's *Interpretation of Fairy Tales* (1987), and in Timothy Tangherlini's *Danish Folktales, Legends, and Other Stories* (2013) and *Interpreting Legend* (1994), scholarly attention is focused on the collections of a single, prolific individual, Evald Tang Kristensen (1843-1929), the folklore he collected, and his relationships with singers and story-tellers. Holbek and Tangherlini rely on Tang Kristensen's data about the informants and their repertoire to interpret tales and legends. My approach is similar, though I look at several collectors and informants, in less detail, and in a larger chronological scope. In some cases, I have examined the informant's overall repertoire, but since the focus of the investigation is on a wider period, I have avoided presenting any informant's entire repertoire in my study. The majority of the material on singers and informants comes from unpublished material in archives and church records. I am able to provide some concrete examples of the general socio-historical observations of David Gaunt, while adding to the individual repertoire work of Bengt R. Jonsson, Sverker Ek (1936), Lars Lönnroth (1978) Margareta Jersild (1990) and others.

Like these scholars, I assert that texts do not float freely as independent, autonomous objects that scholars may simplify and play with. "Texts" are never context free. They are traces of events and must be understood within their context, which includes the informant, the audience, the

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[15] Bengt Jonsson writes, "*Att nå fram till en medeltida ballads urform är säkerligen omöjligt*" [To arrive at a medieval ballad's original form is doubtlessly impossible] (1967, 6).

[16] Those interested in the history of this dialog, I point to Francis Barton Gummere's *The Popular Ballad* (1907), Johannes C. H. R. Steenstrup's *The Medieval Popular Ballad* (1914), Louise Pound's *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* (1921), Gordon Hall Gerould's *The Ballad of Tradition* (1932), Tristram Potter Coffin's *The British Traditional Ballad in North America* (1963), etc. A particularly helpful volume is MacEdward Leach and Tristram Coffin's anthology, *The Critics and the Ballad* (1961), written after most of the war between the communalists and the individualists had died down. Finally, in a supplement to Leach and Coffin's anthology, E.B. Lyle's *Ballad Studies* (1976), contains an essay by Holger Olof Nygard that addresses the question of origins.

collector, the performance itself, its sounds as well as its historical, social, and cultural context; even the context of the archive itself (cf. Anttonen 2013). I will demonstrate some concrete connections between folklore and romantic-nationalism in the nineteenth century. By looking at the various representations of ballads and singers, I analyze how collectors, editors and the public used folksongs to shape a national identity. I also suggest that singers used songs to assert their agency both locally and in relation to audiences which would eventually experience their performances through the medium of print and handwriting.

In each chapter, I deal with representation in Swedish ballad editions, of "who is speaking for whom." I treat the ballads as ethnographic events, consisting of texts and melodies, contexts, performances and human beings, all partaking in deep, complex, shifting and diverse social webs, which the printed editions reduced to verbal texts. I examine what happens to the ethnographic event and the human beings when national identity, scientific taxonomies and published editions took ballads and folksongs and used them to create a grand narrative of the Swedish past and history, one that, ironically, has no place for the "folk." In most of the published editions I analyze, the text is primary, removed from one context and placed in another. In this new form, intellectuals treated ballads as discrete, independent, autonomous and anonymous texts, allowing them to simplify, dissect, play with, and analyze ballads as literature or folk-poetry, examined for nationalistic interests and without real acknowledgement of singers. I treat ballads and other folksongs I research as performances of identity and symbolic expressions of singers' impressions of life in their specific contexts. In each chapter, I suggest a reading for a song from its context as I am able to reconstruct it, imagining a performance in an attempt to understand how the singers and audiences might have interpreted the songs they knew so well.

Finally, I confess that the choices of the texts, collectors, editors, and singers in my study is somewhat capricious. Ballads are compelling – I find them beautiful in ways that may have resonated with the intellectuals I critique here. Ballads are also one of the queens in folklore studies. During my research, I read some seven hundred ballad texts and hundreds of personal and professional letters. I selected ones I liked, the ones that beguiled me, but I also chose the ones that raised what I considered the most interesting questions, while also representing recurrent features of the materials I examined. There are other works and singers I skipped for various reasons – lack of interest, inaccessibility of materials, lack of contextual information, etc. The general trends I discover with reference to these selected works can also be found in other works as well. Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden* and Arwidsson's *Svenska fornsånger* were absolutely essential to examine – they are the foundational works for all subsequent ballad studies in Sweden. Others, such as Eva Wigström's *Folkdiktning*, I chose because contributions from women as collectors, transcribers, and editors is generally overlooked. But I selected works from Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius, George Stephens, and August Bondeson partially because their works fit chronologically, and partially because I found their approaches interesting and significant to the development of folklore studies. My inclusion of Karl Johansson and his handwritten songbook came out of a desire to see what was going on a century later in the area where the first singer discussed came from. And it helped that I was able to contact still living relatives of Johansson. All these elements together demonstrate my contention that nineteenth-century Swedish intellectuals erased the folk from verbal texts in order to create a national narrative but nonetheless, by looking carefully, we can still rediscover the voices of the singers in their songs.

Chapter 1: Documenting the Past and Tradition Among the Ruins: Leonhard Fredrik Rääf and Greta Naterberg

In this chapter, I will start not with a printed edition of a ballad, but with a manuscript, a manuscript that contains a recording of a song, of a ballad, sung by a woman named Greta Naterberg. Leonhard Fredrik Rääf collected it, most likely in the autumn of 1813 in Landeryd, Linköping, Östergötland. Starting with a collector is important because it helps us to find what songs were selected and textualized in order to make the ballad genre. Rääf is a central figure during the first half of the nineteenth century, as he establishes the ways that songs were collected and how they should be textualized for the rest of century. In his collecting work, he set up the normative standards for what Swedish collectors selected, how they textualized songs (and human beings), how they ordered them, and how they named them. He focused on national history. His work was seminal in nineteenth-century ballad collection efforts and its influence extends into the twentieth century, though his work contrasted with Arvid August Afzelius' approach, which we will note in the next chapter. There we will turn to the textualization, classification, naming, and interpretation of songs based on Rääf's collection as these became the materials of printed editions such as Geijer and Afzelius' *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden* (1814-18). Rääf's careful collecting approach prefigured Ivar Adolf Arwidsson's as displayed in his 1832-1842 edition. Greta Naterberg's song suggests an understanding of its contents as a commentary on family relations, particularly between men and women.

Leonhard Fredrik Rääf i Småland was a key figure among nineteenth-century Swedish intellectuals. He selected, collected, and textualized thousands of ballads and folksongs, tales, riddles, legends, and folk beliefs. He produced hundreds of manuscripts, which he shared with fellow intellectuals. His collections formed the basis of the two most important Swedish ballad collections of the nineteenth century, *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden* and Arwidsson's *Svenska fornsånger* (1834-42). He connected with nearly every intellectual who worked with folksongs during his life.

He collected and researched historical documents, folksongs, folktales, riddles, and more, and examined archeological sites as well. Tore Wretö writes that "Rääf appears as the spider in a vast web of catchers, as a project leader with high ambitions" (1990, 14).[1] Even though he published very little himself during his life, his printed works include several essays, as well as a historical and ethnographic tome, *Samlingar och anteckningar till en beskrifning öfver Ydre Härad i Östergöthland* [Collections and records for a description of Ydra härad in Östergötland] (1856-1875).

Leonhard Fredrik Rääf was born 18 September 1786 in Tomestorp, Kisa parish, Kinda härad[2] in Östergötland, Sweden. He was the first male child of Ydre and Kinda härad district court chief judge Leonhard Henrik Rääf and his second wife Hedvig (Hedda) Jacobina Grönhagen.[3] Rääf i Småland was a venerable noble family line whose roots extended back to landowners of the sixteenth-century and to a lieutenant colonel Axel Rääf, who took a seat in the House of the Nobility in 1633 (Wretö 1990, 18). The family had a long and deep connection to Ydre härad in Östergötland,[4] a connection that drew Leonhard Fredrik Rääf's historical interest to the region. Rääf's parents wed in September 1784. In 1785, Hedvig gave birth to the pair's first child, Charlotta Eleonora, followed the next year by Leonhard Fredrik. Rääf had four additional siblings, two of whom survived into adulthood. In his youth, he had already begun to develop the network which would form the correspondents and immediate beneficiaries of and his ballad collecting work, including future poet Lars (Lorenzo) Hammarsköld and future ballad collaborator and musician Erik Drake.

In a manner similar to Robert Jamieson, Rääf recalled his childhood as a happy time, in which folksongs and tales played a formative role. Wretö writes:

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[1] "Rääf framträder som spindeln i ett vidsträckt nät av fångstmän, som en projektledare med höga ambitioner" (Wretö 1990, 14).
[2] *Ett härad* is a county administrative division.
[3] For the following biographical sketch, I have relied heavily on Tore Wretö's biography, *Ydrekungen: En bok om Leonhard Fredrik Rääf* (1990), as well as Bengt R. Jonsson's *Svensk balladtradition* I (1967, 316ff) and Otto Andersson's article "Adolf Iwar Arwidsson och Svenska Fornsånger".
[4] Originally considered part of Småland.

> *Höstkvällarna vid brasan var sagans tid, sägnernas, spökhistoriernas, visornas tid. Det låg en stark personlig erfarenhet bakom den ursvenska scen, som Rääf omtalade som "höstaftonen vid vår eldstad". Så hade han mött de folkliga traditionerna i barnåren på 1790-talet, då de unga samlades kring mamsell Mems, den "oöverträffeliga", när det gällde sagor, spökhistorier och familjetraditioner men också minnesgod förmedlare av kämpavisor och medeltidsromanser. Jämte denna hade han särskilt gamla Annika att tacka för sin barndoms möten med gamla visor.*
>
> Autumn evenings at the fire was the time folktales, legends, ghost stories, and ballads. There lay a strong personal experience behind this Ur-Swedish scene, which Rääf spoke of as 'the autumn evening at our hearth'. Thus he had encountered the folk traditions in his childhood in the 1790s, when the young were gathered around Miss Mems, who was "incomparable", when it came to tales, ghost stories, and family traditions, but also a go-between with a wonderful memory for heroic ballads and medieval romances. In addition to Mems, he had Old Annika [Pehrsdotter] to thank especially for his childhood encounters with old ballads. (Wretö 1990, 125-6)

In addition to these autumn storytelling evenings, he and his siblings busied themselves with literature and formed a youthful literary society which lasted until Leonhard Fredrik departed for Uppsala University in 1802 (Wretö 1990, 42ff).

In September of that year, sixteen year old Leonhard Fredrik Rääf made the multi-day and arduous journey to Uppsala via farmers' carts and narrow country roads (Wretö 1990, 39). He arrived in Uppsala at a time when the intellectual winds were beginning to change from Enlightenment rationalism to romantic idealism, with teachings from Germany filtering into the university. While Leonhard Fredrik had grown up in a provincial and conservative milieu, romanticism's radical teachings affected him strongly. Leonhard Fredrik developed natural science interests, like botany as well as history. Like the older Erik Gustaf Geijer, he studied under Professor E.M. Fant, who encouraged and developed Rääf's historical interests and skills. Fant's influence on the Swedish romantics was significant; Geijer and Jacob Adlerbeth[5] – who became important heralds of romanticism and of historical studies – also studied under him.

Leonhard Fredrik Rääf joined the Östgöta student nation, where he met other young men from his home province, many of whom were later to become members of *Götiska förbundet* [the

[5] Founder of *Götiska förbundet.*

Gothic Society]. He made more acquaintances and widened his network, befriending men such as Per Daniel Atterbom, Wilhelm Fredrik Palmblad and other men whose thinking and acts had a significant impact on the history of Sweden. During this time, the Napoleonic wars raged across Europe, though in Sweden, the direct effects of these conflicts were muted. In 1805, Rääf took employment as an (unpaid) assistant clerk for the War Office. He returned to Uppsala in 1806 and received his degree in 1807 with a historical dissertation on Peder Michilsson, the ancestor of the Östergötiska Hammarskjöld family. He headed home, returning to Stockholm a half year later, where many of his friends also lived, such as Clas Livijn (Wretö 1990, 65-6). He continued his work for the War Office (ibid., 67).

Figure 2. Leonhard Fredrik Rääf. Wikimedia.org

The up-until-then distant Napoleonic wars came to Sweden in February 1808, when Sweden's arch-foe Russia, having secured peace with the French, invaded Swedish Finland, at that time the last remaining part of Sweden's empire outside of the land that makes up the country today. At the same time, Denmark threatened from the south, forcing Sweden to consider two fronts. Russia quickly overwhelmed the Swedish army in Finland and in September 1809, Sweden ceded Finland to Russia in the Treaty of Fredrikshamn.[6] Immediately after this defeat, in March 1809, members of the Swedish army and other conspirators imprisoned King Gustav IV Adolf for his poor leadership and forced him to abdicate, effectively ending the House of Holstein-Gottorp. Gustav IV Adolf's uncle became regent

[6] Also referred to as the Treaty of Hamina, 17 September 1809.

as Karl XIII. The realm sought a new king; one of Napoleon's generals, Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte was chosen as the successor, founding the House of Bernadotte. Bernadotte was crowned Carl XIV Johan in 1818, following Karl XIII:s death.

Despite the grave situation in Sweden during this period, Leonhard Fredrik enjoyed the intellectual life in Stockholm. In 1810, however, things changed abruptly for Rääf, as both his mother and then father died. As the oldest surviving son, he traveled back to Östergötland to take over the family estates. In addition to mourning the deaths of his beloved parents, the move also ended the young Rääf's learned ambitions, at least temporarily. He was isolated from friends and the lively intellectual and artistic scene in Stockholm. He began to collect folksongs, ballads, tales, legends, and riddles. And although he was isolated from the cultural center in Stockholm, this local work paid dividends later in life, when the Vitterhetsakademien received him as a member in 1831. Despite his distance from Stockholm, he was not truly hindered with his engagement in the intellectual and political ideas that flourished there. He maintained relationships through extensive correspondence with his friends in the city.

In 1811, Jakob Adlerbeth established *Götiska förbundet* [the Gothic Society], partially as a response to what intellectuals saw as blows to the Swedish self-image. The society became a social and professional network, as Torkel Molin demonstrated in his dissertation (2003), an organization whose members continued to influence cultural, social, and political discourse.[7] Members included poets, philosophers, historians, gymnastic instructors, folklorists, clergymen, industrialists, government officials, teachers, and botanists (cf., Hall 2000, 135). The society emblemized well connections between mind and body, poetry and politics, past, present, and future, culture and nature, nation and folk; connections that define Swedish romanticism. Rääf accepted the invitation

[7] Cf. Berggren & Trägårdh 2006 and Hall 2000.

he received to join, taking the Viking name *Refr*[8]. The society published a journal, *Iduna*, in which the editors included essays, poetry, descriptions of antiquities, ballad texts and musical scores, translations of Old Norse sagas, and other texts of interest to the young patriots. In 1814, Rääf published an essay, "*Tankar om sättet att uppsöka och vårda Fäderneslandets fornlemningar*" [Thoughts on the way to find and preserve our native land's ancient relics] in the fifth issue of *Iduna*, in which he suggested some guidelines for finding and preserving Swedish artifacts and ephemera from the past, as well as strongly asserting the importance of antiquities for the Swedish nation.[9]

Rääf and his collaborators collected an impressive quantity of folksongs, ballads, tales, proverbs, sayings, riddles, etc. He gave some thought to publishing his ballad collection, but his training as a careful scholar and his desire for thoroughness caused him to move slowly, and he never published his collection himself. However, he contributed to Erik Gustaf Geijer and Arvid August Afzelius' *Svenska folkvisor* (1814-1818), particularly to the third volume (1818), and his collection formed the bulk of Adolf Iwar Arwidsson's *Svenska fornsånger* (1834-1842); these works will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. Later in life, he became involved in politics, serving in the Riksdag. He had always been conservative as an aristocrat but as the middleclass and its liberal-capitalist agenda began to become more dominant, he slid into an ultra-reactionary conservativism. He opposed the liberal-capitalist middle class efforts to open up Sweden economically and to educate landless classes. Liberals believed that education for all would make for better Swedish citizens and workers; Rääf felt that education would only lead them to think they were better than they were.[10] He remained a significant figure in history studies, archeology, and folklore studies. His network continued to widen, and up until his death he corresponded

[8] All members of *Götiska förbundet* took Viking names.
[9] p. 111-128. Signed R-.
[10] Quite correctly, it turns out. Rääf had dim views of an educated rural proletariat and would certainly had dimmer ones of an urban working class, but he saw that once they could read and write, problems would follow. He preferred a benevolent and paternal aristocracy.

extensively with his contemporaries and with younger generations, including Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius and the brothers, Carl and Pehr Arvid Säve. He gave advice and encouragement until his death in June 1872 at Bulsjö, Sunds parish, in his beloved Ydre härad, Östergötland.

Leonhard Fredrik Rääf was one of the first Swedish intellectuals to translate his Romantic fascination with folk-poetry into a practical and systematic collection project (Jonsson 1967, 317). While the exact reasons Rääf began to collect songs cannot be determined, Bengt Jonsson points to his relationships with Beata Mems and Annika Pehrsdotter, which certainly raised his awareness and appreciation of ballads (1967, 319). However, many other men and women heard ballads at the hearth during their childhoods, and yet did not become collectors. Following contemporary intellectual currents and his own history training, Rääf viewed ballads as historical artifacts. In his 1819 essay in *Iduna*, he listed ballads and tales among the antiquities that needed to be saved and preserved (121). The idea of collecting ballads was not new. Nor was a Swedish nationalism based on old narratives a novel development; Rääf and his contemporaries followed a long intellectual history of tracing Swedish royal lineage back to Viking times and even back to Adam and Eve, as Olof Rudbeck the Elder claimed in his *Atland eller Manheim* [Atlantis or Man Home]. This sort of hereditary nationalism focused on kings and nobles (cf. Hall 2000, 13ff). With Romanticism, however, a new type of nationalism emerged in Sweden, one that celebrated the nation as an individual (ibid., 80ff). History remained just as important for this nationalism, but now focused not on royal and aristocrat lineages, but on cultural lineage as epitomized by the folk. The folk and their ways constituted the nation (cf. ibid., 125-6). Swedish romantics borrowed from Johan Gottfried Herder's ideas: Cocchiara remarks that "[a]s early as his *Fragments* (1767), Herder maintained that popular poetry was the most precise and loftiest expression of a people's 'character'" (1981, 174). The Romantics believed that the folk's beliefs, songs, and stories, which had been handed down

from ancient times, distilled the most pure and best characteristics of a nation. Intellectuals searched for this ancient folk-soul, particularly, as it was expressed in ballads and other folksongs.

In their historical project, the romantics sought to combat what they saw as the dry materialism embodied in Enlightenment ideas. The Enlightenment regarded "tradition as a symbol of ignorance and fanaticism" (Cocchiara 1981, 168). It anchored its ideals in Classical poetry; imitating and returning to Classical texts, such as Homer's. In contrast, Herder believed that to reach the heights of Homer, one had to create new and original poetry just as Homer had (ibid.). Where the Enlightenment looked to things distant in geography, Cocchiara notes, the Romantics looked to find things distant in time (ibid, 149). Folksongs were like fossils, holding clues to a distant national history and thus a national character. Folktale and folksong collections published on the continent, such as Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder*[11] (1806), claimed to capture the folk-soul uncorrupted by modernity. Such works influenced Swedish romantics such as Rääf.[12] Additionally, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling's organic holistic philosophy influenced Rääf's views of ancient and primitive times. Unlike modern artificiality and disconnection, such philosophers claimed, all was spirit in the ancient past, and each and every thing was part of nature, and located in nature.[13] The ancients were closest to this understanding of nature and expressed their understandings of nature as spirit by narrating supernatural events in myths, folksongs, and tales. Ballads provided a national literary history of folk mentality.

Steeped in these national-romantic ideas, Rääf's collecting project centered on ancient times (*forntiden*), which for him were "better and happier" than the present (Wretö 1990, 126). Like most early folklorists and Romantic era collectors, he felt that the folk retained traditions from ancient times. Wretö notes the similarity of Romantic concerns with folk traditions and ancient times with

[11] The boy's magic horn: old German songs.
[12] Though Rääf was far more exacting in his collection procedure and disapproved of the romantic tendency to make single songs from bits or to create songs in a folk-style, all of which Arnim and Brentano were guilty.
[13] Whereas moderns were separated from nature.

the idea of a lost Garden of Eden and innocence (Wretö 1990, 126). Folk traditions were innocent and natural, unmarred by modernity's artifice and skepticism (cf. Wretö 1990, 138). In his youth, Rääf loved song and saga, as his glowing descriptions of Beata Mems and Old Annika demonstrate. Possibly, he saw his childhood innocence in ballads and tales, works which reflected times, which could not be regained, but perhaps renewed (cf. Wretö 1990, 126).

Rääf began collecting ballads in earnest in 1806. Wretö suggests that he was collecting unsystematically prior to then, but that in 1806, he returned to Uppsala University and interested himself in archival research and fieldwork, leading to a systematic collecting program (Wretö 1990, 127). To carry out his project, Rääf developed a network of fellow collectors (both for texts and for melodies) who extended his reach far beyond the area he lived. Four important collaborators were the brothers Daniel Samuel Wallman (1791-1818) and Johan Haqvin Wallman (1792-1853) and the musicians Erik Drake af Hagelsrum and Carl Peter Grevilli. Others included August von Hartmansdorff, Clas Livijn, and Lorenzo (Lars) Hammarsköld, already a famed poet and author. Rääf's careful and systematic approach carried over to his collaborators as well, perhaps because of the formal training many Swedish university students of the time had in Linnaeus' methods and taxonomy. Botanically inclined Johan Wallman implicitly states some of Rääf's standards in a letter to Rääf on 9 September 1813, in which he thanks Rääf for sending a plant specimen, and then proceeds to discuss "the remaining old ballads" that he and his brother had collected. He writes: "*Jag behöfver ej hos T. ursägta, att jag i denna afskrift ordgrannt följt Sångarenas egen dialekt, hvilket I finner vara med flit gjordt; men jag behöfver ursägt för samlingens verkliga brister, såsom interpunkeringens utelemnande på de fleste ställen och dyl* ..." [I do not need to beg [Rääf's] pardon, that I have followed word-for-word the singer's own dialect in this copy, which [Rääf] finds to be done with diligence; however, I need to

beg pardon for the collection's real shortcomings, such as leaving out the punctuation in most places and the like ...] (Rääf 15: 4431; my trans).[14] Rääf valued exactness.

Rääf collected systematically and purposefully. Letters from the brothers Wallman indicate what he desired of their work. He wanted to collect as many variants of a ballad type as possible. With every variant, he wanted to record dialect, divergences, and imperfections. His collection aims differed significantly from other Romantic collectors, such as Afzelius, who collected in a far less rigorous manner and would often fuse different variants to create aesthetically pleasing versions. Rääf's interest was not aesthetics, but the medieval original of the songs he collected. Rääf wrote to Adlerbeth: "[o]f the ballad of Sir Olof ... I certainly have a multitude of fairly divergent variants, but it is for this reason I wished to obtain still more in order to finally get to the right lineage itself that contains them all ..." (UUB Rääf 1: 4, 17.2.1812; Wretö 1990, 129).[15] Wretö writes that "Rääf expressed himself in this way … in the middle of his ballad period. Here appears his idealistic conception of text: he believed in an original text and above all he believed in the possibility to reconstruct this original text from a philological working of a enough variants" (1990, 129).[16] Rääf's romanticism was not only a response to the Enlightenment, but an extension of it. The letter also speaks to the importance he laid on the text, on the artifacts, on the fossils, from which he wished to reconstruct the original text. While he spoke often of ballad quantities and titles in his letter, he rarely mentioned the singers. He placed little importance on the individuals who sang the texts, even as he carefully noted their names. For him, the ballad (text) was the thing.

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[14] "Jag behöfver ej hos T. ursägta, att jag i denna afskrift ordgrannt följt Sångarenas egen dialekt, hvilket I finner vara med flit gjordt; men jag behöfver ursägt för samlingens verkliga brister, såsom interpunkeringens utelemnande på de fleste ställen och dyl ..."

[15] "Utav visan om Riddar Olof ... har jag visserligen en mängd ganska skiljaktiga varianter, men just av detta skäl önskade jag att erhålla ännu flere för att sluteligen få rätt på själva stammen som innefattade dem alla ..."

[16] "Så yttrade sig Rääf i februari 1812, mitt i sin visperiod. Här framträder hans idealiska text-uppfattning: han trodde på en ursprungstext och framför allt trodde han på möjligheten att utifrån en filologisk bearbetning av ett tillräckligt antal varianter rekonstruera denna ursprungstext. Därjämte lade han i samlingsarbetet vikt vid att också vismelodierna räddades" (Wretö 1990, 129).

Related to this insistence that every variant be collected, and on catching dialect and missing pieces, Rääf worked like a botanist who drew not only flowers and pressed leaves but noted their classifications and names, logging where and when each specimen was found, and under what conditions. Thus, Rääf and his collaborators' informants and singers are "often known by name and origin to us" (Wretö 1990, 128). This was unusual for the time; a comparison of songs collected by Rääf and his collaborators and those collected by others at that time quickly shows how seldom collectors bothered with this information: often we only know the province and the general time period a song was collected.

Given the quantity and duration of Rääf's collecting, I cannot thoroughly analyze his overall project, but based on the material that made its way into both *Svenska folkvisor* and *Svenska fornsånger*, I can say that all of the ballads that he collected and most of those collected by collaborators were collected in Östergötland, the heartland of Sweden since the Iron Age.[17] His collecting behavior and extent[18] can be traced through his correspondence (cf. Jonsson 1967, 322). In August and December 1811, he wrote letters to Hartmansdorff, Hammarsköld, and Atterbom, saying that he had collected together about 160 songs (cf. Jonsson 1967, 322). In 1827, he wrote Arwidsson saying that he had some 300 songs never before printed, exclusive of those printed in Geijer and Afzelius' *Svenska folkvisor* and in *Iduna*. His own collecting seems to have started at home with his sister Magdalena (Malin) Rääf and Beata Mems and in the areas where his close friends lived. He also traveled to meet singers that his collaborators told him about. Most of the singers were women, with two known exceptions, Carl Peter Sammelsson and Carl Nilsson (cf. Jonsson 1967, 330-1; Wretö 1990, 128).

Of his collaborators, the brothers Wallman were the most active collectors. They were the sons of Johan Wallman a clergy man and his wife Beata Follin. Their father was a colleague in 1786,

[17] The Swedish family, the House of Bjälbo, which gave Sweden several kings, jarls, and bishops, hailed from Östergötland.
[18] These numbers seem to include his collection of broadsheets as well.

headmaster in 1795, and lecturer in 1799 in the district of Linköping; he became a vicar of Slaka in 1804 and then of Landeryd in 1810. The brothers went to school in Linköping then matriculated at Uppsala University in 1810. Daniel took a BA there. He died young in 1818 of pulmonary disease. Johan earned a PhD in 1815 and became a teacher at Linköping's secondary school. He later became a lecturer in 1829 and vicar at Slaka in 1836. He died there in 1853, unmarried. Like so many of this companions, he had strong botanical and archeological interests (cf. Jonsson 1967, 381-2). The brothers began to collect ballads in 1810, and produced most of their recordings between 1810 and 1813. Jonsson says it is difficult to point out why they began (ibid., 382). Again, the Romantic movement and their own possible experiences with singers in the area likely played a role. Two important sources to both *Svenska folkvisor* and *Svenska fornsånger*, Greta Naterberg and Maja Hansdotter, both lived in Slaka and the Wallman brothers collected from both of them (cf. Jonsson 1967, 384-9).

Johan mentions Maja Hansdotter in the letter to Rääf quoted above (UUB Rääf 4: 4431, 9.9.1813).[19] Johan promised to gather all the local singers together at his father's house in Landeryd so that Rääf could meet and write down their songs (Jonsson 1967, 369-70). Maja Hansdotter did not make the journey of twelve to fourteen kilometers, but Greta Naterberg did. Rääf met her at the Wallman's vicarage.

In this section, I now turn to my study's second question: How we can interpret historical folklore texts differently using recent interpretative approaches. To do this, I examine the song, "Per Tyrssons döttrar i Wänge" that Greta Naterberg sang for Leonhard Fredrik Rääf. Unlike subsequent chapters, I will discuss and analyze Greta Naterberg's ballad as it is found in manuscript, rather than

[19] "Jag vill minnas, att jag för några visor angaf som Sångarinna Gumman Maja Månsdotter ifr. Slaka, hvilket bör rättas till Maja Hansdotter. Gumman som är ortens mest vidfräjdade Sångerska är annars allmännt känd under namnet Månssan efter sin man som hetat Måns" (UUB Rääf 4: 4431, 9.9.1813)

comparing manuscript and printed multiforms. I use some of this section to introduce some of the theoretical models for reading ballads that I use throughout the study. In the remaining chapters' "The Singer and the Song" sections, I focus more on the difference in interpretation that printed versions suggest. This is not to say that I will avoid discussing Rääf and his collaborators' interests, textualization and editorial practices; however, in this chapter I will not refer to a published work.[20] I situate the song with information from Greta's life and world.

When Rääf met Greta Naterberg in Landeryd, her repertoire, skill, and personality impressed him as they had impressed the bothers Wallman. Rääf recorded a lengthy note, which sketched her life story, sources, and social and economic conditions (KB Vs 2.1, 319-20; Jonsson 1967, 389-90). The note is a rarity for its time. Because of this note, twentieth-century scholars have written extensively about Greta Naterberg's life and repertoire.[21] Nonetheless, I want to provide a brief biography of Greta and begin to examine the social conditions in which she practiced her art. I wish to avoid essentializing her, making her into a representative of Swedish ballad traditions. To avoid this, I situate her in a specific time and place.

Greta was born in Nykils parish, Valkebo härad in Östergötland in 1772 to Peter (Per) Kallerman and his wife Kerstin Lagesdotter in a croft called Fräsa under Rösäter. Her father served in the cavalry. After his discharge from the cavalry, Peter and Kerstin and their two children moved to Skeda parish in Kinda Härad. There, he leased various crofts from the Ingebo estates. Greta told Rääf that she learned at least eight songs in her repertoire from her mother, including "Linden."[22] In 1794, at the age of 22, Greta left home to take service as a *piga*, or servant girl, for Cederhjelmska manor in Västerby. At the time, she was called variously Greta Persdotter or Greta Kallerman. For a

[20] Arvid A. Afzelius included an edited version of Greta Naterberg's "Per Tyrsson döttrar i Wänge" in the third volume of *Svenska folkvisor* (1818), GA98[:I].
[21] For example, see Ek 1936; Jonsson 1969; Lönnroth 1978; Jersild 1990 for more extensive discussion of her life and repertoire. My discussion is mainly drawn from their work.
[22] Cf. list Jonsson 390. I discuss Greta' ballad "Linden" in chapter two.

short time after 1797, she moved to Vists parish, Hanekinds härad, before returning to Vårdnäs and Västerby.

Greta moved from Vårdnäs and Västerby to Slaka parish in 1800 where she married farmhand Peter Hansson (b. 1776) of Röby. In 1801, the couple moved from Röby to Slaka Hill. Not long afterwards Peter joined the Life Grenadiers, unit number 46 in Slaka, and took the last name Naterberg. The couple lived at a croft named Fredrikslund on the Naderstad manor. After Peter's discharge, they lived in Slaka. They had several children. Rääf noted that when[23] Greta visited him, the family had no capital and made their livelihood from handicrafts. Greta died on the 10 May 1818 in Slaka parish, Östergötland, leaving behind her husband and several children (Jonsson 1967, 390).

Rääf's note provides a closer glimpse of Greta's life and may also give us hints about her as a person and performer.

> *Hustru Greta Naterberg är född i Nykyl 1772 af Soldaten Carl Kallerman - hennes Moder härstammade från Wisserum Socken i Linköpnings Stift och Småland och dog 1801, 74 år gammal - af henne har hon lärt åtskilliga visor - andra har hon lärt som ung piga här och där - senast har hon många år varit bosatt i Slaka Socken där hon är gift med Lifgrenadören Naterberg, nu afskedad och boende på Slaka backe nära kyrkan - Af hennes visor är det nästan ingen som h[on] ej lärt för 20 a 25 år - Hon har det lyckligaste minne och kan ännu fragmenter af ganska många visor som hon erinrar då man kommer att nämna dem - till flere af de i första delen af Sv. Folkvisor utgifna visor, många af Atterboms, bland andra Herr Peders Sjöresa och Habor och Signild har hon erinrat sig melodien och äfven något afvikande ord här och där. Af lekar har hon stort förråd - också samla sig efter hennes egen berättelse ungdom på Slaka backen och negden omkring (som är starkt befolkad och bebygd) hos henne om Söndagarne då hon sjunger sina lekar för dem att de dansa och leka långt på quällarne. - Hon är af ett friskt och gladt sinnelag - klagar nu att hennes röst ej är så klar som i ungdoms dagarne och hennes bröst börjar bli tungt och ofta i synnerhet om vintrarne krassligt - I ungdomen skall hon haft en så god röst att en Grefvinna för hvilken hon söng ville införa henne på Theatern - Hon är nu moder för flera barn - af hvilken de äro mig bekanta tyckas aldeles sakna moderns sinne för sången - Jag har glömt att äfven har ett stort förråd af gamla sagor som hon gärna berättar - hon saknar all slags förmögenhet och lefver af handa-slögder - af spinnand [sic] och väfvande m.m. (Jonsson 1967, 389-90)*
>
> Greta Naterberg was born in Nykil[24] 1772 to the soldier Carl Kallerman. Her mother originated from Wisserum parish in Linköpning diocese and Småland and died 1801, 74

[23] Sometime between 1813 and 1814, mostly likely autumn 1813.
[24] In the Swedish text it reads "Nykyl." Spelling was fairly fluid still at the time, but I have modernized it in translation to make it easier to find.

> years old. From her mother, she learned a great number of songs. Others she learned as a young servant girl here and there. Lately she has been dwelling in Slaka parish for many years, where she is married to Life-grenadier Naterberg, now discharged and residing on Slaka hill near the church. Of her songs, there are nearly none that she did not learn 20 or 25 years ago. She has the most fortunate memory and knows even fragments of a great many songs that she remembers when one names them: several from the first part of *Swedish Folksongs* published songs, many of Atterbom's, among others, "Herr Peders Sjöresa" and "Habor and Signild", she has remembered the melody and also some various words here and there. She has a large repertoire of game-songs[25]. According to her own narrative, she also gathers together young people from Slaka hill and the district around (which is densely populated and settled) at her place on Sundays when she sings her songs so they can dance and play long into the evenings. She is of a healthy and happy disposition; she complains now that her voice is not as clear as in her youth and her chest begins to feel heavy and often sickly, particularly in the winters. In her youth she had had such a very excellent voice that a countess for whom she sang wanted to introduce her to the theater. She is now the mother to several children, who to my knowledge seem to lack altogether their mother's sense for song. I have forgotten that she also has a large store of old tales that she willingly tells. She lacks any sort of wealth and makes a living from handicraft – of spinning and weaving, etc (Jonsson 1967:389-90; Ek 1936: 3-4)

The note perhaps reflects Rääf's interests and voice more than Greta's, but I shall draw some conclusions about her life from the note before discussing the socio-economic and historical context from which Greta and her songs emerged.[26]

Greta lived in a tightly bound community, learning songs from her mother. She and her husband entertained others in the Slaka area. She had a relatively mobile life in her twenties, although she does not appear to have ventured more than about thirty-five kilometers from her birthplace. She married at the age of 28. The community in which she lived was "densely populated." The army was an important part of her life, as it was for many other families. Both her father and her husband served in the military. Her family was bound up in a crofter's life, but in earlier parts of her life, she worked (as did her husband) as a servant for various manors and estates. Family sizes did not seem to be particularly large: she appeared to have only a single sibling and Rääf remarks that she had several children (Jonsson 1967, 390). In her comment about the countess,

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[25] I am translating *lekar* here as songs; though game song might be a better way of saying it. These songs were sung along with dances/body movements and games, not unlike the song "London Bridge".
[26] Cf., David Gaunt's *Familjeliv i Norden* (1983) and Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren's *Culture Builders* (1979/1987).

Greta suggests moreover that there were interactions between landed elites and the landless class,[27] although Greta ended up not going beyond her local community. Greta and her family lived in near poverty, supplementing their income through handicrafts and other cottage industries. Yet despite poverty, the family seemed to have enjoyed and encouraged lively community gatherings for young people, where Greta sang her songs. Her repertoire also included singing games and lyrical songs. In Rääf's observation, he mentions that Greta recounted that on Sunday evenings, people gathered at her home. There, Greta sang her songs, whether *lekar* [singing games] or *folkvisor* [ballads] for dance. She also had a large repertoire of tales. She was a striking performer, a "skilled specialist" in Holbek's terminology, who was valued by collectors as well as her community (cf. Holbek 1987, 405). Greta was likely aware of how these collectors prized her repertoire and abilities. The interest of the brothers Wallman and Rääf surely influenced her. I suspect that she enjoyed showing off her skills and repertoire.

Despite her skill and large repertoire, Greta and her family were and would always remain part of a large landless class that provided much of the labor for farms, manors and the army.[28] Landless people such as crofters had no representation in government. A crofter (*torpare*) leased land or a croft (*ett torp*) from a landowner, which included both land to cultivate and a small house to dwell in. In "The Intergenerational Transfer of Resources on Nineteenth Century Swedish Crofts," Torvald Gerger and Roger Miller note that "crofters … were allowed to eke out a subsistence living from a piece of land in exchange for labor and/or goods owed to the manor farm and the estate owner" (1986, 106). They had no guarantee of livelihood, though and depending on croft size, the same family could occasionally hold a croft for several generations (ibid., 110-111). Not all people could afford a crofter's lease; a lease could be difficult for young people to obtain. In order to secure

[27] What Erik Gustaf Geijer and others would refer to as the "råare samhällklasser" – the rougher social classes (cf. this work's introduction).
[28] A fact not lost on later working class and socialist artists, such as Karl Johansson, whose songs attacked this oppressive system.

a living, they took service as maids and farmhands at manors and farms. Leaving home for service seems to have almost been a rite of passage for landless youth (Gaunt 1983, 114-5). Another option was enlisting in the army, which provided a croft in exchange for military service. The farming work on the croft often fell to the wife and children when the man was called away for maneuvers. Like many other young men, Greta's husband enlisted. It was often a step up the social ladder from being a farmhand (*dräng*).

I bring up these parts of Greta's life, because these can be missed in folklore studies. Folklorists have tended to study folk artists as folk artists, not as human beings, though recent scholarship has highlighted human beings, their worldviews, and how there repertoires express and mold their reality.[29] In viewing Greta as a ballad singer, it is far too easy to essentialize her as a performer. To define her only as a ballad singer is a practice in academic authority. It is not her voice that defines her, but the scholar's, though indeed, she sang and she performed. She fulfilled many roles: she mothered, she played the roles of a wife, she entertained, she knitted herself into a community, she cooked, she lived, she acted. However, I want to emphasize that she was not simply a singer, a source for ballads, which scholars (such as myself) mined and may still mine. She was a human being who acted and lived. That she sang is only part of her story as a human being.

I want now to focus on recent interpretative approaches to reading historical folklore texts, turning to Greta's "Per Tyrssons döttrar i Wänge,"[30] a text that the brothers Wallman collected, likely in the autumn of 1813. *Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* [TSB] (1978) classifies the song as a "*legendvisa*" (legend ballad), because it gives an etiological legend for the origin of springs near Kärna. Wallman's text is found in KB Vs 2:2, pages 55-57 and Grevilli's melody in Kungliga

[29] For example, Barbro Klein (2013), Timothy Tangherlini (2013), Ray Cashman (2008), Thomas DuBois (2006), James Leary (2006), and Henry Glassie (1982) are a few examples of scholars doing such work.
[30] The ballad's narrative has become famous (or infamous) for indirectly inspiring the rape-revenge exploitation film *Last House on the Left* (1972) by Wes Craven, who was inspired by Ingmar Bergman's *Jungfrukällan* [*The Virgin Spring*] (1960) (Clover 1992, 137).

Biblioteket [KB] signum Vs 126:4, page 46. Multiforms of the ballad are first recorded from the 1600s. One possible reason the song attracted Rääf and the brothers Wallman is its localization to Östergötland. The story itself is also gripping and tragic. The song's text follows, with a non-poetic English translation beside it.

Per Tyrssons döttrar i Wänge

1. Per Tyrssons döttrar i Wänge
   – kaller var deras skog –
   De sufvo en sömn förlänge
   – med' skogen han löfjas

2. Den yngsta hon vaknade först
   Så väckte hon de andra två upp

3. Så satte de sig på sängestock
   Så flätade de hvaranners lock

4. Så togo de på sig sina silkesklär
   Så gånger de sig åt kyrkan

5. När som de kommo på Wänge lid
   möter dem tre Walare

6. Anter vill ni bli Walarewif
   eller viljen ni mista ert unga lif

7. Och inte vill vi bli Walare-vif
   för vilje vi mista vårt unga lif

8. De höggo deras hufvud på Björkestock
   Så rann der straxt tre källor opp

9. Kroppen grofvo de ner i dy
   Kläderna buro de fram till by

10. När som de kommo till Wänga gård
    Ute för dem Fru Karin hon står

11. Å viljen I köpa Silkessärkar
    som nie Jungfrur ha stuckit och virkat

12. Löser upp edra säckar och låter mej se
    Kanhända jag tör' käns dem alla tre

13. Fru Karin slog sig för sitt bröst
    Hon geck der för Per Tyrsson opp

14. Det håller tre Walare på vår gård
    De hafva gjort af med våra döttrar alla tree

1. Per Tyrsson's daughters from Wänge
   - cold was their forest –
   They slept a sleep too long
   - while the forest came into leaf

2. The youngest awoke first
   Then she woke the other two up

3. Then they sat on the bed stead
   Then they plaited each other's locks

4. Then they put on their silken dresses
   Then they are going to church.

5. When they came to Wänge hillside
   Three robbers met them

6. Either you will become Robber-wives
   or you will to lose your young lives

7. And we will not become Robber-wives
   For we'd rather lose our young lives

8. They struck off their heads on a birch log
   Then rose up at once three springs there

9. The bodies they buried down in the mud
   The clothes they took away to the village

10. When they came to Wänga manor
    Fru Karin stands outside for them

11. Oh, do you want to buy silken shifts
    that nine Maidens have knitted and crocheted

12. Open up your sacks and let me see
    Perhaps I may try them all three

13. Fru Karin struck her breast
    She went up to Per Tyrsson

14. There are three Robbers on our estate
    They've done away with our daughters three

15. Per Tyrsson tar sitt svärd i hand
Han högg ihjel di äldsta två

16. Den tredje lat' han lefve
Tills han feck honom fräge.

17. Hvad heter eder fader
Hvad heter eder moder

18. Vår fader han heter Per Tyrsson i Wänge
Vår moder hon heter Fru Karin i skränge.

19. Per Tyrsson går sej åt smedjan
han lät smi' jern om medjan.

20. Havd ska' vi nu göra till syndamen
Vi ska' bygga opp en kyrka af kalk och sten

21. Den kyrkan skall heta Kjerna
– kaller var deras skog –
Den ska' vi bygga opp så gerna.
– med' skogen han löfjas

15. Per Tyrsson takes his sword in hand
He struck down the oldest two

16. The third he let live
Until he might ask him.

17. Who is your father
Who is your mother

18. Our father is Per Tyrsson from Wänge
Our mother is Fru Karin from skränge.

19. Per Tyrsson goes to the smithy
He has forged irons about his waist.

20. What shall we now do for the sinners
We shall build a church of limestone and stone

21. The church shall be called Kärna
- cold was their forest –
We shall build it up so gladly
- while the forest came into leaf

"Per Tyrssons döttrar i Wänge." KB Vs 2:3, pp. 55-7 (text). KB Vs 126:4, p. 46 (mel.).
Recorded 1812 by J.H. and/or D.S. Wallman (text) and autumn 1813 or in 1814 by C.P. Grevilli (mel.). Printed as GA 98 [:I]. SMB 47 E (TSB B21) "The manuscript lacks stanza numbers. The refrains are written out in stanza 1 and 21, and marked in the remaining stanzas. The terminal refrain's *med'* is *medan* in stanza 21. 5:2 *Walare* was changed from *Wallare*, to which the manuscript has the following comment in a footnote: *Valare* clarified the Singer / who sang: *Wallare* / means *Röfvare* (Robbers)" (SMB 47 E, textanmärkning).

The ballad is a tragedy, in which sons and father almost completely destroy their own family. However, Greta's multiform offers some hope for the future. Unlike some other multiforms of this ballad, the entire family does not die, which allows a sort of redemption. Like many of the ballads I discuss in this study, the story centers on family relations and on how men and women interact. It does not really deal with class, although the situation of the highwaymen suggests they may be motivated by class and outsider status, as much as by sex and gender. Although TSB and SMB classify this ballad "type" as belonging to the legend ballad group because it contains etiologies of the springs and Kärna church, I suggest that these outcomes are almost incidental to the story. The failure of proper relationships within the family cause the tragedy.

My reading of this ballad starts with and builds from the interpretative strategies of David Buchan (1972) and Bengt Holbek (1987). Buchan suggests that most Scottish ballads follow a particular story-telling pattern of 1) *situation* + *complication*, 2) *development*, and 3) *resolution* (cf. 1972, 83f). He writes, "[T]he situation establishes the relationship of the two main characters" and "the complication [establishes] the third character's threat to that relationship" (1972, 83). The development "deals with the efforts to promote or combat the threat" and finally "the resolution concerns the happy cementing or tragic dissolution of the relationship" (ibid.). However, not all ballads have third characters. Additionally, villains or threats may be ambiguous or an abstract concept such as Death. He further states that there are three ballad story types: 1) stories of family opposition, 2) stories of the other love, and 3) stories of murder and revenge. David Buchan's theories are based on his work with Scottish nineteenth-century ballads, particularly chivalric and supernatural ballads from Mrs. Anna Gordon Brown's collection and repertoire. Mrs. Brown was a professor's daughter and a chaplain's wife in eighteenth century Scotland.[31] The differences in social status must be remembered when applying Buchan's schemes to the repertoire of the soldier's wife, Greta Naterberg. However, his ideas about characters, story patterns, and story types provide a stable jumping-off point for my analysis. In some ways, his work also prefigures Bengt Holbek's fairy tale interpretation theories fifteen years later. As we will see, in this ballad and those in subsequent chapters, Buchan's theory does not entirely work; but it provides a helpful tool to read the texts. In particular, his ideas center around the idea of family which concurs with what I find to be the subject in most Swedish ballads.

Holbek's fairy tale[32] interpretation also centers around the family, but focuses on the social maturation[33] of the heroine/hero, the character's movement from youth to adulthood, as

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[31] Mrs. Brown and her extensive repertoire are mentioned in Jamieson.

[32] More than one scholar has criticized Holbek's use of the term "fairy tale" pointing out that "marvel tale" or "folk tale" would be more appropriate. Whatever the case may be, I use his own formulation.

symbolized by marriage. His interpretative framework works particularly well with fairy tale-like ballads, ones classified by TSB as ballads of the supernatural (*naturmystiska visor*). However, not all ballads end in marriage. "Per Tyrssons döttrar i Wänge" certainly does not. Nonetheless, many ballad sub-genres deal with *failed* maturation processes. Interpretative strategies based on successful/comic maturation narratives shed light on these failures in tragic ballads, and give insight into a text's core concerns. Holbek also focuses on important relationships and conflicts between persons of high and low statuses and between males and females. Following Vladimar Propp, he analyzes tales from the end to the beginning. Endings tell much about the overall development of a narrative's moral message (Holbek 1987, 410). While Holbek sees fairy tales as collective daydreams, which imagine the world as it ought to be (1987, 406), tragic ballads imagine paths of improperly resolved conflicts and the horrific manmade catastrophes that result. Like nineteenth-century fairy tales, ballads often depict a different world than nineteenth-century reality, with kings and queens, princes and princesses, knights and ladies, and magic and superhuman beings. However, they seem more like bad dreams than daydreams. Ballads often deal with the darker sides of life. Tragic ballads narrate what happens when individuals lie, cheat, betray, dishonor, fail to mature, etc. and the effects of these tragedies on the wider family or community. Perhaps we could call many ballads collective nightmares, which depict the world as it ought not to be.

The reading below sets the stage for the remaining song readings in this study. In Greta Naterberg's multiform "Per Tyrrsons döttrar i Wänge," there are eight characters: three daughters, three highwaymen, Fru Karin, and Herr Tyrsson. In accord with ballad style, I treat the daughters

[33] I think it important to point out that the characters that Holbek discusses in terms of maturation, do not mature as individuals, as we might hope for today, rather that the characters are achieving social and cultural recognition of their readiness for marriage, which as Holbek argues, is the definition of maturity for Danish peasants. While these characters might undergo heroic journeys we would recognize, I do not believe that social readiness to marry is the same as maturity, as the chivalric ballads argue again and again, via the tragic murders of wedding parties.

and the highwaymen as single characters reducing this count as four, with two small exceptions. I organize and classify the characters according to Buchan (1972) and Holbek (1987):

Hero	H
Heroine	S
Villain or Threat	V
Father	F
Mother	M
Sister	Sr
Brother	Br

Table 1. Buchan's Character Abbreviations

Status	High	Low
Maturity	Adult	Young
Sex	Female	Male

Table 2. Holbek's Character Oppositions

Herr Tyrsson is the protagonist and Father (H/F) and High, Adult, Male (HAM); Fru Karin is the Mother and arguably a protagonist (S/M) and High, Adult, Female (HAF); the three daughters are heroines and sisters (S/Sr) and High, Young, Females (HYF). The highwaymen appear as villains (V/Br) and as Low, Young, Males (LYM); however, they are in fact brothers (Br) and High, Young, Males (HYM). There are no other characters present in the ballad; a smith is briefly mentioned, but only to serve an isolated narrative function.

The story centers on murder and revenge. The *situation and complication* occur in stanzas one through six; the *development* in stanzas seven through eleven, and the *resolution* in stanzas eighteen through twenty-one. Using Holbek's scheme, the "law of the weighted stern,"[34] the end point is key: the highwaymen are the brothers to the three women they murder. With the daughters lovingly preparing one another and going to church together, the beginning seems to suggest a perfectly happy family that will be threatened from the outside. However, at the end, the highwaymen reveal themselves as Per Tyrsson and Fru Karin's sons and brothers to the daughters. This idea of a

[34] Referring here to Axel Olrik's hero narrative studies

cohesive family falls apart. The family is already splintered from the beginning and the threat comes from within the family. Fate becomes the opponent.[35] Greta ends the ballad by suggesting that redemption is possible. Tyrsson chooses to stop his vengeance and asks a question which reveals the true tragedy. He takes responsibility for the events and pledges to build a church to redeem his sins. Unfortunately, this does not help his daughters.

The ballad is weighted slightly towards action - of the 42 lines in the twenty-one stanzas, twenty-four or 57% are action (or more properly, non-dialog) lines; eighteen lines are dialog. The male voices dominate the dialog - twelve of the eighteen lines are spoken by male characters. The daughters' only dialog consists of a refusal to surrender their virtue to the highwaymen in stanza seven: "And we will not become Robber-wives / For we'd rather lose our young lives." The mother's dialog is somewhat greater. She asks the highwaymen to show her the silk dresses they are selling. After seeing that the dresses belonged to her daughters, she goes to Herr Tyrsson and tells him that the highwaymen had killed their daughters. Fru Karin's dialog falls into the adult female domestic realm. She deals with peddlers and others who come with goods for the household. She does not exact revenge herself. She informs her husband of the wrong done so that he can act, not unlike wives in Icelandic sagas, who incite their husbands and sons.

The male dialog and actions differ significantly. The men do not refuse; they make the demands. They do not go to others, but act decisively and immediately. The highwaymen's dialog starts with sexual demands on the three daughters (their sisters) and they swiftly meet the three women's refusal with violence. Having not gained wives, they decide to gain money. They then offer to Fru Karin the silk clothing, marketing the dresses as handmade and high quality. After Fru Karin tells Per Tyrsson that their daughters have been murdered, he does not reply but immediately draws his sword and attacks the highwaymen. Only after he has slain the two oldest highwaymen does he

[35] If we accept other multiforms as immanent in that Herr Tyrsson drove his sons away, but Greta does not deal with that in her multiform

stop to think and speak. Per Tyrsson gets to the heart of the matter by asking the youngest highwayman who his parents are. It is not an individual crime but a family matter. The remaining highwayman then reveals his parentage and thus points to the underlying horror of the tragedy - not only did the highwaymen threaten Tyrsson's daughters with rape and murder, but the women were their own sisters. Two of the brothers have been slain by their father, after having been apprehended by their mother.

The men have all the agency. The women only refuse men or relay bad news to men. The daughters are silenced utterly and finally.[36] Beheading is a brutal and final method of execution, which separates the head (with mouth) from the body. The three highwaymen appear to propose to Per Tyrsson's daughters, saying "Either you will become Robber-wives / or you will lose your young lives" (st. 6). It is not an invitation but a threat. The men are not trying to take the women by law, but by force (*ta med våld*). The highwaymen view the women as bodies, not as persons. Once the women refuse to give in to the threat, the highwaymen have no use for the women and they decapitate them. If there is no sexual intercourse, the female body is of no use to them. Continuing to emphasize the male view of the female body, Greta's multiform (following other multiforms) narrates that the highwaymen strip the clothing from the bodies in order to sell the silk dresses, burying women's bodies without care in the mud. Moreover, they are slain by their own brothers, increasing the tragedy and pointing out that even brothers are perpetrators of violence against women.

Beheading and decapitation are common motifs in medieval and early modern narratives, as discussed in the essays in Tracey and Massey's *Heads Will Roll* (2012). In folk tales, dismemberment and decapitation often catalyze transformation from one form to another or disenchant cursed bodies. Hardly the case here. In a different genre, saints are martyred by decapitation. One example

[36] This echoes the ways that women's voices are silenced in published ballad editions by removing most traces of the singer's sex, the ballad parallels this silencing, which I examine in the subsequent chapters.

is St. Katherine of Alexandria, who, like many other martyred female saints, was threatened with sexual violence. An intelligent women, she refuses to give in and speaks at length to her tormenters before they behead her. Similarly the highwaymen threaten and then behead the three women, when the women do not give in (and thus commit incest, however unknowing). While the highwaymen treat the female bodies without dignity or respect, God intervenes (at least in the aftermath) and leaves no doubt of the three women's purity and innocence by marking the place of their death with the three springs that well up instantly. God himself recognizes their purity and godliness, a detail that links the narrative again to saint's lives.

The ballad's narrative resonated with Greta both because it involved local geography and because it told a shocking and exciting story that dealt with family cohesion, a subject that recurs in her repertoire. She took the time to learn it, although she did not own an estate like Per Tyrsson nor is there any evidence that she experienced anything like these events in her own life. She did not learn it from her mother, as she did many of her songs; she likely learned it while working at one of the manors or farms before she married. However, given that much of Greta Naterberg's repertoire centers around family cohesion and given that she left home herself to work at manors among strangers, I believe it is fair to say that the ballad's moral resonated with her: kin need to stay together, especially parents and children. Separation tears asunder the family and causes all the ballad's problems. In the ballad, the daughters who were raised at home acted morally but the sons who were raised outside of the home acted immorally.

Local geography helped Greta situate her story. Places in Greta Naterberg's life and the place where these events supposedly took place both lie very near to one another in Östergötland. Indeed, Slaka Church is roughly eight kilometers from Kärna Church; this was land that she was intimately familiar with, along with the legends that existed about these places. Greta connected with the land that she knew partially through narratives that featured it.

It is a gripping story, one that attracted Ingmar Bergman to make a film based on the narrative, *Jungfrukällan* [The Virgin Spring] (1960). It is easy to look for underlying reasons that a singer might sing a narrative, but we cannot neglect to understand that a good story sticks, even if it does not reflect the singer's life experiences. It did likely resonate with fears – incest, sororicidal, and filicide are nightmares – taboo and forbidden. In Rääf's biographical note and in her repertoire, Greta comes across as a woman with a positive and zesty outlook on life. The ending likely appealed to her optimistic views – there is hope in the end, despite the tragedies, murders, and vengeance. The horror results in a holy spring and the repentance of the father, leading him to build a church which serves the larger community.

As Paula Henrikson points out, the past is used to control the future (2010, 103-4). By extending a norm or moral position back into the past, an author or editor or collector can justify present norms and advocate for a return to those norms in the future. For Greta's local audience, this narrative condemned the behavior of the sons and the father, thus it points to proper moral values and behavior in the community, particularly for cohesion within the family. It also idolizes female virtue.[37]

In this chapter, I have looked at the aristocrat, Leonhard Fredrik Rääf and the influences that led him to select, collect, and textualize ballads. The romantic movement influenced him deeply, but also his training as a historian and botanist which led him to meticulously and systematically collect ballads as historical evidence. His collaborators, the brothers Wallman, brought Greta Naterberg to his attention. Greta Naterberg was a skilled performer with a large repertoire. Rääf collected from her, seeking to reconstruct from her multiforms imagined as original ballads. In viewing her ballads as texts, he could not see how her songs resonated with her life world,

[37] An important point which will be taken up in Chapter 3.

particularly how Greta Naterberg may have viewed the need for family cohesion and the moral consequences if family cohesion was lost.

In the next chapter, we will see how Romantic ideals silenced women's voices and compromised Greta's artistic integrity as we examine Erik Gustaf Geijer and Arvid August Afzelius' *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden*. The obsession with origins creates a view that cannot see performance or songs as they are, only as they are imagined to have once been. We will return to Greta Naterberg and discuss her contribution to *Svenska folkvisor*, as well as look more closely at the lifeworld she inhabited.

Chapter 2: Fragments among the Ruins: Erik Gustaf Geijer, Arvid August Afzelius, and Greta Naterberg

In this chapter, we turn to the first ballad edition published in Sweden, *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden* [Swedish ballads from antiquity], which set the standards and norms for ballad publications for the rest of the century and arguably influenced ballad editions in Denmark and England as well. In the previous chapter, I focused on Rääf as a collector and in this chapter, I focus on intellectuals who took material that Rääf and others collected and made it widely available. The editors of *Svenska folkvisor*, Arvid August Afzelius and Erik Gustaf Geijer, articulated a rhetoric of authenticity and accuracy, like Rääf's, though their fidelity to accuracy was subsumed to the idea of the authenticity of ancient times, as I show below when I analyze another ballad from Greta Naterberg and its editorial treatment in their volume. With their editorial practices (selection, ordering, classification, and naming), Geijer and Afzelius promoted Sweden's unity and its antiquity. Geijer wrote two essays for the volumes while Afzelius did most of the editorial work. I show concretely how Afzelius' editorial scholarship on Greta's ballad privileged narrative, demonstrated romantic fascination with distance in time, and read middle class values into a song that expressed the experience of young, landless women in a rural environment.

Geijer and Afzelius' first volume of their ballad collection was met with great acclaim by fellow members of *Götiska förbundet*. Lars Hammarsköld reviewed the volume on 11 and 18 November 1815 in *Swensk Literatur-tidning*. He writes enthusiastically "... *det herrliga företal, som finnes framför denna samling, hwilket innehåller icke allenast de wigtigaste uppgifter om folkdikten, utan äfwen de djupaste anmärkningar öfwer Romansens och ... poesiens natur och anda*" [...the wonderful preface which opens this collection, which contains not only the most important information on folk-poetry, but also the

deepest observations about the ballad's and ... poetry's nature and spirit] (1815, 723).[1] Hammarsköld referred to the romantic belief that ballads were nature-poetry. Nature-poetry was opposed to art-poetry, which was artificial and separated human beings from their true natures. According to romantic theories of the time, understanding and reviving nature-poetry could renew art and humanity. Continuing on Afzelius' editorial work, he adds: "*I anledning af sjelfwa wisorna anse wi oss först skyldige, att hembära Hr Afzelius de lifligaste tacksägelser för hans samlingsflit och nitiska omsorg, att genom tryck bewara från förgätenhet dessa dyrbara lemningar af forntida Swensk anda och konst*" [In matter of the songs themselves, we first feel obligated to convey Herr Afzelius the keenest thanks for his collecting diligence and zealous care in preserving in print these valuable remains of the ancient Swedish spirit and art from forgetfulness] (ibid., 724).[2] Romantics wanted to bring editions out which would show that their program was bearing fruit. *Iduna* and *Poetiska kalendar* printed ballads, but Afzelius was the first to gather so many ballads together, providing paratextual remarks, and showing multiple variants in one work. Correspondence between the members of *Götiska förbundet* show that for the most part the works impressed and delighted. The second and third volumes were expected to be published in 1816 and the title pages read so but Afzelius's postscript is dated 8 November 1817. In reality the volumes were published in 1818 (Jonsson 1967, 467).

A common thread between Geijer, Afzelius, and Rääf was *Götiska förbundet*. Examining this society provides helpful historical context to the publication of *Svenska folkvisor*. As mentioned above and in the introduction to this study, the young Romantics felt that Sweden needed new sources of inspiration and guidance. *Götiska förbundet* was one such response, which sought to awake "*[d]en nationella andan … med hjälp av folkets gamla 'götiska' dygder, men för det måste nya traditioner införas*" [the

[1] "... det herrliga företal, som finnes framför denna samling, hwilket innehåller icke allenast de wigtigaste uppgifter om folkdikten, utan äfwen de djupaste anmärkningar öfwer Romansens och ... poesiens natur och anda" (Hammarsköld 1815, 723).

[2] "I anledning af sjelfwa wisorna anse wi oss först skyldige, att hembära Hr Afzelius de lifligaste tacksägelser för hans samlingsflit och nitiska omsorg, att genom tryck bewara från förgätenhet dessa dyrbara lemningar af forntida Swensk anda och konst" (Hammarsköld 1815, 724).

national spirit … with the help of the folk's old 'gothic' virtues, but for that new traditions needed to be introduced] (Hagerman 2006, 144).[3] Adrian Molin writes, "*Götiska Förbundet var för [Jakob] Adlerbeth en realiserad 'moralisk-patriotisk tanke', ett medborgsmannaförbund med fosterländskt syfte*" [For Jacob Alderbeth, the *Götiska förbundet* was a 'moral-patriotic thought' put into practice, a civic association with a patriotic aim][4] (1906, 100). For the young romantics of the society, renewing Sweden came through returning to their Swedish forefathers' freedom and character. Only by bringing to life the old character of Sweden could Sweden be rescued from defeat and dissolution (cf. Molin 1906, 101). Hagerman notes that because of their great feelings of mission, the society's members worked broadly: composing poetry and researching folk-poetry, artifacts and archeological sites (2006, 144). While networking, composing, and researching, the members met and shared their romantic passion for antiquity.

Romanticism offered ideas that seemed alive in comparison to the supposed dry and rationalistic ideas of the Enlightenment. Romantics imagined that narrative ballads pointed to a past of uncorrupted Nordic peoples living in spiritual contentment, a past which needed to be restored to non-peasants (cf. Barton 1986, 378).[5] E.G. Geijer writes in his introduction "*Allt kännemärken, varigenom de visa sig tillhöra en enfaldig tid, ännu osöndrad genom bildningens fortgång, ... och ännu för alla voro en gemensam egendom*" [Through every feature they [i.e., ballads] appear to belong to a simple time, still undisrupted by education's march, ... and were still a common property for everyone] (Geijer SSI, 379-80).[6] Geijer reinforced nostalgia for ancient times, writing "*... det är den äldre och äldsta, som bäst bibehållit sig i det nationella minnet, (åtminstone är det fallet i Sverige) liksom barndomens minnen av alla äro de outplånligaste*"[... It is the older and oldest that best retains itself in the national memory, (at least that

[3] "Den nationella andan skulle väckas med hjälp av folkets gamla 'götiska' dygder, men för det måste nya traditioner införas" (Hagerman 2006, 144).
[4] "Götiska Förbundet var för [Jakob] Adlerbeth en realiserad 'moralisk-patriotisk tanke', ett medborgsmannaförbund med fosterländskt syfte" (Molin 1906:100).
[5] See also the citation from Geijer that opens the introduction.
[6] "Allt kännemärken, varigenom de visa sig tillhöra en enfaldig tid, ännu osöndrad genom bildningens fortgång, ... och ännu för alla voro en gemensam egendom" (Geijer SSI, 379-80).

is the case in Sweden) like childhood's memories are most unobliterated out of everything] (Geijer SSI, 385).[7] Geijer, like many intellectuals, equated older times with childhood, which effectively made history into a upward progression. It also set up Geijer and his contemporaries as adults and the folk as children, which helped to explain ballads' use of magic. The folk and ancient Swedes both were prone to childlike wonder and thus ascribed magic to things they could not understand.

As in other chapters, I provide biographical information on Geijer and Afzelius and contextualize their work. Erik Gustaf Geijer was born 12 January 1783 (d. 23 April 1847) at Ransäters mill in Värmland. He was the son of Bengt Gustaf Geijer and Ulrica Magdalena Geisler. His father was a *brukspatron* [works or factory owner]. In the Swedish class system, his family was part of the *ofrälse ståndspersoner* [unprivileged persons of status]: they were not nobles like Leonhard Fredrik Rääf's family nor were they freeholding farmers. *Ofrälse ståndspersoner* did not send representatives to one of the Riksdag's four estates. Unlike nobility, they paid taxes; however, they were well respected and had influence in social and economic matters (Scott 1988, 334-5). Mill owners and other unprivileged persons of status can be counted along with the burgher/bourgeois merchant classes and combined to constitute the middle class (ibid., 337). They made up an important component of the ascending middle classes and connected with industry.

Geijer entered Uppsala University in October 1799, taking a doctorate in history in 1810. He then worked as a private tutor in Stockholm until 1814. In 1815, he took a post at Uppsala as an docent, rising to the rank of professor in 1817 (Norberg 1967, 9). He died in 1847, at a younger age than his contemporaries Rääf and Afzelius. Henrik Berggren and Lars Trägårdh recognize him as one of the foremost poets and philosophers of the romantic movement in Sweden (2006). His poetry captured the appeal of the imagined Viking past and his essays built up and praised Romantic philosophy, while in this later work as a professor he contributed to the discipline of history. His

[7] "... det är den äldre och äldsta, som bäst bibehållit sig i det nationella minnet, (åtminstone är det fallet i Sverige) liksom barndomens minnen av alla äro de outplånligaste" (Geijer SSI, 385)

early poetry such as "Odalbonden" [The Freeholder] imagined freeholding farmers, living in equality, willing to die for their homeland, but content in the meantime to be left alone; while, "Vikingen" [The Viking] narrates a glorious Viking age Sweden (*Iduna* 1811). His association with Swedish letters and historical studies lent him an aura of authority. His intellectual influences came from religious studies, Johan Gottfried Herder's writings, and James Macpherson's *Ossian* poems. E.G. Geijer's name added prestige to the anthology of ballads. He influenced and watched over A.A. Afzelius's editing, especially for the first volume (Jonsson 1967, 468-9). His greatest contribution was the introduction he wrote, which was influential on ballad scholarship throughout the 1800s in Scandinavia and Finland. In it, he followed broader patterns in European thought from Herder concerning the folk and folk-poetry.

Arvid August Afzelius was the primary editor and creator of *Svenska folk-visor från forntiden*. He was born to Inga Magdalena Lindström and Per Persson Afzelius in 1785 at Fjällåkra in Hornborga parish, Skaraborg's county (Rydh 1918). His father was an *komministern* [assistant vicar] at Broddetorp. He was born into the ecclesiastical estate, which meant he had representation in the Riksdag, but like many in this estate, he was not particularly well off. When Arvid August was four, his father fell into debt after having signed a guarantee for a relative who defaulted. The debt forced Per Afzelius to leave Broddetorp and become a regimental chaplain. The young Arvid was sent to live with his paternal grandfather at Sätuna in Västergötland. He stayed there with his grandfather, *rusthållare* [arm householder][8] Per Persson and his wife until 1794 when he left for school at Falköping. In Arvid August Afzelius' memories, his grandfather's home held a particular importance, and in his writings, he returned to scenes from this setting throughout his adult life. He witnessed the performance of folk tales in his grandfather's traditional farmhouse from the farmhand and the maid (Afzelius 1901, 4-5). He recalls the farmhand taking him out for a drinking

[8] In the Swedish allotment system, a *rusthåll* was larger farm or estate, which supported a cavalryman and was therefore tax exempt.

bout, where he heard folksongs that stuck in his memory (ibid., 14-15). He read Macpherson's *Ossian*, which "captivated him" (ibid., 34). In these writings, he showed that he was drawn to song and tales of the folk, and this played a large part in his later literary activity.[9]

Arvid entered Uppsala University in the autumn of 1803 (Jonsson 1967:400), earning his fil. kand. in 1807, and eventually a master's degree in botany. In 1811, he was ordained. He relates in his memoires that during his botany field work in Västergötland, he collected plant specimens by day, and by night, he collected folksongs. He would stay with local farmers and exchange songs with his hosts (Afzelius 1901, 81-2). He would copy the song texts down, and using a piccolo would also record the melodies (ibid., 82). In 1809, he took a position as a teacher at *Frimurarbarnhuset* [Free Mason Children's House] in Stockholm. Here he came into contact with Karl F. Geijer, Erik Gustaf Geijer's brother. Both men joined the *Götiska förbundet*: Afzelius was elected into the society in 1811 (Afzelius 1901, 10; Jonsson 1967, 404). He sang folksongs more openly at society meetings, and is probably best known for his composition in folk-style "*Näckens polska*". The folksongs excited him and he wished to make them publically known (Jonsson 1967:403). Having heard of Rääf's collection, he initially contacted Rääf in a vain attempt to collaborate. When this fell through, he turned to Erik Gustaf Geijer. The two intellectuals decided to work together in 1813 (Jonsson 1967, 459). Afzelius wrote that Geijer's name "*säkert ger arbetet mera kredit än ... Rääfs*" [certainly gives the work more credit than … Rääf's] (qtd in Jonsson 1967, 459). The editorial work began in earnest in the autumn of 1813.

While editorial scholarship is an empirical science, like all sciences, it is not objective, by which I mean that knowledge systems are biased by their time, place, and cultural context. Its

[9] A.A. Afzelius's memoires (*Minnen*) is a problematic source for information; it was intended primarily for his children and grandchildren, deals with events that happened in his early years and was written down by his daughter some 50 years later. I find myself often thinking that he inflates his own part on the Swedish stage and at other times that he is skipping over things. Nonetheless, there is likely some truth to his memories.

practitioners aim not only to organize texts, but to also give form in order to historical texts to influence the future. In "Inventing Literary Heritage," Paula Henrikson states it eloquently:

> Editorial scholarship can in general terms be characterised as a societal method for organising and promoting the written memories of a culture -- that is, memories not as a device for a merely passive recognised, accumulated, and documented past, but memories as an active and continuous recalled idea of the past, or even a performance of the past, enacted to change the course of the future. (2010, 103)

Svenska folkvisor från forntiden organized songs taken "from the mouths of the Swedish people" (1814, x) as memories of the past, which recall the glory of Swedish power. In the historical context of the 1810s, this becomes important for shaping a Swedish identity. As a whole, the work organizes texts about the past and performs the past for the future, but with individual texts – such as Greta Naterberg's "Linden" – the editors chose to portray the past as distant, fragmented and unreachable although capable of being reconstructed by scholars. The purpose of such reconstruction was to influence the future. The editors made decisions about the completeness or incompleteness of song, considering works fragmentary as a way to represent the past as distant but recoverable. As with all editorial scholarship, their work narrates a moral point as much as any history or literary work does, but it does so in a way that makes the editors invisible and outside the text.

Entwined with the editorial scholarship are what Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs (1999) call metadiscursive practices, through which a text is transformed from a particular set of contexts to new contexts, from one type of text to another, from peasant milieu to ethnographic event to middle class and nationalistic representation. Briggs and Bauman discuss the metadiscursive practices used by scholars in anthropology and folklore to create and maintain their authority through processes that remove and transform texts. They point to two processes of entextualization versus detextualization and decontextualization versus recontextualization. The terms refer to the ways in which scholars hide and erase discourses and contexts as they create new ones. These dialogues can be viewed as a type of marketing in political and intellectual economies. In such

practices, scholars covertly become the enunciating subjects by speaking for the folk. They thus imbue their discourse with authority. Below I apply their framework to the situation of early nineteenth-century Sweden, focusing particularly on how scholars rendered ballads with political, social and aesthetic ideas.

Afzelius's memories and Bengt Jonsson's discussion of Afzelius's attitudes towards ballads show that he was entranced with the material. He heard through friends that another member of *Götiska förbundet*, Rääf, had collected a great number of songs and was considering publishing them. Rääf's collection likely inspired Afzelius to collect folksongs programmatically (Jonsson 1967, 404). In February 1812, he wrote to Rääf, conveying both his enthusiasm and his ideas about the place of folksong in Sweden. He writes: "*Men hvarför kom ej, åtminstone ett häfte, att medvärka till den stora märkvärda revolutionen i vår Litteratur? Förlåt denna fråga af en okänd enthusiast i detta ämne; men tiden, den behagligatiden är ju inne* ..." [But why does nothing come of it [Rääf's folksong collection], not even an installment, to contribute to the remarkable revolution in our Literature? Forgive this question of an unknown enthusiast in the subject, but the time, the best time has come ...] (UUB Rääf 4: 123, 12.2.1812).[10] Afzelius then tells Rääf of his childhood delight in hearing songs from his grandfather's servants and lists several songs he has collected on a recent trip to his home district. About twelve days later, he wrote Rääf again, stating that "*Jag är utan mig af glädje, att något kunna bidraga till påskyndanet af Kongl. Secrets arbete i denna väg – Blott när detta äkta inhämska och vår ädla Nord så Karakteriserande verk blir fulländadt är det möjligt för oss, att få en Historia Litteraria* –" [I am beside myself with joy, that something could be conducive to the expediting of the Royal Secretary's work in this way - Only when this authentically native work which characterizes our noble North is completed is

[10] " Men hvarför kom ej, åtminstone ett häfte, att medvärka till den stora märkvärda revolutionen i vår Litteratur? Förlåt denna fråga af en okänd enthusiast i detta ämne; men tiden, den behagligatiden är ju inne ... " (UUB Rääf 4: 123, 12.2.1812). See also Jonsson 1967, 404-5.

it possible for us to have a History of Literature](UUB Rääf 4: 124, 24.2.1812).[11] As noted before, Rääf refused to work with Afzelius, partially because he felt that Afzelius's previous work *Svenska folkdansar* [Swedish folk dances] was poorly edited. He also disliked Afzelius's attempts to compose in folksong style. It was also partially because some of Rääf's close friends did not like Afzelius. In the end, due to the skillful mediation by Jakob Adlerbeth and Christian Molbech the two men finally met in 1817 and began to work together (Jonsson 1967, 499).

In reading Afzelius' letters to Rääf, Geijer and others, it becomes abundantly clear that these romantic intellectuals viewed ballads as historical parts of Swedish literature. Even if they collected the songs in the present from contemporary lower class people, the songs were ancient. In the earlier letter cited above Afzelius speaks of the reputation of Rääf's "*vackra samling, af forntidens Sånger*" [beautiful collection of antiquities' songs][12] (Rääf 4:123, 12 2.1812). For Afzelius, the songs spoke of ancient times – which corresponded well to the programmatic goals of the *Götiska förbundet*. For Afzelius and for Geijer, the folksongs were primarily historical proof of a long continuation of native literature in Sweden, a literature untouched by the Frenchifying influences of the Royal court of Gustav III (reigned 1771-1792).[13]

Afzelius's enthusiasm for the "Romantic revolution in literature" and for folksong in general combined with his impatience at the fact that Rääf had not published, leading him to publish a collection of folksongs of his own. By the summer of 1813, Afzelius and Geijer were planning such a publication (Jonsson 1967, 459-60). Afzelius had great enthusiasm but his abilities as an editor did not match up to the task at hand, according to contemporaries such as Rääf and later scholars such as Bengt Jonsson. He was criticized for his lack of accuracy and his willingness to rework several

[11] "Jag är utan mig af glädje, att något kunna bidraga till påskyndanet af Kongl. Secrets arbete i denna väg – Blott när detta äkta inhämska och vår ädla Nord så Karakteriserande verk blir fulländadt är det möjligt för oss, att få en Historia Litteraria –" (UUB Rääf 4: 124, 24.2.1812) See also Jonsson 1967, 405-6.
[12] " vackra samling, af forntidens Sånger" (UUB Rääf 4: 123, 12.2.1812).
[13] For a more thorough analysis of Geijer's position, see Molin 1906, 232ff.

songs into a single multiform, something that became less acceptable among later editors. Bengt Jonsson excuses Afzelius's work by suggesting that it was never meant as a scientific record (Jonsson 1967, 818). Most editors of folk song editions at the time did much the same thing. This fact, and the fact that resulting the anthology was reviewed in a serious journal, means that Afzelius's work can be seen as scholarly for its time. Afzelius set into motion work that others did not take up until decades later. In other words, Afzelius made a lasting impact on Swedish folksong study. The critical stance toward Afzelius manifested in Adolf Ivar Arwidsson's edition could only have occurred because Geijer and Afzelius had published something worthy of criticism. Their work diverges from later works such as Arwidsson's *Svenska fornsånger* (1834-1842) in its intention to contribute to nationalistic and literary movements. It can also be noted that although Afzelius was not as critical an editor as he might have been, he was far more aware of human beings singing than were other editors like Arwidsson. Afzelius mentioned singers by name in his afterword; Arwidsson erases singers entirely.

Published in three volumes between 1814 and 1818,[14] *Svenska folkvisor* contained 100 numbered song "types" and eight additional unnumbered songs in Swedish. The volumes also include Geijer's introductory essay, a second essay by Geijer on refrains, and Afzelius's afterword. The editors also included one song in Faroese, and six translations into Swedish. Five of these translations were from English and Scottish ballads; the last was a translation of the Faroese song. For the 100 numbered song types, there were 144 multiforms (or variants). The editors provided multiple variants for some songs. The editors used the term *variant(er)* [variant(s)] to refer to songs that had the same basic story but varied in some way.

[14] The title pages give 1814, 1816, and 1816 respectively, but the afterword in volume three is dated to 8 November 1817. Jonsson argues that the correct dates are 1814-1818 based on the essay dates and the time for a publication to come out (1967, 467).

Number of songs	Number of "types"	Variants
67	67	1 (single variant)
48	24	2
21	7	3
8	2	4

Table 3. Song Types to Variants

While the total number of variants is 144 for the numbered songs according to the editors, I find the number of variants behind the songs to be 148. Bengt Jonsson's work shows that many of the songs which are presented as coming from a single source were compiled by the editors (most likely Afzelius). Some 76% of the songs were collected from oral tradition in the 1810s. Via paratextual commentary, the editors suggested an additional three percent of the songs came from oral tradition, though mainly from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Some 13% of the songs came from print or broadsheets; 8% from manuscripts or handwritten songbooks. Thus, approximately 79% of the songs (multiforms) came from oral sources and 21% from chirographic sources. In their paratextual commentary, the editors suggest that most of the songs came from oral tradition, using phrases like "*Sjunges i nästa alla landsorter*" [Sung in nearly every province] (GAI, 11) or "*upptecknade efter Traditioner i* …" [recorded from traditions in …] (GAIII, 3). The editors also mention that some songs were sent to them, including their melodies, which also suggested recent oral tradition.

The front cover illustration of the first volume (1814) showed an old, bard-like man playing a harp against a nature background. The character resembled Ossian rather than the women from whom most songs were collected.[15] The editors tacitly assert male creativity by suggesting sources in male bards or skalds; if women sang ballads, it was not they who composed them.

[15] Peter Graves points to the figure's resemblance to Ossian in "Ossian in Sweden and Swedish-speaking Finland" in Howard Gaskill's *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (2004), 205.

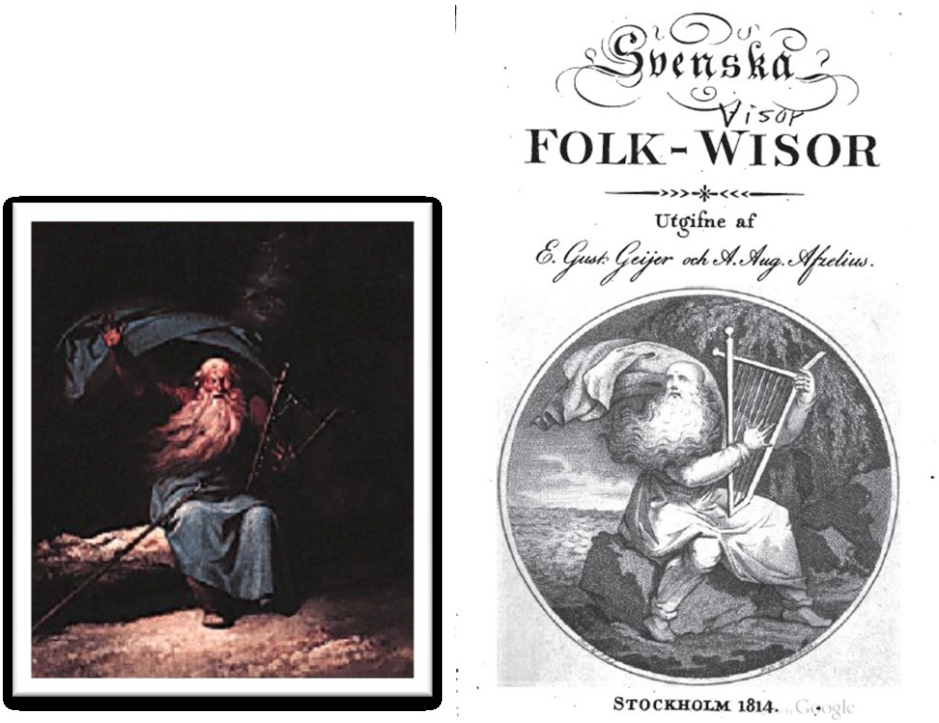

Figure 3. N. A. Abilgaard's *Ossian Singing* (1787) and the title page from volume one of *Svenska folk-visor* (1814)

However, of those multiforms from early nineteenth-century oral tradition, 41% to 42% were collected from female informants. One multiform may have been collected from a male, or possibly from his wife; the singer of the song cannot be determined based either on the collector's information or on the song itself.[16] Fully 58% of the songs from oral sources give no indication of the informant's sex. Many of the informants were landless, though there were several sources that were from middle class or aristocratic background.[17] The editors never mentioned these facts and give every indication that the songs always came directly from the folk. Based on the data compiled by Bengt Jonsson (1967) and in *Sveriges medeltida ballader* (1983-2001), all of Afzelius and Geijer's collectors and correspondents were men.

[16] Cf. SMB 219A & GA 90. Livgrenadiären Åström or his wife or possibly both.
[17] Including, for example one (GA26) collected from Afzelius' cousin Anna Sophia Afzelius, who was married to a relative, the botanist, Adam Afzelius.

Of the songs now considered ballads,[18] Afzelius and Geijer included mainly *riddarvisor* [chivalric ballads] (63 multiforms); *naturmystiska visor* [supernatural ballads] (37 multiforms).

TSB Grouping	Number of Variants	Percentage of GA (n= 144)
A. Supernatural ballads	37	26%
B. Legendary ballads	13	9%
C. Historic ballads	3	2%
D. Chivalric ballads	63	44%
E. Heroic ballads	4	3%
F. Jocular ballads	1	0.7%
Unclassified by TSB	23	16%

Table 4. Ballad groupings in *Svenska folkvisor* according to *Types of Scandinavian Medieval Ballads* (1978).

When printing the songs, Afzelius did not include stanza numbers; he separated stanzas with a blank line. He often abbreviates refrains after about the third stanza and omits them after the fifth stanza until the last stanza. Each song includes a short introductory note, providing provenance, generally only province and if it came from oral tradition. Sometimes the note was longer and contained historical information and connections to wider folk beliefs. Of the songs that can be traced definitely, 59% came from Östergötland and Västergötland, two important parts of Götaland. Another 22% come from Uppland – an important Svealand province. Occasionally Afzelius includes the collector's name but he never provides the singer's name, the date collected, or more exact information concerning the location of performance. However, occasionally, he writes things in paratextual commentary such as "*Sångerskan förtäljer då först en underbar Saga* ..." [The singer tells first a wonderful tale …] (GAI, 1) or "Vallare*, förklarades af Sångerskan betyda röfvare*" [*Vallare*, explained by the singer, means robber] (GAIII, 197; footnote; emphasis in orig).[19] Afzelius introduced variants to the main song types as "*märkeliga*" [remarkable] or as originating from "*en annan tradition*" [another tradition]. Afzelius appears to suggest historical development of song by placing what he deemed more "complete" variants first and then more "fragmentary" variants after.

[18] Not all the songs in *Svenska folkvisor* are classified as ballads by Jonsson (1967) and SMB.
[19] In fact, the singer's explanation here originated with Greta Naterberg for "Per Tyrssons döttrar i Wänge".

Afzelius mentions collectors and contributors by name in his afterword. He also mentions the names of two singers: Maja Hansdotter and Greta Naterberg from Slaka, writing: "The brothers Wallman … recorded from two singers renowned in their whole district: *Maria Hansdotter*, and soldier's wife *Natterberg* i Slaka" (GAIII 1818, 253; emphasis in original).[20] While it was not entirely uncommon in the eighteenth century to mention a singer's name, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the editors' decision to do so seems intended to suggest authenticity. John Ellis discusses how the brothers Grimm used a specific name in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* to suggest that their fairy tales originated among "the folk" (1983, 31-36). Afzelius created an air of authenticity for the collection by including specific names as well. The names themselves conjured images of the folk, uneducated and untainted by modernity, retaining songs from the most ancient of times. The two women thus named represented singers of ballads. However, Afzelius's decision to name the women also suggests that he knew that songs came from people; it was the last time that a singer's name would be mentioned in a serious scholarly edition in Sweden until 1903.

In this section, I want to turn to a song "Linden" collected from Greta Naterberg and published in *Svenska folkvisor* as a variant, labeled by Afzelius as a "fragment." As Coccharia mentions, romantics looked to distance in time rather than in geography. They were fascinated by ruins, fragments of the past, which served as metonyms of imagined historical purity and greatness. While ruins and their literary equivalents provided tangible evidence of the past, they also revealed the distance of the past from the modern era. While romantics such as Geijer and Afzelius looked longingly back to an epic past, they also sharply separated that past from the present. By marking the song as an anonymous fragment and by noting its old-timey speech, they legitimized the romantic

[20] "Bröderna *Wallman* … upptecknade efter tvänne I hela bygden ryktbara Sångerskor: *Maria Hansdotter*, och Soldatshustrun *Natterberg* i Slaka Socken ..." (GAIII, 253; emphasis in original).

discourse that spoke for the folk. And in doing so, they implicitly suppressed Greta's voice, setting themselves up as the voices enunciating and interpreting tradition in a modern world.

Rääf collected "Linden" from Greta Naterberg most likely in the autumn of 1813 when he met Greta at the Wallman vicarage in Landeryd. The song as recorded in Rääf's manuscript runs:

"Linden"

1. Jag var mig så liten jag miste min moder Min fader han gaf mig i styf-moders våld - I år så blir det en Sommar	1. I was so little when I lost my mother My father gave me into my stepmother's power - This year there will be a summer
2. Och jag hade bröder båd stora och små Och somma skapad' hon i biörna och ulvarne grå	2. and I had brothers both big and small and the same she changed to bears and wolves grey
3. Och mig skape hon till en lind på en slätt ---[21]	3. and me she turned into a linden on a plain ---
4. Der kom två Jungfrur gångandes Å ständer Guds fred kära Lind så grön	4. There came two maidens traveling Stand in God's peace dear Linden so green
5. När du sitter inne och huser ditt ben Så ständer jag ute frusen å gren	5. When you sit inside and warm your legs Then I stand outside with frozen branch
6. När du sitter inne och spoer din fot Så ständer jag ute frusen om fot.	6. When you sit inside and rub your feet Then I stand outside with frozen feet
7. När det kommer bedlere som bedle om dig Så komme timmerman och skåda på m*i*g	7. When the suitor comes to court you Then comes the carpenter and gazes on me
8. Så hugg*er* de mig till en kyrkepall Der faller så mången Syndare fram	8. So they carve me into an altar rail where so many Sinners will kneel.
9. Der kom en konungs Sån där gångandes Och ständer Guds fred kära lind så grön	9. There came a king's son traveling Stand in God's peace dear Linden so green
10. Så tog han Då å hennes fägraste blad Så rann det op en Jungfru så klar - I år så blir det en Sommar[22]	10. When he took then of her fairest leaf then sprang up then a maiden so beautiful - This year there will be a summer

Afzelius published a reworked version of this ballad in the third volume of *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden*[23] as a variant to song number 87, a Västergötland variant of "Linden" (GAIII, 115-8: GA87[I]). The editor lists Greta's version as a fragment, "submitted for its melody and old-timey

[21] These lines indicate a lacuna in the text. In the Rääf's manuscript (Vs 2: 1, 315), the "missing" line is indicated by a blank space. It is impossible to know whether the line was forgot by Greta or mistakenly not written down by Rääf.
[22] SMB 12D & Vs 2: 1, 315-6.
[23] Swedish ballads from antiquity

speech[24]" and omits the singer's name (GAIII, 118). In his editing, he altered the meter, spelling and punctuation of Rääf's manuscript recording; in particular he altered the final words in the lines so that the rhyme pattern was more consistent (cf. SMB 12D).

Greta Naterberg's song, listed in the table of contents as a variant, is not connected in any way to her name. Its only indication of origin is a notation that it comes from Östergötland (GAIII, 118). As Afzelius and Geijer entextualized Greta's "Linden" as ballad fragment, the editors erased her class and gender. By calling her song a fragment, they bound it to the extended Västergötland version, a decision which reflected their desire for Nordic spiritual greatness, contentment and (imagined) stability, in contrast to the ever changing modern world. They recontextualized the song to make it available in other discursive environments: not in the small rural community of Greta's life but in middle-class studies and drawing rooms. The very title of the collection: *Svenska Folkvisor från forntiden* asserts the ancient roots of Sweden and the interconnectedness of the Swedish people. Geijer suggests in his introduction that the reading public (not the peasants) might recognize the songs from their childhood, thus joining together middle-class readers with the peasants in a singular national identity (GAI, i).

The intended audience for the anthology was a reading public: ascending middle class intellectuals and those who were wealthy enough to purchase books, possessed places to read them in and leisure time for doing so. While according to Bengt Jonsson *Svenska folkvisor* was not intended as an academic work, it is worth considering what the difference was between a popular and a scientific edition at that time. The work linked a reading and presumably elite audience with a supposedly illiterate folk. It shaped the public perception of Sweden by collecting and connecting together folksongs from different areas. By merging an extended Västergötland version with Greta's Östergötland version, as different as they are, the editors suggest a single origin and by extension, a

[24] "meddelas för sin melodi och sitt åldriga språk" (GA 118)

unified Swedish identity. The editors invite, perhaps even impel the audience to view folksongs as proof of this Swedish identity.

Admittedly the two songs which Afzelius and Geijer merge share some very similar scenes and phrasing. But Greta's version tells the story in different emotional terms: the "emotional core"[25] of the song lies in the lind-maiden's situation whereas in the Västergötland version, it is narrative of the rescue which occupies the main attention of the song. In positing Greta's "Linden" as a fragment, the editors fail to see it as a dramatization of the realities of landless rural people. Perhaps editors willfully ignore the interpretative possibilities. In the process of publishing the song, since Greta's version lacked the narrative framing which enclosed the lind-maiden's voice in the Västergötland version and also lacked ballad commonplaces, Afzelius and Geijer could only see it as an incomplete version of the story. Below, I set Rääf's manuscript recording alongside Afzelius' published multiform to show the ways that the editors altered the song to heighten the sense of the song as a fragment.

Linden. Vs 2.1, 315-6.

1. Jag var mig så liten jag miste min moder
   Min fader han gaf mig i styf-moders våld
   - I år så blir det en Sommar

2. Och jag hade bröder båd stora och små
   Och somma skapad' hon i biörna och ~~vargar~~[26] ulvarne grå
   I å. s. b. d..

3. Och mig skape hon till en lind~~en s?~~ på en slätt
   [*no line recorded; blank in ms*]

4. Der kom två Jungfrur gångandes
   Å ständer ~~du~~ Guds fred kära lind så grön
   I å. s. b. d..

5. När du sitter inne och huser ditt ben
   Så ständer jag ute frusen å gren
   I å. s. b. d..

Linden. GA87[:II]

1. ”Jag var mig så liten, jag miste min Mor,
   ”Min Fader han gaf mig i Styfmoders våld.
   I år så blir det en sommar.

2. ”Och jag hade Bröder båd’ stora och små;
   ”Som’a skapte hon till björnar i skogen att gå.
   I år så blir det en sommar.

3. ”Och som’a skapte hon till ulfvar grå;
   ”Mig skapte hon till en Lind på en slätt till att stå.
   I år så blir det en sommar.

4. Der kommo två Jungfruer gångande:
   Här ständer du, Guds fred, kära Lind så grön!”
   I år så blir det en sommar.

5. -- -- -- -- --
   -- -- -- --

[25] Cf. Coffin 1961 & 1963.

[26] I have chosen to include crossed out words and alternatives that the manuscript has. Partially to demonstrate that even the manuscript multiform is not definite.

6. När [*over*: du] sitter inne och spoer din fot
Så ständer jag ute frusen om fot.
I å. s. b. d..

7. När det kommer bedlere som bedle om dig
Så komme timmerman och skåda på m*i*g
I å. s. b. d..

8. Så hugge*r* de mig till en kyrkepall
Der faller så mången Syndare fram
I å. s. b. d..

9. Der kom en konungs Sån där gångandes
Och ständer [~~*illeg*~~] Guds fred kära lind så grön
I å. s. b. d. e. S.

10. Så tog han [~~åt~~?] Då å hennes fägraste blad
Så rann det op en Jungfru så klar
- I å. s. b. d. e. __[27]

6. ”När du sitter inne och husar ditt ben;
”Så ständer jag ute frusen å gren.
I år så blir det en sommar.

7. ”När du sitter inne och spoar din fot;
”Så ständer jag ute, frusen om rot.
I år så blifver det en sommar.

8. ”När det kommer bedlare, som bedla om dig;
”Så kommer timmermannen och skådar på mig.”
I år så blir det en sommar.

9. -- -- -- -- --
-- -- -- --

10. Det kom en Kungason der gångande;
Här ståndar du, Guds fred, kära Lind så grön!
I år så blir det en sommar.

11. Så tog han på hennes fagraste blad,
Så rann det der upp en Jungfru så klar.
I år så få vi en sommar.

Rääf's manuscript recording is translated above. English translation of Afzelius's published version follows:

1. “I was so little when I lost my mother,
“My father gave me into my stepmother's power.
This year there will be a summer.

2. “and I had brothers both big and small;
“Some she changed to bears in the forest to go.
This year there will be a summer.

3. “And some she changed to wolves grey;
“and me she turned into a linden on a plain to stand.
This year there will be a summer.

4. There came two maidens traveling:
Here you stand, in God's peace, dear Linden so green!”
This year there will be a summer.

5. -- -- -- -- --
-- -- -- -- --

6. When you sit inside and warm your legs;
Then I stand outside with frozen branch.
This year there will be a summer.

7. “When you sit inside and rub your foot;

[27] This is how the song text is printed in Vs 2:1, pages 315-316. In the ms, the refrain is only written out with the first verse, in the remaining verses it is written out as: “I. å. s. b. d. e. S.”, though the last letter is occasionally skipped. In *Svenska folk-visor* the refrain is printed with each verse. The verses are not numbered in the manuscript, nor in *Svenska folk-visor*. I have included them for ease of reading. Cf. SMB 12D.

"Then I stand outside with frozen root.
This year there will be a summer.

8. "When the suitor comes to court you;
"Then comes the carpenter and gazes on me."
This year there will be a summer.

9. -- -- -- -- --
-- -- -- -- --

10. There came a king's son traveling;
Here you stand, in God's peace, dear Linden so green!
This year there will be a summer.

11. When he took then of her fairest leaf,
then sprang up then a maiden so beautiful.
This year we get a summer.

Beyond calling Greta's "Linden" a fragment, Afzelius and Geijer's editing emphasized the fragmentary nature of the song. Inexplicably, they mark stanzas five and nine in *Svenska folkvisor* as missing, perhaps to stress that the text was fragmentary. These lacunae suggest that they felt there were gaps in the narrative which were missing in the recorded narrative. Note also the metrical changes: in Stanza 2, the editors adjust the lines for better metrical fit and shift the transformation of some brothers into wolves into the next stanza, allowing them to remedy the apparent gap in the collector's text. They standardize as much as possible Rääf's spelling. In addition, they change the refrain: instead of remaining the same with each stanza as in Rääf's manuscript, it became "*I år så få vi en sommar*" [this year we get a summer] in the last stanza from the first stanza's "*I år så blir det en sommar*" [this year there will be a summer]. These changes, especially interpolation of gaps as "missing" stanzas suggests to the reader that the singer merely repeated a corrupted version of a once larger and better unified original.

But in recontextualizing the song as a fragment, the editors also made it comprehensible to a wider audience. They make it meaningful as a narrative to the reading audience because of the song's connection to the genre and the song type. Swedish romantics looked to a national past for inspiration, to unite the nation. However, the past was only imperfectly obtainable, disappearing

linearly behind them. "Linden" as a fragment confirmed this notion, signifying an idea of linear history and thus of historical development and evolution (cf. Henrikson 2010, 113). By entextualizing Greta's song as a fragment within a narrative genre, the editors inadvertently dissolve the song's emotional core. Geijer and Afzelius seem to have little interest in how the song related to cultural patterns of Greta's home community. Their interest lay in showing how the song united with larger Swedish cultural patterns, or to paraphrase Geijer: how the Swedish "... *folket söng som en man*" [sang with one voice] (GAI, x).

By setting up Greta's "Linden" as part of a larger discourse on Swedish unity, Afzelius entextualized the song as proof of a national literary tradition rather than a local and personal artistic expression. Bauman and Briggs argue that an entextualization is also an act of detextualization, decontextualization and recontextualization. The intellectuals behind the songs in *Svenska folk-visor* detextualized and decontextualized "Linden," by not relating the ethnographic event it was collected in, presenting the song as belonging to the ballad genre, removing the singer's life from the context of the song, and setting the song in terms of a glorious Swedish common past. Moreover, the collectors of ballads sought specific types of songs. Singers that they approached likely quickly became aware of this preference and tailored their repertoire selections to these interests. The singers, such as Greta Naterberg, selected songs to sing based on collectors' desires. In this way, the singers were as involved in the metadiscursive practices and editing as were the intellectuals who collected and eventually edited their songs[28].

To examine the reasons that Geijer and Afzelius entextualized Greta's "Linden" as a fragment, I discuss her version in light of the longer Västergötland version, which follows:

[28] For a more recent example of the ways that singers can adapt what collectors seek, see Märta Ramsten's chapter "Jag vet då dejlig en ros" in Ling, et al. *Folkmusikboken* on Svea Jansson.

GA87[:I] "Linden"

1. Och Jungfru hon gånger i rosenlund,
   Der fick hon se ståndende så fager en Lind.
   - Den allri'n'gen sorg fördrifva kunde.

2. Här ståndar du Lind så fager som du är,
   Med förgyllande blader, som du också bär.

3. "Det är väl inte åt att du så roser mig,
   "För lyckan är bättre för dig än för mig.

4. "I morgon komma friare, som friare till dig;
   "Och då komma timmermän, som skåda uppå mig.

5. "Så hugga de mig till en Altarespång,
   "Der mången grofver syndare skall hafva sin gång.

6. "Så hugga de mig till ett Altareträ,
   "Der mången grofver syndare skall falla på knä."

7. Och kära du Lind, emedan du kan tala:
   Är ingen i verlden till som dig kan hugsvala?

8. "Och ingen är i verlden som mig kan hugsvala;
   "Förutan Kung Magnus, den jag aldrig med får tala."

9. Och Jungfrun hon satte sig neder att skrifva:
   "Ack! hade jag någon, som det brefvet kunde föra!"

10. Strax kom det der fram en falk så grå:
    "Jag för väl det bref till Kung Magnus's gård."

11. Och Falken tog brefvet allt sina klor,
    Så lätt flyger han dit Kung Magnus han bor.

12. Kung Magnus tog brefvet ur Falkens klor,
    Så hastelig läste han hvart endaste ord.

13. Kung Magnus han talte till tjenarena så:
    "J sadlen mig strax upp gångaren grå.

14. "J sadlen mig strax upp rinnaren röd,
    "För jag skall rid' och frälsa min stackars fästmö."

15. Kung Magnus han satte sig på rinnaren röd,
    So red han litet fortare än falken han flög.

(English translation)

1. And Maiden she walks in the rose grove,
   Where she saw standing a Linden so fair
   It could never drive away sorrow

2. Here you stand Linden so fair as you are,
   With gilded leaves that you also bear

3. "It is not well that you praise me so,
   "For luck is better for you and for me.

4. Tomorrow come suitors, who propose to you;
   And then comes the carpenters, who looks at me.

5. And they hew me into an altar board
   Where many grievous sinners shall have their time.

6. And they shape me into an altar carving.
   Where many grievous sinner shall fall to their knees."

7. And dear Linden, since you can speak:
   Is there none in the world who can console you?

8. And there is none in the world who can console me
   Save King Magnus, who I may never speak with.

9. The Maiden she sat down to write
   "Oh! If I had someone, who could carry this letter!"

10. At once, there came a falcon so gray:
    "I'll surely carry this letter to King Magnus' estate."

11. And the falcon took the letter in his claws,
    So easily he flies to where King Magnus dwells.

12. King Magnus took the letter from the falcon's claws
    And quickly he read each and every word.

13. King Magnus he spoke to his servants so:
    "Saddle up at once my gray steed.

14. "Saddle up at once my red steed
    "For I shall ride and save my poor fiancé."

15. King Magnus he mounted his red steed,
    Then he rode a bit faster than the falcon flew.

16. Kung Magnus föll ned allt uppå sina knä'.
Så kysste han den Jungfrun, i Lindeträd.

17. Kung Magnus föll ned för Jungfruns fot,
Så kysste han henne på Linderot.

18. Kung Magnus tog Linden allt uti sin famn;
Så fager en Jungfru af henne upprann.

19. Kung Magnus lyfte Jungfrun på gångare grå;
Så red han med henne allt uppå sin gård.

20. Kung Magnus han satte den Jungfrun på sitt knä,
Och gaf'na gullkronan och fästningen med.
Den allri'n'gen sorg fördrifva kunde.

(GA 87[:I])[29]

16. King Magnus fell down upon his knees.
Then he kissed the Maiden in the Linden tree.

17. King Magnus knelt down before the Maiden's foot,
Then he kissed her on the Linden root.

18. King Magnus took the Linden into his arms;
Then so fair a Maiden from her arose.

19. King Magnus lifted the Maiden on to his gray steed;
Then he rode with her all the way to his estate.

20. King Magnus he sat the Maiden on his knee,
And gave her the gold crown and castle as well.
It could never drive away sorrow.

Following David Buchan's analysis of basic story-telling patterns in ballads, in this multiform of "Linden," the story can be divided into the three parts, designated in Buchan's terminology the **situation described and complication**, the **development of the situation** and the **situation's resolution** (Buchan 1972:83). This pattern differs from Greta's "Linden"; Buchan's scheme does not work well for her multiform of the ballad. But as a starting point for a comparative analysis it is helpful. The Västergötland version of "Linden" quoted above is reproduced from Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska folk-visor från forntiden* which, like Greta's version, was also heavily edited for publication.

In the Västergötland version, a girl comes to the linden and hears its predicament. She finds that only King Magnus can save the Linden tree before it will be chopped down to be used to construct church altar pieces (Buchan's situation + complication). The girl then writes a letter and seeks a messenger. A falcon offers to deliver the letter, which he does. King Magnus receives the

[29] This song too was likely changed to fit Romantic notions, although the version found in SMB is nearly the same, because the lack of collection information, I suggest that this version was normalized even in the manuscript version. The text is based on version probably from Västergötland (SMB 12 B), while the melody is based on a version from Uppland, sung by a soldier's widow (SMB 12 C). A poetic English translation can be found in Edward Vaughan Kenealy's *Poems and Translations*. (1864) as King Magnus (384-6). It is a bit flowery; I have chosen to translate it far more "literarily" here. The book is accessible online through archive.org.

letter and prepares to ride forth (Buchan's development). Then through a series of formulaic actions, he comes quickly to rescue the linden, takes her home and marries her (Buchan's resolution). The story has three main protagonists, the transformed lind-maiden (S), the letter-writing maiden (S^2) and King Magnus (H), with the king's action most heavily weighted (by "weighted," I mean the number of lines devoted to a character's dialogue, actions or presence). The transformed maiden's situation opens the ballad while the king's actions resolve it. The twenty-one action lines nearly evenly match the nineteen dialogue lines. The text makes frequent use of ballad formula and commonplaces, such as "*Kung Magnus han satte sig på rinnaren röd / Så red han litet fortare än falken han flog*" [King Magnus, he mounted on his red steed / then he rode a bit faster than the falcon flew] (GA 87[:I], st. 15). Axel Olrik remarks that narratives' ends display mounting significance of plot detail and this ballad's narrative is no exception (Holbek 1987, 411)[30]. Here the final eight stanzas describe King Magnus's culminating actions. The final four stanzas concentrate solely on his rescue of the transformed maiden. The king's rescue of and marriage to the lind-maiden are the main points of the ballad. The transformation is important as well, but the lind-maiden lacks agency: others speak for her and act to save her from her fate as church furniture.

As in her multiform of "Per Tyrsson döttrar i Wänge," Greta situates her song's narrative in issues of family cohesion: with the maiden's removal from her family, she becomes frozen. In Greta's version, the weight of the song's text is on the lind-maiden's description of her situation and not on her rescue by the king. The Västergötland version does not situate the lind-maiden's situation within the family; there is no missed mother, no oblivious father, and no scattered brothers, details carefully noted in Greta's version. In Greta's song, the lind-maiden's rescue takes only two stanzas of the ten. While these are the final two stanzas of the song, the relative weight of the rescuer and his actions are greatly outweighed by the Lind-maiden's lament. The hero hardly appears, and when

[30] Holbek calls this the "weighted stern".

he does so he seems almost just to happen to come along. The fifteen dialogue lines outweigh the four action lines and the Lind-maiden's voice dominates these dialogue lines. The male protagonist's role is reduced: he neither speaks nor performs formulaic actions. I suggest that Greta lowered the significance of the male protagonist's role to highlight the Lind-maiden's circumstances.

In the extended Västergötland version, the girl who hears the Lind-maiden's complaint serves as a messenger, clarifying the king's arrival on the scene. In Greta's version, the two maidens do not appear to perform such a function. If the editors were looking for a story with minimal gaps of indeterminacy and maximum narrative signals, then Greta's version appears incomplete and fragmentary. Such a seeming "gap" can be explained through John Miles Foley's concept of immanent art (1991). Foley suggests that the audience for an oral performance can always be expected to already know the song, or songs like it. Thus a singer can expect her audience to fill in narrative gaps based on knowledge of the tradition and the particular signals used by the performer (1991, 6-11; 39-48). The song contains extra-textual signals that the knowledgeable audience could draw upon to interpret its details. Thus, such seeming gaps create no problem for a traditional audience. But when a song is entextualized and recontextualized for a reading audience unfamiliar with the tradition, this new audience will likely lack appropriate interpretative strategies, skills, and extra-textual knowledge, leaving such ellipses as puzzling narrative holes.

As a scholarly genre, intellectuals have constrained ballads with certain expectations. Roger Abrahams and George Foss observe that in ballads, a third person view predominates (1968, 38). By such a proposition, "Linden" does not represent a model ballad. In "Linden," a first person view dominates the song. While there are third person narrative lines, the first person view opens the ballad and then dominates six of the ten stanzas. These "I" stanzas are lament-like: the speaker mournfully describes her dire circumstances. The song opens with "***Jag*** *var mig så liten* ***jag*** *miste* ***min*** *moder*" [**I** was so little when **I** lost **my** mother] (SMB 12D) and continues in the first person. In the

fourth stanza the "dispassionate" third person voice finally appears to inform the audience that the maidens have arrived and are addressing the lind-maiden. From the fifth stanza to the eighth, the lind-maiden's first person voice dominates again. The protagonist, not an outside viewer, speaks and tells her story to a narrative audience and to the song's listening audience. While very similar lines occur in the Västergötland version (GA 87[:I]), they are framed by an omniscient narrator's voice who opens the song. Greta's version changes the song to a more lyrical frame.[31]

Greta situates her song within family structure and community life. The Västergötland version opens *in media res* with the narrative situation: the maiden comes to the linden and speaks to it, drawing out the predicament, a tendency exemplary of ballads as defined by scholars. Family plays no part in the Västergötland version except at the end when a new family is created via marriage. Greta's version does not simply jump into the exciting story. The song explains first why the linden is alone on the plain, giving place to the lind-maiden's voice. She situates her story within her family: she has lost her mother; her father has remarried and has failed to protect his children. The new (evil) step-mother has transformed the children, driving them away. The brothers have been driven away into the marginal wild, outside of community life, where they live as wild and dangerous beasts. The step-mother has transformed the daughter into an immobile and lonely tree on a plain. She is placed outside of community life while she longs to be restored to her former family existence. Interestingly, according to Richard Bergström's paratextual commentary to the 1880 edition of Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska folkvisor*, the Linden tree was considered "*hemmets träd*" [the home's tree], a tree that normally is found in human company. But the phrase "*på slätt*" [on a plain] suggests that the home tree is in this story far from home (GABII, 296).

[31] As Greta told Rääf that she learned this song from her mother, it is possible that the song is a family or local tradition, but that is impossible to know and nonetheless, I would maintain that Greta is the "author" here – she chose to sing the song as she did, even if she did so in deference to her mother's "authority" as a singer.

In the Västergötland version, the lind-maiden's complaint serves to prompt the helpful maiden to seek King Magnus. In Greta's version, the lind-maiden's complaint forms the core of the song. As noted, the complaint does not explicitly lead the maidens to seek out the king's son. While Foley's immanent art suggests that the audience may assume that the maidens get a message to the prince off scene, by skipping any mention of these actions in her song, Greta turns the focus onto the linden's lament of its loneliness and sorrow.

I posit that in her lyrical, lamenting version of this song, Greta personalized and narratized a proverbial experience of young landless people, especially women, leaving home to earn a living at large farms and manors. David Gaunt notes that it was a common experience for young people to leave home and take service at a distant estate or farm in Sweden at this time (1983, 100-101). Greta experienced this herself, as did many of her peers. She expressed the feeling of powerlessness and loneliness that accompanies this experience. She voiced young people's sorrow as they left their familiar family situations. Perhaps she also indirectly criticized the hierarchical class system that made this break-up of families a norm. In this expression of a familiar situation, she moved towards lyric forms. But she did so here through the narrative genre we call ballads. Thus, I submit that "Linden" was not a fragment, half remembered, but a careful artistic rendering by Greta, one which played deftly with ballad interpretative norms. In the cases of Anglo-American folksong traditions, Abrahams and Foss argue that some singers tend to lyricize ballads, latching onto a ballad's emotional core (1968, 20-4). They refer to Tristam Coffin's idea of progression from purely narrative forms to lyrical ones (1950, 12-14). I am reluctant to posit that lyricization occurs as a stage in a progression, but suggest that singers may change songs to highlight an emotional core which speaks to and for them and their audiences. By looking only at Greta's version from the point of view of scholarly narrative interpretative norms, we may only see gaps and believe that the

conclusion holds more significance in interpretation. By turning to lyrical interpretative norms,[32] I suggest we may find a different reading for Greta's "Linden", while recognizing that she operated in and with a ballad tradition. In making "Linden" more lyrical, Greta turned the narrative to a more proverbial setting for her audience, emphasizing what she considered its affective center, which did not occur in the song's conclusion. Instead, she weighted the maiden's lament.

Geijer and Afzelius intended to textualize the one voice with which the whole Swedish folk sang. They did not understand Greta's song as a contextualized song that fit into her local patterns of life in Slaka. They entextualized the song as a fragment because it did not conform to their ideas of the ballad genre; yet it held enough similarities and noteworthy features for them to include it as a variant, particularly as it filled in gaps in the "more complete" Västergötland multiform's beginning. They removed it from the context wherein Greta practiced and recontextualized it for a commercial market of mainly middle class people, who could read the songs and (re)connect with imagined spiritual roots and Swedishness.

Greta Naterberg's multiform of "Linden" was not a fragment, but an artistic whole. The Swedish medieval ballad is something of a literary gate-keeper's construct. The focus on particular types of folksongs, ballads, as a narrative genre and defining them strictly, restricts how we understand the songs' intimate ties to local community life. Intellectuals created and maintained authority over ballads with specific ends in mind. For Geijer and Afzelius, these specific ends were to represent songs sung by peasants as national literature to connect and join together Sweden as a national individual in the aftermath of crises. They also hoped to demonstrate Sweden's national literary worth on the world stage. Given this discourse and the scholars' goals, Greta's "Linden" and

[32] Perhaps even I might suggest as *emic* interpretative norm, however difficult it would be to construct such from historical data.

other ballads were edited to fit scholarly ideas of what constituted *the* ballad and to emphasize Swedishness. Scholarly editing methods in this time were used to represent a Swedish *Volksgeist*.

The aim of Geijer and Afzelius's project differs significantly from that of present folklore studies. For early nineteenth-century scholars from whom literary folklorists would emerge, the project was one of saving national literary treasures, bringing to light lost treasures. Fundamentally, scholars believed that ballads were poetry once shared by all classes; but these classes were more or less equal in ancient times. In collecting, editing, and publishing ballads, they restored an imagined national unity. Not only did they save these national treasures, but they recontextualized the ballads for new audiences. Their project sought to illustrate the *Volkgeist* [Swedish: *folksjäl*] and to re-present it for a reading audience. In some ways, this is a simplification of Geijer and Afzelius's project. But, I argue it roughly describes their intent. The projects of present-day folklore studies are less interested in such universalist tendencies and focus instead on individuals, audiences, contexts and the local. What Geijer and Afzelius accomplished was beautiful, albeit problematic. They recognized something beautiful in human artistic creativity and sought to glorify it. Greta's artistic power continues to hold, despite editorial emendations: she also re-created beauty and shared it with the intellectuals and via them, with later generations.

Afzelius and Geijer shaped the field of folklore studies that came after. While Rääf's methods of selection, collection, and textualization provided many of the songs for the anthology, Afzelius and Geijer did the work of publishing and editing. Geijer's introductory essay was the interpretative point for any discussion of ballads in the nineteenth century, and Afzelius set the stage for ordering and classifying ballads scientifically. Both contributions long provided a stepping stone into other folklore genres.

As a part of the history of the discipline, it is important for folklorists to be aware of what they are doing and how they are doing it: to be aware of our metadiscursive practices and the effects they have on folklore and the artists. We are still taking authority. I have done so above, as I suggested a reading for Greta's "Linden." But we can attempt to let the artists speak for themselves and not for the people as a whole, for the nation, or tradition. In this sense, I believe my discussion here is important not just for ballad studies or the intellectual history of folklore, but also for folklore studies as it is practiced now, e.g. as folklorists examine new "genres" (social media for example). We need to ask ourselves about the consequences of our metadiscursive practices, our shaping of authority and its effects on the human beings and the art that we study. I do not think we should stop studying folklore: the artists, the "folk" are just as engaged in entextualization, detextualization, recontextualization and decontextualization as folklorists are. And while power is always at issue, the relationships between folklorists and informants need not be necessarily antagonistic. Much fruitful work can unfold in the relationships and exchanges that take place between those who collect, those who study, and those who perform.

In Chapter 3, I will turn to the Adolf Ivar Arwidsson's critical ballad edition, which sought to be more scientific than Geijer and Afzelius' *Svenska folkvisor* by adopting the latest in editorial scholarship. Arwidsson almost entirely erased any trace of singers and relied far more on manuscripts. We will see how Arwidsson also ignored and erased class and gender, specifically of an upper class woman, in order to create the illusion that ballads spring organically from the folk. We will see how ballads deal with gender and sex roles through the lens of Beata Memsen's ballad "Herr Perleman och Jungfrun Gunnilla."

Chapter 3: "For Future Researchers": Erasuring Sex and Class: Arwidsson, Rääf and Beata Mems

In Chapter 2, we saw how Geijer and Afzelius glorified folksongs as the innermost and most authentic expressions of the Swedish people's character; yet they grossly misunderstood the songs and the environments from which they came, seeing them as childlike history rather than as a way for singers to express their own impressions of the world via a traditional form. Thus, as we saw, they sorted their material by imagined completeness, as well as de facto defining and ordering the ballad genre. Nonetheless, Afzelius acknowledged in several places the importance of singers, even pointing out Greta Naterberg by name, even if in doing so he also asserted the authenticity of the folk. We also saw that what intellectuals defined as fragmentary, Greta Naterberg likely meant as a whole, focused on her ideas about family cohesion. In this chapter, we will see that Adolf Ivar Arwidsson diverged from Afzelius's acknowledgement of singers. He divorced recent oral sources from the material almost entirely, in order to suggest the organic growth of song from the Swedish folk. He stripped away gender and class indications to create this illusion except in three telling cases. We will also look at a singer from an upper class socio-economic milieu, Beata Mems, who unlike Greta Naterberg, focused on abstract ideas of morality, moral and immoral male behavior, and the ways her ballad "*Jungfru Gunnela och Riddare Perleman*" constructs sex roles through the lens of rape.

Adolf Ivar (Johan) Arwidsson was a central figure in folksong studies in both his native Finland and in Sweden, collecting both Finnish runes and publishing a Swedish folksong edition. Arwidsson was born in August 1791 in Padasjoki, Finland. He was the son of Adolf Arvid Arwidsson, a priest, and Anna Katarine Molin. During his childhood, he idolized the Swedish king Karl XII. Arwidsson matriculated as a student in Åbo in 1810. The romantic movement captured

him and he became entranced with folksongs as the "original poetry." He became acquainted with Geijer and Afzelius' *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden*. His studies at Åbo focused on medieval times. He took the view that the roots of romanticism were to be found in the Middle Ages. He earned a fil. magister in 1815, and in 1817, became a docent in history at Åbo. That same year, he joined the *Aura* circle, which published an Åbo romantic journal. He later went on to study at Uppsala in November of 1817, where he met many of the *Fosforisterna* - a school of Swedish romantic poets associated particularly with Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom. His long stay in Sweden seems to have awoken the suspicions of the Russian authorities who ordered him to return to Finland in April 1818. Defiantly, Arwidsson did not return to Finland until autumn of that year. Upon his return, he focused his research on Finnish folkpoetry and other nationalist matters. He began collecting Finnish language runes[1] and researching philology. Following the impulse of national-romanticism, he began to write anonymous political pieces which called for celebrating, and in some ways creating, a Finnish nation. Starting in January of 1821, he published a newspaper entitled *Åbo Morgonblad*, in which he called for Finnish to be the official language of Finland. Due to such political writings, the Russian authorities dismissed him from the university in May 1822. He moved to Sweden in autumn 1823, but left a host of ideas that would influence later Finnish poets and nationalists, such as Johan Ludvig Runeberg.

In Sweden, Arwidsson quickly took Swedish citizenship, worked as a government official, and became a staunch Swedish patriot (Andersson 1936, 40). Nonetheless, he continued to research Finnish folksongs and in 1827 visited Finland to collect them. He took a position at Kungliga biblioteket in 1824, and in November of that year he married Johanna Karolina Armfelt. In 1827, Arwidsson was commissioned to write a textbook and school reader. He contacted Leonhard Fredrik Rääf looking for ballads and tales to include. The resulting books were published in 1830-

[1] Finnish folksongs are called runes.

1831 under the title: *Läse- och lärobok för ungdom* [Reader and textbook for youth]. The contact with Rääf proved fruitful, and he took on the task of publishing Rääf's enormous folksong collection. The two men became close friends, with Rääf becoming godfather to Arwidsson's daughter. Most of Rääf's folksong collection is carefully preserved in Kungliga biblioteket because of Arwidsson's work and dedication. In 1834, the same year he published the first volume of *Svenska fornsånger* [Swedish ancient songs][2] he took the position of First Administrative Assistant at Kungliga biblioteket, and in March 1843 he was appointed Librarian there. He visited his homeland one last time and there developed pneumonia. He died in the former Finnish provincial city of Viborg in Russia in 1858. Arwidsson's centrality and impact on Scandinavian folklore studies may be seen in a citation from Jorgen Moe's son, folklorist Moltke Moe "*Hans verk er den første videnskabelige viseudgave i Norden*" [His work is the first scientific ballad edition in the North] (qtd in Ek SBL).

Arwidsson's relationship with Rääf and the seed of *Svenska fornsånger* began in late February 1827, when Rääf received a letter from him (UUB Rääf 4: 294 27.2.1827).[3] Rääf's impressive collection of ballads, folksongs, and other folklore was well known in Stockholm, and Arwidsson's friends there directed him towards Rääf. In his letter, Arwidsson asked for ballads and tales that he could use in the school reader. Arwidsson had been interested in the collection of Finnish folksongs in Finland, seeing them as authentic expressions of Finnish national spirit. In Sweden, he sought to instill into the young students a love for all things Swedish through the use of authentic Swedish expressions, such as ballads and folk tales. Rääf replied to the letter and their collaboration and friendship began[4].

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[2] Full title: *Svenska fornsånger: En samling af kämpavisor, folk-visor, lekar och dansar, samt barn- och vall-sånger* [Swedish ancient songs: A collection of heroic ballads, ballads, singing games and dances, as well as children's and shepherd songs].
[3] See also Andersson 1936, 47.
[4] See Otto Andersson (1936) for the fascinating correspondence between Arwidsson and Rääf concerning education and who should be educated and how. I return to some of Rääf's remarks in the last chapter. Arwidsson originally wished to publish a reader for the lower classes, in order to promote love patriotism and industry. Rääf's view was that education only served to elevate the lower classes to ideas above their station and make them lazy and disobedient. Their friendship was close; Rääf became Arwidsson's daughter's godfather, 1830.

For the New Year of 1828, Rääf traveled to Stockholm from Östergötland, bringing with him his entire collection of folksongs and ballads. Several of the ballads were published in the reader, *Läse- och Lärobok för Ungdom* (1830). But the end result of the meeting between Arwidsson and Rääf led to the publication of Rääf's ballad collection in the three volumes of *Svenska fornsånger* (1834-42), fulfilling Rääf's longstanding desire to publish a scientific edition of ballads.[5] Arwidsson started to work on this new edition in 1830; the editorial work was exceedingly slow. The correspondence between the two men speaks of the frustrations of editorial work but also of their enthusiasm for ballads. However, Arwidsson said nothing explicit about his goals in the correspondence. In his preface to *Svenska fornsånger*, however, Arwidsson states that he did not need to write a long introductory essay, as he could not add to Geijer's earlier essay on folksongs (Arwidsson 1834, v). In his review of the first volume, Geijer wrote that Arwidsson's edition built on and broadened previous works and enriched Sweden's literary-historic studies (Geijer 1835, 1-2). Arwidsson referred to ballads as treasures, as national monuments and relics from the past, as texts for researchers. He assumed the spiritual aspects which Geijer and Afzelius declared as givens. His project was to widen the scope of ballads and folksongs, while focusing on history and science. He sought to be more scientific than his predecessors focusing on texts, a choice which erased the human beings entirely from his edition, except in a few telling cases that concern sex, gender, and class.

Arwidsson's preface states that *Svenska fornsånger* is an addition to Geijer and Afzelius' *Svenska folkvisor*, and his edition included seventy more categorized ballad "species" than Geijer and Afzelius's one hundred. The third volume of *Svenska fornsånger* contained some genres of folksong

[5] I refer the reader to Rääf's remarks and criticism of Afzelius' editorial scholarship in *Svenska folkvisor*, which I touch on in chapter 2.

that Geijer and Afzelius' did not include, such as lyric, singing games, and dance songs.[6] Arwidsson includes 229 song variants to the 170 song types. Based on the information in *Sveriges medeltida ballader* (1983-2001) and Jonsson's *Svensk balladtradition* I (1967), 39 % of the songs come from chirographic sources, such as older manuscripts, songbooks, print and broadsheets. The remaining 61 % of the songs were recorded by collectors from singers, mostly in the nineteenth century. Breaking down the percentages by chirographic versus oral sources from Arwidsson's paratexts gives different numbers: 57 % chirographic, 41 % oral tradition. Arwidsson listed all ballads prior to 1790 as coming from manuscripts (or songbooks); thus, he lists forty-one songs that were recorded from Ingierd Gunnarsdotter (d. 1686) in the 1600s.[7] Of the edition's 98 ballads collected in the nineteenth century, 59 % of their sources were women, 38 % are unknown, and only 1 % are known for certain to have come from men. Because of Arwidsson's heavy reliance on Leonhard Fredrik Rääf and his Östergötska collaborators, 38% of the ballad texts are definitely from Östergötland. Västergötland follows with 31 %, and then Småland with 8 %. Nine remaining provinces represent less than 2 % each, save Stockholm (7 %). Unlike Geijer and Afzelius, Arwidsson included melodies for some ballads in his volumes, set at the end of each under a rubric of "*Melodier*" [Melodies]. There are 79 melodies included in this way. He also includes a glossary of dialect terms that might be difficult for the reader. A final point: the edition was sold through subscription to help offset initial costs; the subscription lists read like a who's who of early Swedish folklore studies and Romanticism.

Arwidsson's editorial scholarship can be divided into two areas: 1) the editorial criteria of taxonomy and ordering of texts and 2) textual editing (orthography, punctuation, etc.) specific to individual song texts. I will examine the latter editorial practices when I turn to Arwidsson's treatment of Beata Mems's ballad "Jungfru Gunnela och Riddar Perleman" [Maiden Gunnela and Sir

[6] I will not be examining *Svenska fornsånger*, vol. 3 at all in this dissertation, though it deserves study of its own; because of the continued bias towards narrative folklore in historic folklore studies, it and the song genres it contains have never been analyzed in depth.
[7] Cf. Jonsson 1967, 272-80.

Perleman]. Arwidsson addresses his taxonomy in the second volume. First, Arwidsson, like his predecessors, differentiated the ballads by "types," though this is not a word he employed. Song types resembled species with each species having varieties or variants. Each song type had a narrative, plot and main characters that remain basically the same or at least function similarly in each variant. Implicit in this systematization was the idea that there was an original or ur-text from which the variants all evolved or developed organically. Arwidsson felt he needed to order these song types in a way that made logical as well as aesthetic sense. He writes that he has "*för att underlätta öfversigten af vår folklitteratur, sökt iakttaga en viss inre ordning, grundad på innehållet och ämnenas behandling*" [in order to facilitate the survey of our folk-literature, sought to observe a certain internal order, founded on the content and treatment of the subjects] (1837, iii). He created this imagined internal ordering which he "follow[ed]," modeling it on Geijer and Afzelius's work, though he refined it and was more explicit about his ordering of song types.

On the basis of contents and treatment of subjects, he divided ballads into three main classes, starting with the *kämpavisor* [heroic ballads] (types # 1-12), ordered by apparent age. These texts drew upon mythological or heroic sagas and echo medieval sources. The second class of texts were *romanser* [romances][8] (SF 13-150). These texts reflected medieval and courtly life rather than mythological or heroic stories, though often a strong supernatural element occurs in them. The final class of ballad texts were the *historiska sånger* [historical songs] (SF 151-170), most of which modern ballad scholars now generally refer to as "legendary ballads". Arwidsson further divides *romanser* into ten additional sub-classes which contain material about:

1. Heroic ballad content
2. chivalry
3. medieval times

[8] These comprised of what present-day ballad scholars call "Ballads of Chivalry" and "Supernatural Ballads". While Geijer had used the term in his 1814 essay, in his review of *Svenska fornsånger*, he was critical of the term, preferring the native Swedish term "*Riddarevisa*". Arwidsson acknowledged and validated Geijer's criticism but notes it is too late to change it now (1837, iv).

4. feminine heroism
5. seduction and entrapment of maidens
6. the practice of force, beauty and song
7. about shipwrecks
8. about death and poisonings
9. various other narrative types
10. about magic and supernatural beings (including enchantments, mermaids, water sprites, and mountain trolls). (cf. ibid., iii-iv)

As in the biological sciences, Arwidsson was well aware of the difficulty of separating one species from another. He writes "*Det ligger i sakens natur, öfvergångarna och gränsorna emellan dessa olika qväden ej äro eller kunna vara skarpt afskilda; de hafva ofta så mycken öfverensstämmelse med hvarandra, stundom står början, stundom upplösningen så nära tvenne slag af de öfriga sångerna, att endast ett närmande till ordnad uppställning varit möjligt*" [It lies in the nature of the thing that the crossings and boundaries between these different poems are not or cannot be sharply separated; they have often so much correspondence with one another, sometimes the beginning is, sometimes the resolution is so close to two types of the other songs, that only an approximate ordered arrangement was possible] (Arwidsson 1837, iv)[9]. Though Arwidsson acknowledges this problem of taxonomy, he nonetheless generally follows Afzelius and Geijer's implicit taxonomy and thereby cemented these divisions into how ballads were standardly approached. Arwidsson could not imagine arranging and ordering songs by singer or location; he could only imagine them generically.

Arwidsson cited all the manuscripts that he used and says that all the "transcriptions from oral tradition which laid the foundation for the greater part of the [the] collection, have ... been left to the National Library in Stockholm to be preserved for future researchers' use" (Arwidsson 1837, iv). However, he did not cite singers by name, as he did for manuscripts. His intended audience is made up of researchers, present and future. He also hoped for another ballad edition that would

[9] "Det ligger i sakens natur, att öfvergångarne och gränsorna emellan dessa olika qväden ej äro eller kunna vara skärpt afskilda; de hafva ofta så mycken öfverensstämmelse med hvarandra, stundom står början, stundom upplösningen så nära tvenne slag af de öfriga sångerna, att endast ett närmande till ordnad uppställning varit möjligt" (Arwidsson 1837, iv).

combine *Svenska fornsånger* and *Svenska folkvisor* using his ordering as a common system. That he writes for future researchers and editors reflects his view of ballads and folksongs as vitally important to the Swedish nation.

In the preface to his first volume, Arwidsson explains in more detail how important ballads are. He carefully notes that he could add little to Geijer's introductory essay to *Svenska folkvisor*. Geijer had said what needed to be said. However, he reinforces Geijer's understandings, pointing to the "*skarp motsats*" [sharp contrast] between the natural poetry of ballads and the artificiality of cultivated poetry. He waxes poetic: "*Småningom började man uppteckna och samla, hvad hittills lefvat endast i allmogens munn, och de melodier, som länge förkligat obemärkte bland fjäll och mark, nedkallades åter från sin oförskylda glömska* ..." [Gradually, one began to transcribe and collect that which up to now only lived in the peasant's mouth, and the melodies which had long sounded unnoticed among the peaks and fields, were called back again from their undeserved oblivion...] (Arwidsson 1834, iii). He connects ballads to nature and seems to claim that no one (of importance anyway) had heard them before. The wording suggests that the songs well up organically from the Swedish soul. The songs were rescued from this oblivion, not by the peasants, but by elite intellectuals: peasants played no significant role other than as a repository. Reinforcing these issues of class and authority and echoing Geijer before him, Arwidsson "... *ville att det som var Svenskt, skulle blifva hela Svenska folkets, och icke blott de lägre klassernas; att det som ursprungligen utgjort de högre ståndens ro och gamman i de äldre dagar*" [wanted that which was Swedish, that which originally provided the upper class's fun and games in olden times would become the whole Swedish folk's and not only the lower classes'] (Arwidsson 1834, iii). He coopts and extracts ballads from lower class agency and authority by saying that ballads once belonged to the upper class. There was no need to feel guilty for stealing, if intellectuals were taking back what was theirs to begin with. The language and ideas in his essay echo colonialist

justifications for stealing land, exploiting indigenous peoples, and taking non-western customs, ideas, and acts as their own.

In *Svensk Balladtradition* (1967), Bengt R. Jonsson points out that Arwidsson was quite faithful to the older manuscripts' orthography,[10] but less so with more recent recordings. Part of the reason for this different treatment of ballads was that Arwidsson felt that the older manuscripts recorded and preserved "många vigtiga språk monumenter för sin tid" [many important linguistic monuments from their time] (1834, x), in turn preserving the worldview of past Swedes (x). His phrasing suggests that there was a difference between Arwidsson's own time and the time in which the ballads first originated - a dichotomy between tradition of the past and modernity. Moreover, there was a development, an evolution in thought patterns, reflected in the texts. These linguistic monuments might have been lost if not for the faithfulness of the original orthography. The ballads once belonged to all Swedes and "… *som fordom ljudit från palatset till kojan*" [which formerly sounded from the palace to the hovel] (Arwidsson 1834, iii-iv), echoing Geijer's famous "all people sang as one man." Again, Arwidsson spoke for intellectuals and the upper class by claiming ballads for all Swedes.

Arwidsson hardly mentions more recent recordings in his introductions. Newer recordings did not merit the careful treatment afforded older sources. They could only have been corrupted by time and by the lower classes who preserved them with faulty memories. It was thus suitable to correct them to more closely reflect the editor's ideals concerning the ballad genre. Occasionally, Arwidsson found it necessary to alter even manuscript texts. He made no gross editorial changes to song 134 "*Jungfru Gunnela och Riddare Perleman*" like those he made to song 33 "*Ebbe Skammelsson*," alterations which displayed his moral standards. In the latter ballad Arwidsson bowdlerizes the language of the first stanza's second line, editing the line to read "*Han var bådhe rijk [och båld]*" [He

[10] Leonhard Fredrik Rääf does not receive editorial credit on the title page, but he looked at nearly every part of the collection, acting as editor, proofreader, and ballad expert (Andersson 1936, 55-6).

was both rich [and bold]]. (cf. Arwidsson 1837, 216). In Bröms Gyllenmär's handwritten songbook, the source for the song, the line reads "*Han var både rik och kåt*" [He was both rich and horny][11] (cf. SMB 125C). Arwidsson took some responsibility for this alteration by setting the replaced words in brackets, but he gave no explanation of or about his alteration. He probably felt that expressions of of horniness were out of place in nineteenth-century bourgeois society (cf. Frykman & Löfgren 1987, 221-263, esp. 239ff).

The critical apparatus of *Svenska Fornsånger* seems quite modern and would not be out of place in a present day critical edition. The volumes have tables of contents, a first line register, a glossary, notes, and a section for melodies. In the prefaces, Arwidsson clearly lays out his critical apparatus and classification schemes. He directed his words towards the researcher, suggesting that the ballads are historical evidence. Like most editions of ballads, the songs are numbered for easy reference, here ordered by imagined age. Unlike Geijer and Afzelius's earlier work, the stanzas are also numbered and the refrains are printed only with the first two and last stanzas, and are otherwise omitted. Variants are also clearly marked by letters, with the A variants tending to have a more complete narrative structure than variants that followed. For those ballads where a melody is collected, the melody was included at the ends of the volumes.

Arwidsson's paratextual commentary hides gender and sex behind the editor's authorial voice. In *Madwoman in the Attic* (2000), Gilbert and Gubar analyze masculine authority in literature. They quote Edward Said, who writes "... the unity or integrity of the text is maintained by a series of genealogical connections: author-text, beginning-middle-end, text-meaning, reader-interpretation, and so on. Underneath all these is the imagery of succession, of paternity, or hierarchy" (qtd. in Gilbert & Gubar 2000, 4). Gilbert and Gubar proceed to critique the ways that male authors (and I

[11] *Kåt* can also mean "eager" but doubtless it is the meaning of horny or randy that concerned Arwidsson.

argue, editors) silence "[their] fictive creatures[12]" "by depriving them of autonomy (that is, of the power of independent speech) even as [they] give them life" and they do so by "still[ing] them, or – embedding them in the marble of [their] art – killing them" (Gilbert & Gubar 2000, 14). Like the author, the editor does violence to his sources, particularly when they are the voices of women or people in general from lower socio-economic classes. I have used the term erasure when I discussed metadiscursive practices and Greta Naterberg. The three cases below will make concrete this erasure, this deprivation of autonomy, and set the stage for my analysis of Arwidsson's portrayal of Beata Mems.

Arwidsson almost completely erases singers from their songs, even more so than Geijer and Afzelius had in their volumes. The questions of sex, class, and authority become mysteries in such erasure. By omitting singers' names, the editor made himself the authority and transformed ballads as songs into written texts. This substitution of one sort of human agency for another becomes clear in three exceptions in which Arwidsson mentions informants. Arwidsson expunges social status in one of these instances, and elevates it in another.

Finally, we can note that Arwidsson privileges the written word and older sources over oral traditions and more recent songs. The written songs from manuscripts (especially older ones) were more reliable in his view. The words had been pinned down or fossilized as relics. Oral traditions were also relics, but living ones, which bore witness to the text's evolution. Arwidsson provides the sex of the informants in only three instances; only two of these retained any authority whatsoever in his text.

The first case, found in "Rättelser och Anmärkningar" [Corrections and Notes], Arwidsson mentioned "*en gammal 85-årig qvinna*" [an old 85 year old woman],[13] who had given Johan H.

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[12] I think it is fair to say that Arwidsson and his contemporaries imagined the singers of ballads.
[13] In the next paragraph, she is referenced as "gumman" (old woman).

Wallman extranarrative details about the "*Ebbe Skammelson*" story[14] (1834, 424). Wallman related that she did not sing the ballad, but told a story that diverged in a few ways from the story related in the ballad variants for *Svenska fornsånger* song 33.[15] Wallman related that she "*med mycken säkerhet påminte sig traditioner från sin ungdom*" [with much certainty remembered traditions from her youth] (ibid).[16] This is the only case in which the editor mentions a contemporary informant or tradition bearer. Perhaps Arwidsson included this information because the singer remembered the story from her youth, thereby demonstrating by her age that the story was perhaps close to an imagined original. This suggestion is strengthened by Arwidsson's decision to mention her age. The text suggests that she was a peasant, with the use of the term "*gumman*" [old woman]. Even so, Arwidsson emphasizes that she only remembered parts of the song and that her story diverged from the ballad's, details which serve to cast doubt on her authority, alienating her and her knowledge from the status of singer. Moreover, the information that this 85-year-old woman imparted comes to the reader via Arwidsson's rendering of Wallman's rendering of her words. Her statements become distanced from the ballad text. The omission of the woman's name was perhaps expected for a scholarly edition of the time, but when I discuss the third and last case, this line of justification becomes unsustainable. As I will argue, the editor seems to have erased her precisely because of her sex and status.

In the second case, Arwidsson also revealed the sex of his source. Songs came "…*ur en af ett fruntimmer, under 1790-talet, uti Östergötland gjord samling af folkvisor*" [from a collection of ballads made by a woman during the 1790s in Östergötland] (Arwidsson 1837, 109)[17]. This woman's collection, which was likely a handwritten songbook, was the source of five songs in *Svenska fornsånger* volumes I and II: songs 52, 74C, 93, 124A, and 168 came from Rääf's transcripts of the woman's collection. Arwidsson first mentioned the woman's songbook in the paratext for song 47, saying only that the

[14] Cf. TSB D251 for a summary of the ballad's story.
[15] "*Sjelfva sången erinade hon sig endast styckevis"* [she remembered only partly the song itself] (Arwidsson 1834, 425).
[16] "… *hvilken med mycken säkerhet påminte sig traditioner från sin ungdom*" (Arwidsson 1837, 424).
[17] "*... ur en af ett fruntimmer, under 1790-talet, uti Östergötland gjord samling af folkvisor*" (Arwidsson 1837, 109).

songbook contained a variant which was not printed in Arwidsson's edition. He did not mention this provenance for another of the songs that derived from her songbook (SF 74C). The woman was not named, though the term "*fruntimmer*" [woman] suggests that she was likely from a high social status and Rääf might have protected her identity (Jonsson 1967, 313). No archive has this collection at this time, though Jonsson believes it might still be in private ownership (ibid.). Rääf transcribed the songs and sent them to Arwidsson, along with all the other folksongs he and his collaborators collected (ibid.).

In the last chapter of this study, I discuss in depth handwritten songbooks and the issues of authority, authenticity, and copying. In brief, handwritten songbooks were an old practice in Scandinavia, starting with scholars and aristocrats from the sixteenth century onwards. The keeping and use of these documents gradually spread into other literate social classes. The writers of such books were the sources for many of the older variants in Arwidsson's edition. In most cases, the songbooks were attributed to men. Arwidsson did not value the later handwritten songbooks as much as the earlier ones; again notions of authenticity associated with age were at work here. The earlier songbooks often had an aristocratic or scholarly origin, whereas the later ones did not. As a rule, male intellectuals accorded less value to female sources. Unlike the earlier handwritten songbooks, the *fruntimmers* songbook seems to have been in private ownership, rather than held in a library, such as Kungliga biblioteket in Stockholm.

Arwidsson included four songs from the woman's collection. Below is a list of the songs and the paratextual commentary written by Rääf and Arwidsson.

- SF 52 "Klampen" (SMB 235A): "*Ur ofvan*[18] *omtalade samling af folkvisor, gjord af ett fruntimmer*" [From the above mentioned collection of ballads, made by a woman] (Arwidsson 1834, 332).
- SF 74C "Rosea Lilla" (SMB 83B): Arwidsson does not mention her songbook as a source. Rather, he writes "*Efter uppteckningar från åtskilliga landsorter*" [From recordings

[18] Arwidsson refers here to SF 47, where the woman's songbook is first mentioned in passing because it contained a variant to the ballad; the woman's songbook's variant is not included (cf. Arwidsson 1834, 310).

from various provinces] and then "*Det stora antalet varianter man af denna folkvisa finner öfver allt kringspridd, bevisar huru älskad och allmänt utbredd det varit*" [The great number of variants of this ballad that we find everywhere diffused, demonstrates how beloved and widespread it was] (Arwidsson 1837, 29).

- SF 93 "Johannnes" (Unclassified): "*Aftryckt ur en af ett fruntimmer, under 1790-talet, uti Östergötland gjord samling af folkvisor. Den är för öfrigt mycket kringspridd i tryckta exemplar, med obetydliga afvikelser*" [Printed from a collection of ballads made by a woman during the 1790s in Östergötland. Moreover, it is widespread in printed examples, with insignificant deviations] (Arwidsson 1837, 109).

Arwidsson insinuated that the woman was not a collector, in the sense that Rääf was; he suggested that she likely wrote songs down from printed versions. Rääf and the brothers Wallman and other collectors received credit for their valuable work, which Arwidsson did not accord this woman. Manuscripts also received more attention in Arwidsson's editorial introduction in volume I; however, the focus was less on the woman than on her songbook. Arwidsson also cast doubt on the song itself, stating "*Den fremmande myntsort som omnämnes uti den Svenska traditioner, ger anledning att förmöda ett utländskt ursprung*" [The foreign type of coin that is mentioned in the Swedish traditions, give cause to suppose a foreign origin] (Arwidsson 1837, 109). Arwidsson fails to give the song a full measure of authenticity associated with national or folk origin. In this supposition, he denies the ability of this woman to imagine or know about the outside world – as if no Swedish person of whatever social class could possibly have used a foreign term in a Swedish ballad. The Swedish folk, it would seem, would never have made impure their own authentic Swedish ballads by using foreign words.

- SF 124 A "Svennens Svek" (unclassified): *"... samt de tvenne sednare [nyare uppteckningar af denna sång] uti en af ett fruntimmer, under 1790-talet, i Östergötland gjord samling af folkvisor*" [... and the two latter [newer recordings of this song] in a collection of ballads made by a woman during the 1790s in Östergötland] (Arwidsson 1837, 225). He also wrote: "*Den ena af desse siste (hvilken ej blifvit här meddelad), saknar all inledande början, och utgör tydligt en öfvergång från de äldre traditionerna, till de nyare muntliga, samt har bibehållit den förstnämdes didaktiska reflexioner*" [The one of these later ones (which is not communicated here), lacks the whole introductory beginning and constitutes clearly a transition from the older traditions, to the newer oral ones, and has preserved the aforementioned one's didactic reflections] (Arwidsson 1837, 225).

- SF 168 ”Hertig Henrik” (SMB 175A; TSB D 393): “*Aftryckt ur en af ett fruntimmer, på 1790-talet, i Östergötland gjord samling af folkvisor. Denna sång är en efterbildning efter en vidlöftig Tysk dikt, upptagen af Michael Wyssenheer, från år 1474, kallad Heinrich der Löwe ...*” [Printed from a collection of ballads made by a woman during the 1790s in Östergötland. This song is an imitation from a lengthy German poem, recorded by Michael Wyssenheer, from 1474, called Heinrich the Lion …] (Arwidsson 1837, 422).

Arwidsson accorded more significance to Michael Wyssenheer, who recorded a closely related song 363 years earlier, sidelining the nameless woman. While Arwidsson suggests earlier that a word of foreign origin made a ballad inauthentic, he does not do so here. Perhaps, because the German poem was from the late medieval period and would have had Germanic roots, he regarded it as not so foreign. The work of Germans such as the brothers Grimm also likely added to the perception of the Germans as a kindred people, allowing German foreign influence to seem more acceptable.

A noticeable absence in the paratexts concerning this woman’s songbook is mention of her social class, though again, the upper-class designation “*fruntimmer*” likely said enough. She must have been literate to keep a songbook and thus likely from the higher social classes, but she was otherwise merged with the Swedish folk in her anonymity. She became part of the folk, remembering songs, or in her case writing them down. The editor stripped her of her agency.

In the final case, Arwidsson not only retained the source’s agency and authority, he emphasized it. The critical introduction to *Svenska fornsånger* 162 “*Konung Carl XII:s Fältmarsch*” [King Carl XII’s March][19] lists the song’s source by name and notes the line of transmission, a suggestion of an ethnographic event, and a suggestion of the song’s use and history:

> *Denna helt och hållet lyriska sång har blifvit här upptagen ibland de historiska, emedan den sluter sig såsom ett historiskt minne till de närmanst föregående. – Orden är aftryckte ur Allmänna Journalen för år 1818, N:o 169, och sjelfva marschen, efter en bearbetning i stämmor, utgifven af E.J. Arrhén v. Kapfelman. På*

[19] Jonsson (1967) classifies this song as ”äldre visa” (older song); the structure of the song diverges significantly from Swedish ballads (per Jonsson’s 1967, 1979, and 1983 definition) and a casual comparison with other songs in volumes one and two of *Svenska fornsånger* also confirms this judgment. Arwidsson himself notes that the song is lyric, but includes it among historic ballads because of its historical “memory” – see below.

> *begge dessa ställen meddelas den upplysning, att både ord och melodi blifvit meddelade af pastor H.O. Sundelius, hvilken, år 1776, lärt dem af sin morfar, Olof Hjelm, på Grensholmen i Östergötland. Denne sednare, född år 1698, skall hafva berättat, att konung Carl XII plägade, innan han började någon drabbning, först låta sina trupper afsjunga psalmen: Wår Gud är oss en väldig borg, och sedan nedanstående marsch, hvilken han uppgaf vara författad af Magnus Stenbock. Deraf namnet Stenbocks Marsch, hvarmed den äfven betecknas.* (Arwidsson 1837, 391; italics in original)

> [This completely lyric song has been taken up her among the historical songs, because it connects itself to the preceding song through historic memory. – The words are reprinted from *Allmänna Journalen* for the year 1818, No. 169, and the march itself from an adaptation for voices, published by *E.J. Arrhén von Kapfelman*. In both these places, the reader is informed that both word and melody were communicated by pastor *H.O. Sundelius*, who learned them from his maternal grandfather, *Olof Hjelm* on Grensholmen in Östergötland in 1776. The latter, born 1698, is said to have recounted that before he began any battle, King Carl XII used to first have his troops sing the hymn: A mighty Fortress is our God, and then the march below, which he stated to be authored by Magnus Stenbock. Thus the title Stenbock's March, by which it is also known.]

Why all this information, when most songs lacked information concerning provenance save those that cited songbooks and manuscripts? The answer was partially that the song had appeared in print, but also because of the gender and class of the source, that is, his authority as an upper social status male, an identity linked to subject matter of the song. The italics in the original emphasized the points I want to make about Arwidsson's *Svenska fornsånger* and its discourse on sex, social class and authority. The only song types that received such provenance citations were those from older songbooks and from manuscripts. Arwidsson did not represent more recent songs, especially those collected from singers in this way. Arwidsson named the source and established the source's social status in the clerical estate. Arwidsson only did this once in volumes I and II. The editor gave the place and year that Pastor Sundelius collected the song from his maternal grandfather. The entire provenance was male. Moreover, Arwidsson connected the song to a heroic, aggressive, and masculine king from Swedish history, the very hero king that Arwidsson had worshipped as a child. By naming the sources and glorifying a Swedish king, Arwidsson explicitly and implicitly asserted and privileged male authority and agency.

In this case, Arwidsson asserted this male agency and authority not because it was the only one where he had access to such provenance information, but because it derived from an upper social class male. Admittedly, in many cases he lacked information about singers and lines of transmission. However, he had access to Rääf's note on Greta Naterberg that gave biographical information and lines of transmission for eight of her songs. Arwidsson included none of this information.[20] I must conclude that because she was a woman of lower socio-economic status, her agency and authority could not be imagined by the editor and thus he erased it. Moreover, Rääf seems to have had no objection to this treatment of singers, even if he insisted that information be collected about them. For him, it was a matter of scientific documentation rather than authority for the singers.

All these examples point to upper social class men taking authority, that is, making themselves authors and creators over and above women and lower social classes. In each case, Arwidsson named men: Lektor [Johan] Wallman for the 85 year old woman (1834, 423); Michael Wyssenheer in the *fruntimmers* visbok (song 168); and the pastor and his maternal grandfather who taught him the song (SF 162). In Barbro Klein's "Folklore Archives, Heritage Politics and Ethical Dilemmas" (2007, 132) she states "... [w]e are speaking about issues of control and freedom of expression: a dead writer has no say about the ways in which his words are used. One could also add that social class is an issue here; in the case of statements composed by uneducated or poor writers, scholars, not least folklore scholars, have often taken a kind of editorial freedom they would not take with established authors." The rural and urban proletariat and women were not seen as authors or creators; editors could erase them. Klein also writes that "[u]ntil recently, Swedish folklore texts were not seen as the works of individual creators. They were examples of a stock of shared traditions" (ibid., 131). Arwidsson removed Greta Naterberg and other women from their texts because of their

[20] *Svenska fornsånger* I & II included one ballad from Greta Naterberg, SF # 53C "*Liten Kerstin och Fru Sofia*" (SMB 160Cd). The third volume included nine *sånglekar* and *barnvisor* from Greta (cf. Jersild 1990, 186).

gender and rural background. It was obvious in the thinking of that era that they did not create the songs they sang. They were bearers of shared, Swedish traditions.

From this set of case studies on sex, class, and authority in Arwidsson's *Svenska fornsånger*, I turn to Beata Mems, whose representation, I argue, demonstrated starkly how Arwidsson privileged men and how this affected interpretations of Beata Mems's song, even if she came from an upper class milieu. Beata Brita Fredrica Mems(en) was born 1742 at Utdala, Oppeby parish, Kinda härad and died 7 February 1831 in Kisa (Jonsson 1967, 325). Her father was Lieutenant Alexander Mems and her mother Catharina Möller (ibid). Mems's mother died in 1769 after which the teenager stayed at various country estates in Kinda and Ydre (ibid). She lived with Magdalena von Gardemein, who in 1782 married Rääf's father. Beata Mems joined the Rääf household then, following Leonhard Henric Rääf's first wife into her new household (Wretö 1990, 25). She remained with the Rääf family for the rest of her life (Jonsson 1967, 325).

Today, Beata Mems might be described in derogatory terms as a spinster. However, the various letters to, from, and about Miss Mems do not paint a picture of a repressed and frustrated woman. Indeed, she never married. She was fairly well educated.[21] She was an important part of the Rääf household, particularly for Leonhard Fredrik and his siblings in their youth (Wretö 1900, 33). She was not a prude, to judge from the ballads and *skämtvisor* [jocular ballads] Rääf collected from her. She seems to have been one of Rääf's early inspirations for collecting ballads and other folklore genres. After her death in 1831 at the age of 89, Rääf commemorated her, writing, "*Oöverträffelig i berättelser och sagor, spökhistorier, familjetilldragelser och efter vilken en myckenhet av de kämpavisor och medeltidsromanser blivit uppteckнad som nu pryda våra tryckta samlingar av dessa slag*" [Unsurpassable in

[21] Cf. UUB Rääf 58: 3 "Handlingar rörande Demoiselle Beata Mems (1742-1831), Traditionsbärare". Rääf collected many of her papers, letters, and other related documents. She kept a correspondence with Rääf's sister Magdalena (called Malin) and created witty, clever, and humorous texts; she often mirror wrote.

stories and tales, ghost stories, family stories, etc. and from whom a great number of Heroic and Medieval ballads were collected that now embellish our printed collections of those types of songs] (qtd in Wretö 1990, 33). Rääf collected nine ballads from her, as well as many jocular ballads and singing games.

An interesting addition to Rääf's depiction of Miss Mems came from the Danish poet, Christian Molbech. Molbech is perhaps most famous in ballad circles for his opposition of Svend Grundvigt's editorial scholarship in the 1850s. In 1812, Molbech was in Sweden to meet Swedish intellectuals, though he was also working as a Danish spy. He met Rääf for the first time during this visit. In 1815, the poet visited Rääf's household. He became romantically interested in Rääf's sister Magdalena (Malin), who liked him, but was not interested in him romantically; she told him she preferred to be a muse (Wretö 1990, 113-4). Miss Mems made an impression on Molbech with her story telling: he wrote Malin in 1815 and asked after Miss Mems: "*Men lever hun endnu, Deres gamle Mamsel, der fortalte de bedste Eventyr, jeg nogensinde har hørt?*" [But is she still alive, the old Miss, who told the best fairy tales that I have ever heard?] (qtd in Wretö 1990, 114).[22] Molbech confirms Rääf's view of her as an unsurpassed story teller. Neither Molbech nor Rääf described her ballad performances, but she emerged as an entertaining and charming woman.

Looking at the introductions to songs collected from *Svenska fornsånger* of Beata Mems, a wider trend emerges regarding the editor's textual presentation. When Arwidsson included ballads from oral tradition, he presented them in passive terms. A few examples from the collection demonstrate how singers were not agents or authors. The act of recording or writing down seemed to just happen: "*Uppteckнade i Östergötland*" [recorded in Östergötland] or "*Varianten A är uppteckнade i Småland*" [the A variant is recorded in Småland] or *"... är uppteckning A från Småland och B från*

[22] "Men lever hun endnu, Deres gamle Mamsel, der fortalte de bedste Eventyr, jeg nogensinde har hørt" (qtd. Wretö 1990, 115). Molbech wrote earlier of Miss Mems: "en gammal Jomfru paa T." who told stories "med en yderst interesssant poetisk Naivetet og i Eventyrets simple, fortællende Stiil" (qtd in ibid, 114).

Östergötland" [… recording A is from Småland and B from Östergötland], and finally "*Uppteckningen A sjunges in Wermland och Dahl, samt B i Östergötland*" [recording A is sung in Värmland and Dal, and B in Östergötland]. With each of these lines, Arwidsson makes it appear that nebulous folk sing the folksongs: there is no identified singer, collector, or even ethnographic event. The passive voice was key here. Note that the subject of each of these sentences is the Text. While Arwidsson mentions the collectors in his prefaces, the singers were never mentioned. He did not mention that the singer said anything about the song nor are any singers mentioned elsewhere as we find in *Svenska folkvisor*'s critical apparatus and Afzelius' epilogue. There was likewise no sign of the ethnographic event; the collecting of the song-text did not come up at all. Arwidsson only hinted at it in barest terms with passive phrases like "... *är upptecknade ...*" [... is written down ...].

Lending further credence to the importance that Arwidsson accorded text over singer, the performance, and the context is found the following intro for no. 87: "*Svenska Folk-Visor, III, s. 3 och följ. upptaga tvenne mindre fullständig traditioner af denna äkta nordiska folksång*" [*Svenska folkvisor* III, p. 3 and following brings up two less complete traditions of this authentic Nordic folksong] (SF II, 83; my emphasis). Writing "this authentic Nordic folksong," Arwidsson makes it clear that there is an original song and variant, but importantly, variants are not songs in themselves, but divergent developments of a single song-text.

In 1810, Rääf collected the following song from Beata Mems. I have taken the multiform below from *Svenska fornsånger* rather than using the manuscript's (KB Vs 2: 1, 203-4). The manuscript multiform does not differ significantly from the printed multiform.

SF 40 "Jungfru Gunnela och Riddar Perleman" (Arwidsson 1834, 284-287). (cf. SMB 101B; TSB D 153)	Translation
"Uppteckned i Östergötland. – En motsvarande sång finnes på Danska, hos *Syv*, s. 632, och *Nyerup*, IV, 175, samt i den uti Kongl. Bibliotheket i Stockholm förvarade Danska	Recorded in Östergötland. There is a corresponding song in Danish, in Syv, p. 632, and Nyerup, IV, p. 175, and in a Danish manuscript kept in the National Library in Stockholm,

handskriften, sign. K. 9, under N:o 11" (ibid, 284).

signum K 9, under No. 11.

1. Det var Jungfru Gunnela,
Hon skulle åt kyrkan fara,
Och det var Riddar Perleman,
Han ville henne med våld taga.
-Men alla äro de löfven grön i skogen!

2. "Hör ni Riddar Perleman,
"Hvad jag eder ber,
"När messan hon blir hållen,
"Kommer jag till er."

3. När messan hon var hållen,
Och folket gingo ut,
Det var Jungfru Gunnela,
Hon var i kyrkan till slut.

4. Det var Jungfru Gunnela,
Talte till sin körsven så:
"Du skall klä' dig i sidentyg,
"Och jag i vallmaret grå!"

5. Det vat liten köresven,
Han satte sig i vagnen med häst,
Och det var Jungfru Gunnela,
Hon tog i tömmen fast.

6. Och när som de kommo
På Riddar Perlemans gård,
Det var Riddar Perleman,
Han ute för henne står.

7. "Välkommen hit Jungfru Gunnela,
"Aldrakäraste min,
"Åt eder har jag blandat
"Nu både mjöd och vin!"

8. Det var liten köresven,
Han dricker mjöd ur horn,
Och det var Jungfru Gunnela,
Hon bär för hästane korn.

9. Och det var liten köresven,
Han drack det bruna mjöd,
Och det var Jungfru Gunnela,
Hon bar för hästarne hö.

1. "It was the Maiden Gunnela,
She would go to the church,
And it was Sir Perleman,
He wanted to take her forcefully (rape).
All are the leaves green in the forest!

2. "Listen, Sir Perleman,
"What I ask of you,
"After the mass is held,
"I will come to you."

3. After the mass was held,
And the people went out,
It was the Maiden Gunnela,
She was in the church last.

4. It was Maiden Gunnela,
who spoke to her page:
"You shall dress up in silk,
"And I in forager gray!"

5. It was the little page,
He sat in the wagon with horse,
And it was Maiden Gunnela,
She took up the reins.

6. And when they came
to Sir Perleman's estate,
It was Sir Perleman,
He stood waiting for her.

7. "Welcome hither, Maiden Gunnela,
"My most beloved,
"For you, I have mixed
"Now both mead and wine!"

8. It was the little page,
He drank from the mead horn,
And it was Maiden Gunnela,
She brought the horses grain.

9. And it was the little page,
He drank the brown mead,
And it was Maiden Gunnela,
She brought the horses hay.

10. Det var Riddar Perleman,
Han talte till Jungfru Gunnela så:
”Hvad är för liten köresven,
”Som på golfvet går?”

11. ”Ögon hafver han snälla,
”De leka både till och från,
”Och fingrar hafver han mjuka,
”Som lärkevingar små.”

12. När det led åt aftonen,
Var skumt i hvarje vrå,
Då lyste Riddar Perleman
Så snart åt sängen gå.

13. Det var liten köresven,
Han lade sig i sängen ner,
Och det var Riddar Perleman,
Lade sig så vackert bredvid.

14. ”Hör ni Riddar Perleman,
”Hvad jag säga må,
”Jag är intet Jungfru Gunnela,
”Fast eder tyckes så.”

15. ”Jag är intet Jungfru Gunnela,
”Fast eder tyckes så,
”Jag är hennes lilla köresven,
”Till eder månde gå.”

16. Det var Riddar Perleman,
Han drog sitt rostiga spjut,
Det var liten köresven,
Han viste hvar dörren var ut.

17. Det var Jungfru Gunnela,
Hon tjente sin köresven i tro,
Ute stod hon i farstun,
Med båd’ strumpor och skor.

18. Det var Jungfru Gunnela,
Hon satte sig i vagnen med hast,
Det var liten köresven,
Han tog i tömmen fast.

19. Det var Jungfru Gunnela,
Hon gjorde honom harm,
Hon skicka honom en vagga,
Till lilla köresvens barn.

10. It was Sir Perleman,
He spoke to Maiden Gunnela so:
“Who is this for the little page,
“Who walks about the floor?”

11. “He has nice eyes,
“They play both to and fro,
“And he has gentle fingers,
“Like small skylark wings.”

12. When it the evening came,
and it was dark in every corner,
Then it pleased Sir Perleman
To go quickly to his bed.

13. It was the little page,
He laid down in the bed,
And it was Sir Perleman,
Who laid down carefully beside.

14. “Listen Sir Perleman,
“To what I have to say,
“I am not Maiden Gunnela,
“Even if it seems so to you”

15. “I am not Maiden Gunnela,
“Even if it seems so to you,
“I am her little page,
“I may go to you.”

16. It was Sir Perleman,
He drew his rusty spear,
It was the little page,
He knew where the door out was.

17. It was Maiden Gunnela,
She served her page in faith,
She stood out in the vestibule,
With both stockings and shoes.

18. It was Maiden Gunnela,
She sat in the wagon with horse,
It was the little page,
He took up the reins.

19. It was Maiden Gunnela,
She did him indignation
She sent him a cradle
For the little page’s child.

20. Det var Jungfru Gunnela,
Hon gjorde honom mera spe,
Hon skicka honom en kruka,
Dertill en liten sked.
- Men alla äro löfven grön i skogen.

20. It was Maiden Gunnela,
She did him more derision,
She sent him a jar,
And a little spoon besides.
All the leaves are green in the forest.

Above the text's title in the manuscript, Rääf wrote "*dikterad af Mlle Mems 1810*" [dictated by Miss Mems in 1810] (KB Vs 2:1, 203). Someone, mostly likely Arwidsson, struck this out. The title appears to have been written in a different hand than Rääf's, again, this is likely Arwidsson; the same hand divided lines, and gave stanza numbers to the ballad. Underneath the title, he wrote "*Upptecknad i Östergötland*" [Recorded in Östergötland] (ibid.). The word *upptecknad* as used by collectors and editors in this period implies that the text (ballad, legend, tale, etc.) was collected from a person who narrated or sang the text to the collector, who wrote this down. The term Rääf uses for all of Beata Mems' songs is *dikterad*, which suggests of course that she spoke rather than sang them to Rääf, as Rääf generally used the term *upptecknad* for ballads he collected. Did Miss Mems sing? It is impossible to say; the only one of her ballads which had a melody attached to it is "*Jungfru Gunnela och Riddar Perleman*" (SF 40), the song I analyze here. The cited melody came from Greta Naterberg's multiform (SMB 101C). However, as noted above, Rääf remembered Miss Mems as a lively story-teller. Perhaps she generally sang her songs, but wanting to please her young friend Rääf, she was careful to get the wording right by dictating the song.

Turning to the analysis of Miss Mems's ballad, I apply David Buchan's story-telling pattern scheme. Buchan's story-telling pattern works well here, though the story type and characters are difficult to fit into Buchan's schemes. Beata Mems opens the ballad with ballad commonplaces, but these commonplaces become particularly significant as the narrative unfolds. She first introduces the female protagonist [S], *Jungfru Gunnela* [Maiden Gunnela]. *Jungfru* [maiden] is a typical ballad epithet for upper class, unmarried young women. In Bengt Holbek's terms, she is a youth and not an adult. *Jungfru* also suggests not only her high status, but also that she is good and chaste. Miss Mems then

reinforces Gunnela's chastity by telling the audience that she is on her way to church. Gunnela is no ballad seductress; Mems sets Gunnela apart from any image of women as sensual, sinful and tempting.

After introducing the female protagonist, Mems introduces the male antagonist (V), *Riddar Perleman* (Sir Perleman). His title refers to both his status as an upper class male and as a knight; his masculinity is immediately apparent. But Miss Mems immediately undermines Perleman's manliness and his honor. He "v*ille henne med våld taga*" [wanted to take her with violence] – that is he wanted to rape her. *Våldta* in modern Swedish means rape. Gunnela in no way tempts Sir Perleman. It is possible that he wants to take Gunnela as his wife, but not lawfully (*lagtagen*) and sexual violence is the means to this end. Other multiforms dispel altogether this idea of marriage; Perleman is shown to be a serial rapist in some. But how does this detail undermine Perleman's manliness?

In Karin Hassan Jansson's book, *Kvinnofrid: Synen på våldtäkt och konstruktionen av kön i Sverige 1600-1800* (2002) [Protection of Women: The Idea of Rape and the Construction of Sex in Sweden, 1600-1800], she analyzes how rapists are portrayed in witness accounts at court proceedings. Illegitimate violence, particularly by upper class men, was considered unmanly (Jansson 2002, 54). It showed a lack of self-control: "*I det tidigmoderna manlighetsidealet var självkontroll en av de viktigaste, eller kanske den absolut viktigaste beståndsdelen*" [In the early modern masculine ideal, self-control was one of the most important, or perhaps the absolutely most important element] (Jansson 2002, 54). Jansson points out further that in early modern Swedish society, men who lost self-control became viewed as unmanly and lost their humanity. They became viewed as womanly and like unreasoning animals (Jansson 2002, 54-5). With Perleman's desire to rape Gunnela, the audience immediately finds that he has lost self-control, and thus his masculinity, a detail which is important to understand the ballad's conclusion. In Buchan's *situation* + *complication*, the main characters are introduced and immediately their status and virtues are made apparent and the central plot point presented.

Mems then shows how clever Gunnela is: she promises to come to Sir Perleman's estate, but first she must be allowed to go to mass. Again Miss Mems emphasizes Gunnela's chastity, purity, and virtue. But after the mass and when all the people have left, she exchanges clothing with the third character, the *köresven* [page]. The page has a lower social status as a non-adult. He is apparently a young teenager and able to pass for Gunnela in her clothes. These traits are emphasized in his namelessness and his epithet form *liten* [little] (st. 5). However, he is a loyal family servant to Gunnela, risking his own masculinity by playing a female role. It is worth noting however, that both Gunnela and her little page are not adult males; they exist in a category of powerlessness (cf. Laqueur 1992, 8 & Clover 1993, 380-1).

Gunnela, disguised as the page then takes the reins, an important symbol of her strength and skills. Sir Perleman attempts to intoxicate the page disguised as Gunnela. Gunnela (the faux page) takes care of the horses, demonstrating her capability and strength. The page (the faux Gunnela) demonstrates his cleverness. Both act as counterpoints to Sir Perleman's foolish and unmanly lust. As night falls, Perleman sees his opportunity to have sexual intercourse with Gunnela. They lay down in bed; a suggestion of intimacy. The page then reveals himself. Sir Perleman is infuriated (another loss of self-control and another sign of unmanliness) and grabs his "rusty spear" – a symbol of his power, masculine authority, and his qualities as a warrior – his masculinity symbolized. But it is rusty, untended, and in decay. The rusty spear may also suggest that Sir Perleman is a murderer (cf. Ward 2012, 178). The page sees where things are headed and wisely makes a quick exit. Gunnela, who is as faithful to her page as he is to her,[23] has prepared for their escape. The page takes the reins in the escape; allowing him to return to a masculine role after wearing women's clothes and lying with Sir Perleman. They make their escape, fulfilling Buchan's *development* stage.

[23] A solidarity of status perhaps, one between a low status male and a high status female (in fairy tale terms, we expect them to marry), between to members of "not powerful" category?

In the last stanzas, the *resolution* revolves around publicly shaming Sir Perleman for his unmanliness. Gunnela "*gjorde honom harm*" [did him indignation] and "… *skicka honom en vagga / Till lilla köresvens barn*" [... sends him a cradle / For the little page's child] (st. 19). In sending Perleman a cradle, she suggests that Perleman was the receptive partner in sexual intercourse, i.e., Perleman is the one bearing the child and in need of a cradle. Mems womanizes Perleman further by noting the cradle was for the "page's child" – giving the page the masculine role. In this time in Sweden, as elsewhere in Europe, lineage was through the father – succession was masculine. In the last stanza, Gunnela "*gjorde honom mera spe*" [did him more derision] and sends a *kruka* [jar] and a *sked* [spoon]. *Kruka* [jar] may symbolize a feminine vessel; the word is also an insult suggesting cowardice (*Svenska Ordbok* 1986). It is likely that the spoon is a "wooing" or "love" spoon, one that young men made for women that they were interested in. Perleman is symbolically (and likely publicly) womanized and shamed. The page regains some of his masculinity through Gunnela's gestures as well. Perleman, who from the beginning of the ballad's narrative is made out to be unmanly is, feminized; he enters the same category as the female Gunnela and her lower status male page.

I want to make a few final observations before turning to the question of why Arwidsson may have included this ballad in his edition. The ballad appears to fit somewhat into David Buchan's ballad story type "of murder and revenge" (1972, 84). Buchan suggests that the resolution of ballads happens in one of two ways: "The resolution concerns the happy cementing or tragic dissolution of the relationship" (ibid, 83). But there is no cementing of a relationship and the dissolution of Sir Perleman's desired "relationship" is not tragic, particularly from the female protagonist's view. It is a happy ending for Gunnela. Whether the protagonists marry or fail to marry will often tell the audience if a folk narrative is comic or tragic. But in this song, no one attains marriage and that constitutes a happy ending.

Beata Mems came from a very different social and economic environment than Greta Naterberg. Greta's repertoire emphasizes family, particularly family cohesion. Beata Mems concentrated more on upper status concerns, such as abstract ideas of morality and the subsequent consequences. Her repertoire examines morality and immorality in how men relate to women. Sir Perleman's immoral, improper, and animal-like behavior turns the social world upside down. Consequently, gender and sex roles are overturned and reversed via outward markers – crossdressing by Gunnela and the page, two less-empowered characters. Gunnela and the page escaped with their lives and return to their normative sex roles, though they both enter into and attain some measure of empowerment from the male arena. Sir Perleman, who initially seems to act too manly, has his sex role subverted. Gunnela's gifts emphasize that he was in the feminine arena – the place where the disempowered dwell, such as women, old men, and children. Gunnela and her page do not take on Sir Perleman in masculine combative or coercive ways. Instead, the two trick him. While crossdressing was an inversion of the world order, it is done in order to defeat a greater injustice. In Beata Mems's world, proper behavior of men is necessary for proper social order.

Why did Beata Mems include this story in her repertoire? I don't think I can answer this question with any definiteness. She lived generations before Oscarian or Victorian morality dominated female interests; moreover, she came from a higher status family and lived her life among aristocrats, a group that tended to be looser with what was considered coarse or unsuitable. The ascending middle classes tended to view the aristocrats as social degenerates, who forfeited the respect associated with aristocrats through their lax moral codes (Frykman and Löfgren 1987, 8). For these reasons Beata Mems possibly felt comfortable retaining the song in her repertoire and communicating it to the nobleman and young friend Rääf. I suggest that the reason Miss Mems retained and performed this ballad in her repertoire had to do with the strong and clever woman,

who triumphs over a wicked and oppressive man, a narrative which emphasized the need for proper, moral behavior to keep society properly ordered. She may also have seen the song as a subtle critique of the status of women in her time.

Why would Arwidsson print a song that tells of a strong woman who triumphs over a man at the expense of the man's masculinity? Arwidsson was certainly not a prude in the Oscarian/Victorian middle class sense. He leaned towards a conservative, aristocratic position rather than the liberal (free-market) middle class moral position. I suggest two possibilities. First, he possibly viewed the ballad as originating in the middle ages and saw echoes of Icelandic Saga women in its depiction of Gunnela. The ballad posited the strength and intelligence of Swedish women. Historical exceptionalism of the Swedish people concerned the intellectuals in a nation-state searching to find its place in the world and to recover some glory from medieval times and the perceived better world of the past. Secondly, Arwidsson promoted morality for Swedish men by presenting the consequences of a failure to follow such a code. If they failed to behave morally, it would lead to moral dissolution, inhumanity, and demasculinization. The world would be inverted and perverted if men indulged their animal natures. And the nation-state would fail.

Adolf Ivar Arwidsson influenced generations of folklorists and scholars in the Nordic region through *Svenska fornsånger*. Grundtvig was likely somewhat inspired by Arwidsson's work and refined it in his own. Arguably, *Sveriges medeltida ballader* relied heavily on Arwidsson's publication and certainly would not be as thorough as it is were it not for Arwidsson's careful gathering and preservation of manuscripts at Kungliga biblioteket. Its impact in the nineteenth century stands alongside the 1846 reprinting of Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska folkvisor*, in Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius and George Stephens' *Sveriges historiska och politiska visor* (1853), and in Richard Bergström's 1880 revised and expanded edition of *Svenska folkvisor*.

Through his editorial scholarship, Arwidsson created a world where ballads sprang up organically throughout the entire Swedish people. Even though he included melodies, he represented songs primarily as texts, filled with linguistic monuments, to be examined by future researchers. He erased nearly all signs of individuality, class and gender, except for the three cases mentioned above, and even then, it was a man who is pointed out by name. With Beata Mems's ballads, he gave no sign of Beata Mems's identity or status. "*Jungfru Gunnela och Riddar Perleman*" promotes an upper class view that proper behavior keeps the world safe from inversion and perversion, something that likely resonated with the bourgeoisie. In the next chapter, we will turn to Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius and George Stephens's *Sveriges historiska och politiska visor* (1853) to see the ways that the next generation of intellectuals and their publications privileged written texts and disregarded singers entirely, concentrating solely on texts and antiquity. They selected and interpreted songs that asserted Swedish ascendency in the Nordic region, erasing female agency and feminizing landscape as a site of male conquest and subjugation.

Chapter 4: Shifting Temperaments and Developing Forms: Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius and George Stephens

The preface to Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius and George Stephens's *Sveriges Historiska och Politiska Visor* [(SHPV) Sweden's Historical and Political Songs] opens: "*Närvarande samling är till plan och syfte så enkel, att den knappast tarfvar något vidlftigt förord*" [The present collection is so simple in its design and purpose, that it hardly requires a lengthy preface] (Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens 1853, iii). Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens were second-generation folksong intellectuals, both born in the years just preceding Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska folkvisor*. In the wake of Geijer and Afzelius' and Arwidsson's ballad collections, they could safely assume that their intended audience knew exactly the purpose of folksong collections. They modeled their work on Geijer and Afzelius' and Arwidsson's, following the standards and norms shaped in those editions. They felt no need to explain the literary importance of their material for their readers. In assuming the reader's knowledge, the editors acknowledged that folksongs and ballads had become more familiar as a source for history. They refined the taxonomy and arranged the song texts by purported age, following the most up-to-date research of the time. The first song they presented was a ballad that they believed had its origin in the Migration Period (CE 376-800). The song was for them the most ancient of ancient songs. They committed themselves to a pan-Scandinavian position, but one in which Sweden had historical precedence. They reconstructed the text of the oldest song to more closely follow an imagined lost original, less for its story than for its linguistic evidence of Swedish history. Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens focused on the Text alone. The folk hardly came into view at all in their work.

In *Sveriges historiska och politiska visor* I (1853),[1] Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens sought to empirically ground Swedish national character in History, using songs as discrete historical and philological evidence to materialize a history of mentalities of the Swedish national spirit. The text had become the basis for all analysis and the editors saw only the text; the singer ceased to exist as an individual. Song texts became relics which researchers could examine like archeological artifacts to discover the forms of the mental life of ancient Swedes. The manuscript became the source of authenticity. Moreover, they sought to reconstruct the original versions of songs in order to have more certain or concrete evidence of Swedish characteristics in the past; a past that remained an ideal of Swedish identity and behavior for the present. But rather than relying only on the spiritual elements of tales and songs – that is, the ballads read through romantic enthusiasm – intellectuals fostered a discourse of science which went beyond taxonomy and towards an evidence-based historical analytical science. Evidence could be handled and discussed in objective terms, which could lead to demonstrable theories.

The years leading up to the publication of *SHPV* were troubled in Europe. In 1848, revolutions erupted across Europe. In the name of freedom, liberal middle classes who wished for greater power and working classes who desired better conditions, wages, as well as freedom, mounted revolutions that assaulted the aristocratic, conservative, reactionaries that held sway in Europe. The revolutions were short-lived and reactionary forces quickly returned to power. The cooperation of the middle classes and working classes quickly collapsed as their goals diverged. The revolutions did not leave any immediate marks in most European nations, except perhaps a renewed fear of revolution. There were some changes, however: e.g. the Danish absolute monarchy transformed into a constitutional monarchy. In Sweden, the effects of the revolutions of 1848 were apparently minor: there was no great assault on the government. Hyltén-Cavallius was a liberal and

[11] Hereafter abbreviated as *SPHV*.

an aspiring middle-class official. Like many of the middle class, however, he respected the king and feared working class revolution more than he desired a great change in Swedish society. The change that most middle-class men wanted was not a total revolution, but a change wherein they were in power rather than the aristocrats and conservatives who opposed liberal economic and social policies. In other words, the desired revolution was a continuation of the intellectual power grab by the National Romantics such as Erik Gustaf Geijer, though now couched in terms of liberalism. Generally, most of the Swedish middle class had no representation in the Riksdag's *Borgarestånd* [Burger estate] and had no voting rights (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius 1929, 169).

Revolutionary actions in Sweden were rather minor; however, there were some riots in Stockholm, known as *marsoroligheterna* [the March troubles] which started 2 March 1848 in the wake of the French February Revolution. The worst day was on 19 March, when about 18 people were killed when military and militia units attacked rioting workers. The Troubles only lasted until about 21 March, when other army units arrived to ensure that no further riots would occur. Hyltén-Cavallius helped to lead a militia to put down the small attempted revolution by Swedish urban proletariat – hoi polloi – deeds which he proudly recounted in his memoires (Hyltén-Cavallius 1929, 150-185). The working classes, or as Hyltén-Cavallius referred to them in his memoires, "… *en hop arbetare ur den lägsta klassen*" […a crowd of workers from the lowest class] (Hyltén-Cavallius 1929, 167), wanted some of the same things as the middle class – representation and voting rights. They wanted a part in governing the state. The idea of working class rabble gaining power terrified the middle-class. Such a political movement was seen as an additional challenge to them in their quest to take power from the old conservatives.

During the Stockholm riots, Hyltén-Cavallius relates that he appealed to the workers' sense of national identity and attempted to shame them: "*Jag frågade dem, om det var svensk sed att fara fram med våld, plundering och mordbrand*" [I asked them if it was Swedish custom to cause havoc with violence,

looting, and arson] (Hyltén-Cavallius 1929, 169). He argued that workers were indeed represented in the Riksdag by the *borgarestånd* [burgher class]. His appeal to Swedishness was a call to unity and concord grounded in the idea that Swedes behave in a well-mannered and orderly way. Order was more important than justice for workers; for the middle class and the conservatives, in fact, order was justice. The fear that resulted from revolutionary attempts, particularly from the working classes and from the more radical groups such as communists, fed easily into nationalist rhetoric calling for unity, based on a unitary history and tradition.

This patriotic and proud defender of Swedish character, Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius was born in 1818 in Vislanda parish, Kronoberg county at Hönetorp in Småland. He was the son of dean Carl Fredrik Cavallius and Anna Elisbeth Hylténius. Kronoberg county today comprises much of the historical region known as Värend. Hyltén-Cavallius's study of local tradition in Värend is the work he is best known for, culminating in his exhaustive study *Wärend och Wirdarne: ett försök i Svensk ethnologi* (1863-8) [Wärend and its Inhabitants: an attempt in Swedish ethnology]. Nils-Arvid Bringéus argues that it was the first truly ethnological work in Sweden.[2] For this work, he is considered a pioneer in Swedish ethnology. The book surveys Värend and its inhabitants, examining beliefs, stories, artifacts, buildings, and landscape. The book was premised on the idea that the inhabitants long kept heathen beliefs and ideas - even into the nineteenth century. These heathen beliefs survived in customs and narratives that the inhabitants did not necessarily

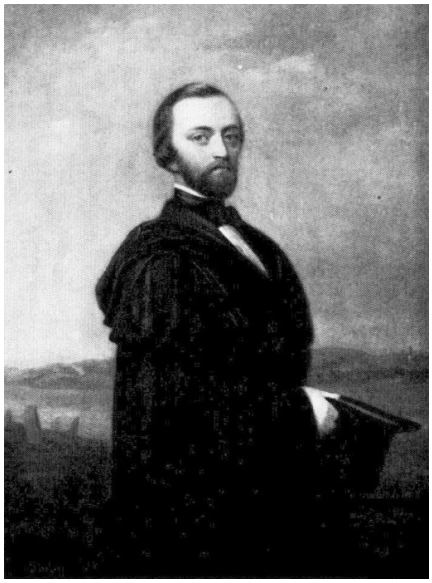

Figure 4. Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius by Nils Blommér. 1847

[2] Leonard Fredrik Rääf's *Samlingar och Anteckningar till en beskrifning öfver Ydre härad i Östergötland* (1856) was published earlier and can be arguably considered for that honor; however, both works connect to an older Swedish topographical description genre.

recognize. Hyltén-Cavallius used non-chirographic sources as evidence of history: folktales, legends, superstitions, and artifacts as well as written documents. *Wärend och Wirdarne* is not the focus of my study here, but I wish to point out that he saw ballads and folksongs in this light. A deeper analysis of his work is found in Nils-Arvid Bringéus's *Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius som etnolog* [Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius as an ethnologist] (1966).

With the support of his family, Hyltén-Cavallius was able to attend Uppsala University. In his memoires, he recounts that he was deeply moved by Geijer and Afzelius's *Svensk folkvisor*, a work that inspired him to folklore pursuits (Hyltén-Cavallius 1929, 54). He clearly saw modernity and education as completely different from traditional Swedish character. Thus he wondered "*[k]unde ej ur de nationela elementen, hvilka ännu traditionsvis lefva hos folket, mycket räddas för nyfödandet af en äkta svensk odling?*" [Could not much be saved for the rebirth of an authentic Swedish culture from the national elements which still live among the folk?] (ibid). During his holidays, he collected ballads, folktales and other verbal forms of folklore in his local Småland district (Bringéus 1971, 89). In 1839, he met George Stephens (1813-1895) in Stockholm. The men's relationship was deep and led to more than a decade of intellectual collaboration. Hyltén-Cavallius moved in with the Stephens family and lived with them from 1840-47 (Eriksson 2008, 33). The two men also founded *Svenska fornskriftsällskapet* [The Swedish Ancient Manuscript Society].

Hyltén-Cavallius finished his dissertation in 1839, a philological survey of Värend dialect. His study *Vocabularium Værendicum* [The Värend Vocabulary] attracted the attention of Adolf Ivar Arwidsson, who had written in the second volume of *Svenska fornsånger* (1837) that Swedish university students would be better served and better serve the nation if they wrote about Swedish subjects rather than classical ones (cf. Arwidsson 1837, viii-ix). Arwidsson wrote that young scholars ought to collect and preserve legends, songs, tales, dialect words, etc. and "…*genom dissertationerna … skulle deraf småningom uppstå en nationel skatt af oberäkneligt värde*" [though their dissertations [there]

gradually accrue a national treasure of inestimable value] (ibid., ix). Through his dissertation, Hyltén-Cavallius "rescued" older and dialect words of Värend that modernity and modern education were destroying (cf. Arwidsson 1834, x-xi). Hyltén-Cavallius saved "*språk monumenter*" [linguistic monuments]; though at the same time he fossilized and objectified them, removing their use as local, familiar words and placing them in a book for Uppsala's academic scholars. Hyltén-Cavallius's friend Olof Fryxell arranged a meeting for Hyltén-Cavallius with Arwidsson, which led to Arwidsson hiring Hyltén-Cavallius as a librarian at Kungliga biblioteket (Hyltén-Cavallius 1929, 76).

The position at Kungliga bibliotek had several effects on Hyltén-Cavallius's work. For one, Arwidsson encouraged him to collect folklore beyond Småland. Arwidsson continued to work on the third volume of *Svenska fornsånger* and Hyltén-Cavallius gave some part of his own collection to Arwidsson. The first and second volumes of Svenska *fornsånger*, containing most of the ballads, had already been published (1834 & 1837). However, Arwidsson included some of Hyltén-Cavallius's collection in the last volume of lyrical songs, singing games, and lullabies. While at the library, Hyltén-Cavallius took a great interest in manuscripts as well as oral sources from his home district (Bringéus 1971, 89). He also met the previous generation of scholars. As the chief librarian, Arwidsson hosted salon style dinner parties where men of letters and science from Sweden and Finland gathered. At a dinner party on 17 October 1841, Hyltén-Cavallius met one of his inspirations, Arvid August Afzelius. Hyltén-Cavallius longed for the meeting and it made a great impression on him. He referred to Afzelius as a "*denna älskvärde och märkvärdige man*" [that amiable and remarkable man] (Hyltén-Cavallius 1929, 83). A friendship developed, one which Hyltén-Cavallius treasured. Beyond the personal and professional connections that Hyltén-Cavallius made through his position at the library, he also gained unfettered access to Afzelius's, Arwidsson's and Kungliga biblioteket's large collections of ballads, folksongs, folktales, and other linguistic and written materials.

Hyltén-Cavallius was passed over for Arwidsson's position as chief librarian, but in 1856 he was appointed as director to Kungliga Dramatiska Teatern [the Royal Dramatic Theater] in Stockholm - a position he was hardly suited for (Bringéus 1971, 90). He was granted a leave of absence in 1860; however, he never returned to the Royal Theater. He was appointed as the Swedish chargé d'affaires to the Brazilian Imperial Court in Rio de Janeiro. He was very unhappy there and missed his home district greatly. In 1864, due to illness, he returned to Sweden. In 1867, he founded Småland Museum in Växjö. He became an honorary member of Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien [The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities] in 1883. He died in his home at Skatelöv in 1889.

In 1839, Hyltén-Cavallius met George Stephens, the man with whom he collaborated closely in his subsequent career, co-editing several works including *Svenska folk-sagor och äfventyr* [Swedish folktales and adventures] (1844-1849) and *Sveriges historiska och politiska visor* (1853). Stephens was born in Liverpool, England, 12 December 1813 to the Methodist pastor Johan Stephens and Rebecca Eliza Stephens née Rayner. Like Hyltén-Cavallius, he was a second generation Romantic folklore collector. Stephens's family was fairly well off, and he attended private schools before entering University College, London, where he studied language and prehistory. He attributed his interest in Nordic literature to his older brother, Joseph Rayner Stephens, a Methodist preacher like their father (Eriksson 2008, 30). Joseph Stephens lived in Stockholm from 1826 to 1830 as a Methodist preacher. In 1834,

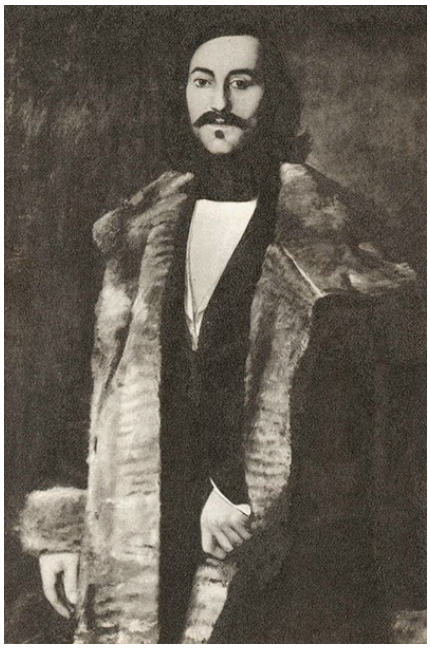

Figure 5: George Stephens.

George Stephens married Maria Bennet (1806-1896) in England and the couple moved to Stockholm. In 1851, the Stephens moved to Copenhagen, where Stephens taught as a lecturer in English and literature, including Old English and Middle English.

Stephens dreamed of a united Scandinavia, and worked with various Pan-Scandinavian aims. His vision of a united Scandinavia included England, which he considered (and argued at length), was the Fifth Scandinavian Land, with a language that should properly be classified as Scandinavian. His research interests in folklore diverged from the previous generation's. While earlier scholars, too, were looking for the history of mentalities of people though ballads, these earlier intellectuals tended to see this cultural mentality in terms of spirit or soul. Stephens was more concrete in his work. Historic sources and folklore were material and gave evidence of the inner life of the folk (*folkets inre lif*). This shift was important: the inner life, rather than the folk's soul. A history of ideas and mental processes were now the point of research. And the sources that were evidence of this inner life – like fossils – could be read and interpreted. In line with his pan-Scandinavianism, Stephens surrounded himself with Romantic Viking-era ideas and materials. He wrote books on runes. Richard Bergström gives an image of Stephens (cf. Eriksson 2008, 36). He had a thick, dark beard, which apparently impressed his contemporaries.

Together Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens published *Svensk folk-sagor och äfventyr* (1844-1849). Their plan was for several volumes, but only two were completed. The work contained folk tales taken from oral tradition, though the editors reworked and adapted the tales for print and for middle class tastes. They inserted archaic forms and ballad phrases to make the simpler or cruder narrative style of informants seem more closely connected to ancient times (Ehrenberg 2003, 14). In doing so, they also cleaned up the folk to seem more presentable and archetypical. However, the editors clearly had scientific ambitions modelled on the works of the Brothers Grimm (Ehrenberg 2003, 14-5).

In the introduction to *Svenska folk-sagor och afventyr* (1844), Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens write:

> *... vi hafva gjort till vår uppgift, att åt fäderneslandet rädda återstoder af den rika poesi, som under årtusenden lefvat hos vår folk-stam, som följt den slägte ifrån slägte, och i skiftande bilder afspeglar hela dess fordna verlds-åskådning. Nämnda öfverlemningar äro på väg att dö ut eller förderfvas under inflytande af en ny tid och nya förhållanden, och endast i landets aflägsnare bygder lyssnar man ännu till dessa förklingande ljud, hvilka en gång voro hela folkets egendom och den första näringen för våra fäders bildning. (introduction, np.)*

> ... we have made it our task to rescue remnants of the rich poetry for the fatherland which lived within our race for thousands of years that accompanied the kin to kin, and in the shifting images reflects the whole of that ancient world-view. The mentioned survivals are on the way to dying out or be ruined under the influences of a new time and new conditions, and only in the land's remote districts do people still listen to these fading sounds, which once were the property of the whole people's and the first nourishment of our fathers' education.

This task of rescuing surviving antiquities from extinction and loss borrowed from a long romantic history. Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens sought not only to rescue these fading and ancient remnants, but to publish them, to make them known. This declaration of their task was emblematic of their lives' work.

Less than ten years later, in 1853, Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens published *Sveriges historiska och politiska visor* volume 1. Like their earlier folktale collection, the volume also sought to rescue poetic relics, unknown Swedish historical treasures, and present them to a wider audience of scholars and general readers. It was part of an ambitious plan, as its numbering and preliminary manuscripts reveal (Jonsson 1967, 528). They intended the books as an expansion and continuation of the projects of Geijer and Afzelius and Arwidsson, with up-to-date dating, classification, with far more material. They only published the first volume, although parts of the planned whole exist in manuscript form at Kungliga biblioteket, under the signum Vs 3. Further volumes were not published partially because of poor sales and partially because George Stephens relocated to

Copenhagen two years (1851) prior to the first volume's publication in 1853, making further collaboration difficult. Hyltén-Cavallius's interests shifted towards creating the work that would become *Wärend och Wirdarne: Ett försök i Svensk Ethnologi* (vol. 1, 1863).

I have chosen to concentrate on *Sveriges historiska och politiska visor* rather than other works, not because it proves my point better than other works (that text is king and reified, and that the ordinary human being was nearly erased from its songs), though it does, but because the editors planned a multivolume edition, one which would have continued the reifying trend seen in Arwidsson's work. Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens collected from contemporary oral sources and would likely have included these in subsequent volumes. Because the published volume contained only songs from older manuscripts, I can only consider orally-collected songs incidentally. There is no evidence that the editors would have included information on the singers of the songs collected from oral traditions, except perhaps to state, as Arwidsson did, "from oral tradition" (cf. Jonsson 1967, 545). However, they saw the scientific value of recording such tradition-bearer information. In 1845, Stephens announced rules for collection which echoed the ones that Rääf and Johan H. Wallman had discussed thirty years earlier (cf. chapter 1). For his final rule, Stephens wrote "*Om mulig bör Meddelerens eller Fremsigerens Navn, Alder, Stilling og Opholdssted i ethvert Tilfælde optegnes*" [If possible, the informant's or transmitter's name, age, status and residence ought to be taken down on each occasion] (qtd in Eriksson 2008, 45).[1] But Stephens himself did not follow his own rules except if he received the tales from famous individuals such as Rääf or Afzelius, which like Arwidsson, privileged the elite intellectual's voice (cf. ibid). Hyltén-Cavallius romanticized the farming class and made little mention of the rural proletariat. He only noted tradition-bearer information in a handful of cases (Jonsson 1967, 545). *SHPV* makes mention of only educated composers (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens 1853, 177 & 299).

[1] Originally in "Forslag til islændernes uudgivne folkesagnes og sanges optegelse og bevaring" *Antiquarisk tidsskrift*. 1843-1845. 1845a, s. 192. Stephens suggested five fundamental principles of collection.

Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens include no songs collected from contemporary oral tradition in *SHPV*.[2] They gathered manuscripts, printed pages, and broadsheets which contained texts that Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens dated as originating prior to 1650.[3] Most of the songs were propaganda songs, celebrating Swedish national heritage and the legitimacy of Gustaf Vasa's dynasty. The editors suggested a long, continuous ancient Swedish unity and identity, stretching back before even Gustaf Vasa to the migration period. They aimed for authenticity by focusing on songs found in written historical sources. Perhaps they saw manuscripts as less corrupted than songs collected from contemporary oral tradition. Songs recorded by intellectuals who had lived in times closer to when the poets and scalds had originally composed the Ur-texts gave manuscripts an authenticity that orally transmitted texts lacked. *SHPV* contains 48 song types. Counting variants, it contains 81 songs; 39 of the song types have only a single exemplar; the remaining 11 have multiple variants. The first song, which I analyze below, *Eriks-visan* [Erik's ballad], has ten variants; most have three to five variants. The editors ordered the songs by assumed age, from older to younger. They number the songs consecutively; the manuscript signum Vs 3 in Kungliga biblioteket shows an even more sophisticated taxonomical system which was never implemented (cf. Jonsson 1967, 528). Several of the songs were in Latin. The older texts used archaic grammar and words. They were reminiscent of Icelandic Old Norse poetry at times and could be difficult for readers to understand. The editors connected Sweden to Old Norse literature, like sagas and eddas.

Of the works examined in this study, *SHPV* is perhaps the most scientific in the sense of taxonomical knowledge, but also in the sense of empirical science. The editors seek to prove theories through concrete evidence. Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens write, "... *och att densamma ... lemnar bidrag för en litterär-historisk öfversigt af språkets och smakens skiftande lynnen och utvecklings-former*" [...

[2] Song no. 23.B "Konung Gustaf och Dalkarlarne" is claimed to have been collected from oral tradition in Dalarne in 1520 and 1521; it is doubtful that this composed propaganda song was sung by the "folk".
[3] However, they do mention that one of the St. Erik-visan variants was claimed to have been sung still at the time it was transcribed, though as Jonsson (1967) and Swanson (2000) mention, the song was probably never sung by "the folk."

[these historic ballads] … contribute to a literary-historic outline of language and taste's shifting temperaments and developing forms] (Hyltén-Cavallius 1853, iii). Folksong and ballad are still the expressions of the folk-soul. They believed "*att i den historiska visan omedelbart lära känna det sätt, hvarpå folket sjelft, under vexlande yttre öden, uttryckt sin innersta känslostämning och sin uppfattning af tids-förhållanderna*" [that in the historical song [we] immediately get to know the manner in which the folk themselves, during outward vicissitudes, expressed their innermost emotional mood and their comprehension of the temporal conditions] (Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens 1853, iii). The editors give their texts the properties of fossilized thought patterns. Ballads become, in their frame narrative, philological evidence of layers of history that the scientist can examine and thus gain an understanding of the development or evolution of Swedish mentality. Moreover, they trace and list every text and source, so that other intellectuals can check their work.

Following and building on the works of the Grimms, Arwidsson, Rääf and Geijer and Afzelius, Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens viewed language as something concrete and essential which gave evidence of mentalities. While they acknowledged that ballads had poetic worth, they dismissed this as less important than the historical, evidentiary aspects of the songs (Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens 1853, iii). The literary aspects of the ballads did not concern them; while there were songs of literary interest in their collection, the editors stressed that they did not select, order, classify, or interpret songs for literary purposes. Instead they prepared their collection for historians and in the service of "*kommande forskare*" [future researchers] (Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens 1853, ix). Their edition was for the scholars (*forskare*), like Arwidsson's before them. The implied reader was not only a researcher, but the editors expected him to judge for himself the represented texts (Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens 1853, vi). They presented the texts as concrete evidence in which inner mental life might be uncovered.

In their introduction, the editors suggest the objective, empirical, scientific, and materialistic grounds of their research. A few examples suffice: "*visornas episkt-historiska grunddrag äro knappast att betrakta annorlunda, än såsom den fasta botten, ur och öfver hvilken den lyriska känslo-strömmen bryter fram*" [... the songs' epic-historical essential features are scarcely to be contemplated otherwise than as the *firm basis* out of and over which the lyrical current bursts forth] (ibid, iii-iv; my emphasis). Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens posit the aesthetic features of the songs as deriving from the historical. For example, they accord history greater weight for *Eriks-visan* as it was "*deras äldsta och enda historiska urkund*" [their oldest and only historical original record] (cf. Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens 1853, iv). They refer to the texts in terms of history and archeology: "*materialiernas tillkomst*" [the materials' origin] "*hvarje historisk källa*" [each historic source] and "*slags nationela öfverlemningar*" [types of national relics]" (ibid., viii, iii & viii). They suggest other such archeological ideas in the introduction's six pages. The song texts are historical sources, materials, and relics. Not only are they evidence, but these words *öfverlemningar* [relics] and *materialier* [materials] imply that songs are concrete things, which intellectuals gather, keep, and study as objects. They pointed out that while Sweden had unfortunately lost every work connected to Swedish heathen times (except *Eriks-visan,* see below), much archeological evidence still exists (ibid, v). In this connection, they align themselves with the empirical sciences. The editors reify texts as discrete witnesses of history and as literal objects, relics, or artifacts. Like Rääf, Afzelius, Geijer, and Arwidsson, they still sought after the original texts, as their attempt to reconstruct *Eriks-visan* demonstrates. However, for them, it was less a romantic, mystical quest for the spiritual essence of Swedish character, than a question of material evidence for the history of ideas.

In Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens's edition, the folk played almost no role. They mention in a few places that the *allmogen* [the farmers] still sung some of the songs, but always emphasizing that such practices belong to the past and to the authentic songs known as *folkvisor*. They emphasize that

the songs were written down by earlier intellectuals. They employ the term *skald* [bard] alongside singer; but only in terms of ancient times. The *skald* created whereas the singer only sang. They imagined this ancient life-world in terms of honor and glory: "*Hvarje vigtig tilldragelse i det offentliga eller enskilda lifvet blef besjungen; och sångarena, skalderna, voro ibland folkets yppersta, så att Konungar höllo för en ära att räknas till deras antal*" [Every important event in public or private life was sung about; and the singers and the skalds were among the folk's finest, so that kings considered it an honor to be ranked among them] (ibid, iv). They include melodies in the volume, and like Arwidsson, they placed them in the back. Many of the texts had no melodies, since they came from fifteenth-century manuscripts. This separation of melodies from texts demonstrates a contemporary view that ballads were primarily texts or folkpoetry and not sung performances.

Scandinavia's ancient past concerned Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens. They clearly imagined Sweden as an ancient nation, and accorded it a consequent claim of preeminence in the ancient past. Benedict Anderson addresses this nationalist thinking about the past, noting that while nations tend to be very recent they always claim to emerge from a distant and glorious past (1983/1991, 5 & 11). The editors placed *Eriks-visan* first, because it was "*[e]n af de äldsta Källorna för detta folkminne*" [one of the oldest sources for this folk-memory] (Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens 1853, 1). This folk memory, to which they refer was Swedish memory of the ancient migration from Sweden to what became Denmark, "*[m]innet of en forntida folkvandring från Götalandet till någon ort söderut*" [the memory of an ancient migration from the Götaland to some place southward] (ibid). Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens open with *Eriks-visan* because they viewed it as the oldest extant Swedish text, one which describes the events most distant in time. Their treatment of this text illustrates well the points made above.

By opening with *Eriks-visan* Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens signal that the ballad, and indeed all the songs which followed are of particular historical significance. First, I want to start with some information about this Erik and the history of the song before I turn to Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens's treatment and interpretation of the song. The song or perhaps more properly, poem, has ten stanzas of four lines each, cross rhymed (abab), with a terminal refrain. Bengt Jonsson examines the song and concludes that the Latin original was mostly likely composed by Johannes Magnus, the last Catholic bishop of Sweden. The Swedish versions, Jonsson writes, are constructed on this original Latin poem. Jonsson classifies the poem as a balladpastische, stating that Elaus Terserus likely gave it its Swedish language form. The editors' contemporaries, Carl Säve and Arvid August Afzelius both tackled the poem; Säve published a significant article on the topic from which the editors drew much of their interpretive scheme.

King Erik is not a historical person, but a historical fantasy of the Great Migration Period (CE 376-800) created by Johannes Magnus to justify Swedish precedence over Denmark and other lands. Johannes Magnus based Erik on the quasi-historical figure of Berig from Jordanes' *The Origins and Deeds of the Goths*. Jordanes was a sixth-century Roman, who wrote his book as a summary of a now lost multivolume history of the Goths by Cassiodorus. Johannes Magnus expanded this Gothic king to become the king of Sweden's Götland and the progenitor of the Swedish royal line in his *Historia de omnibus gothorum sueonumque regibus* [History of All the Kings of Goths and Swedes] (1554). Swedish intellectuals accepted the story as at least mostly true until the end of the nineteenth century. In *Svea Rikes Häfder*, Geijer discusses this King Erik, referring to Jordanes' work, a chronicle from 1449, as well noting "*[d]en inhemska källa, hvarur denna sägen troligen flutit, är en gammal Svensk Folkvisa, hvilken Johannes Magnus omkring 100 år derefter i latinsk öfversättning upptog i sin Historia, och vilken ännu erinrades och sjöngs i 17:de århundradet*" [the domestic source, from which this legend likely flows, is an old Swedish Ballad, which Johannes Magnus around 100 years later, in a Latin translation,

included in his History, and which was still remembered and sung in the seventeenth century] (1825, 113). The intellectuals of the Baroque era Göticism [Gothicism] and the intellectuals of the Romantic Göticism both viewed Johannes Magnus as the translator of an ancient Swedish song. Geijer informs the reader that it was still being sung a few hundred years earlier; an unstated proof of its authenticity and the connection of past, tradition, and loyalty of the Swedish people.

I have chosen to present Elaus Terserus's version of *Eriks-visan* (SHPV # 1; 10-11). Bengt Jonsson believes that Terserus was the first to translate Johannes Magnus' Latin poem into Swedish and translated it to resemble a ballad in form and style.

Eriks-visan (Elaus Terserus) SHPV # 1G

"Icke sednare än år 1611. Efter en handskrift förvarad på Kongl. Riks-Bibliotheket"

1. Erich han war den förste Kong
   I Göthe landett wijde
   Aff sinne och modh dhå war han from
   Som någon dher kunne rijde
   - Så låther han först ergie uthi Juthland

2. Wanart och wrenske war hono*m* leed
   Den kunne han icke lyde
   De spakom war han aldrig wred
   Ty monde han säller bliffwe

3. Med lagom rådde han landet sitt
   Saklöse tarfde ey qwijde
   Hin giorde han kärom frij och qwitt
   De wanne finge ey bijde

4. Ey war i Danmark någon till
   Som ploger monde wände
   Sitt Folck straxt denne Konu*ng* mild
   Dogh vthan Konge dijtt sände

5. Vthi hans Ryke mången war
   Som lag eij wille sköta
   Ty war han dhem försnill och snar
   Der från mände han dem stöte

6. Så sände han dem åth Juteland
   Först beröyede de der bygge.
   Och med den hoop så wijs en man
   Som dem skole hålle trygge

"Erik's ballad" English Translation

"No later than 1611. From a manuscript kept at the Royal Library"

1. Erik, he was the first king
   In Göta-land wide
   he pious in heart and mind
   as any who could ride.
   - So he was the first to plough (settle) Jutland

2. He wearied of depravity and unruliness
   This he could not abide
   To the meek, he was never wrathful
   For he may become blessed

3. He ruled his land fittingly
   The blameless need not lament
   In love, he made it free and right
   They might not suffer lack.

4. There was no one in Denmark
   who might put it under plough
   His people immediately the gentle King
   sent thither to that still kingless land

5. Outside his kingdom were many
   who did not want to attend to the law
   For he was kind-hearted and good to them
   From there he would thrust them

6. So he sent them to Jutland
   First they began there to build
   And with the hope that so wise a man
   who shall keep them safe

7. Så wore de vnder rättare hand I mange åhr fast klände. Till thes Kong Himmel den onde man Sin son Kong Dan dit sände	7. So they were under a more just hand for many years firmly sheltered Until that evil man, King Himmel Sent his son King Dan thither.
8. Han war sin Fader med allom lijk Hans dygd kunne han snart läre Aff sig då kaller han Danmarkz rijk Ded har af honom sin ähre	8. He was very much the same as his father His virtue could he quickly learn From his name he calls it Denmark's kingdom From his deeds he has his honor.
9. Dogh kunne han icke blifwe frij Att skatte Göthe mannom Eij torde han heller fhöre krig Ty han hade lithet af landom	9. Nonetheless he could not become free Of paying taxes to the Göta-men Nor dared he either to make war for he had a small land
10. Ty skole dhe Konger i Danmark väl Besinne sin plicht och ähre At de med rätt och fulgod skäl De Swenskom skatt skole bäre - Så låther han först ergie vthi Juthlandh	10. Thus shall the Kings of Denmark well bear in mind their duty and honor that they, with just and sound reason Shall pay taxes to the Swedes. - So was he the first to plough in Jutland.

Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens claimed that this song had sprung up in the distant past. They explained their scientific ambitions and thinking about history and national identity very clearly in the critical apparatus section of their introduction, which I cite nearly in full here:

> *Minnet af en forntida folkvandring från Götalandet till någon ort söderut, troligtvis Jutland eller någon annan del af nuvarande Danmark, har länge bevarat sig i Sverige, och ligger till grund för de föreställingar, som innehållas uti Mindre Rimkrönikans, Prosaiksa Krönikans, m.fl. berättlelser. En af den äldsta Källorna för detta folkminne, nemligen Eriks-visan, är lyckligtvis ännu qvar, och i en ganska ålderdomlig, fastän icke alldeles ursprunglig form.*
>
> *Visan, sådan vi nu hafva den, tyckes vara ifrån 1200-talet, ehuru hon ej utgafs förr än år 1620 och med den då brukliga barbariska rättskrifning. Likväl hade den, före denna tid, två gånger varit öfversatt: på latin af Johannes Magnus, tryckt 1554 men författad 1540, och på svenska af Terserus före 1611, men först tryckt af Säve år 1849. Troligen nedskrefs visan först med runbokstäfver, hvilket förklarar de runska former, som ännu äro qvar i stafningen.*
>
> *Hela traditionen är lika urgammal i Danmark som i Sverige (se Saxo Grammaticus m. fl.) och ansågs ej såsom förnärmande för Danmark. Deremot tyckes den sista, 10:de versen vara tillagd i sednare tider, då visan fick sin nuvarande form, troligen i afsigt att bevisa Danmarks ursprungliga undergifvenhet och fortfarande skattskyldighet under Sverige (Göta-Rike).*

Af visan finnas ännu qvar 5 mer eller mindre fullständiga men alla af hvarandra oberoende upptecknings, hvaribland 4 från gamla handskrifter och en från allmogens sång. Då hon är den äldsta Svenska folkvisa, som vi ännu ega i behåll, och af stor vigt både för dess innehåll och i språkligt afseende, tillåta vi oss att meddela dem alla, jemte en öfversättning på nu-svenska och ett försök till återställande af den ursprungliga språkformen. (Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens 1853, 1)

The memory of an ancient migration from the Götaland to some place southward, probably Jutland or some other part of present Denmark, has long been preserved in Sweden, and lays the foundation for the ideas that are contained in The Lesser Rhymed Chronicle, Prosaic Chronicle, etc. One of the oldest sources of this folk-memory, namely Erik's Ballad, fortunately still remains, and in a fairly old, although not an entirely original, form.

The ballad, such as we now have it, seems to date from the 1200s, although it was not published before 1620 and then with the customary barbaric spelling. Nevertheless it had been translated two times before then: in Latin by Johannes Magnus, printed 1554 but composed in 1550, and in Swedish by Terserus before 1611, but first printed by Säve in 1849. The ballad was probably first written down with the runic alphabet, which explains the runic forms that remain in the orthography.

The whole tradition is just as ancient in Denmark as in Sweden (cf. Saxo Grammaticus, etc.) and is regarded not as offensive for Denmark. However, it seems that the last, tenth verse was added later, when the ballad took its present form, probably with the intention to prove Denmark's original submission and continuing tax obligation to Sweden (Göta-Realm).

Of the ballad, five more-or-less complete but independent transcriptions of the ballad remain, among which four are from old manuscripts and one from peasant singing. Since it is the oldest Swedish ballad that we still have intact and is of great importance with regards to both contents and linguistics, allow us to impart them all, as well as a translation into present-day Swedish and an attempt to restore the original (historical) linguistic form.

The editors present folk-memory as collective memory or story, though it only exists and is remembered in manuscripts and print. Even though their work concerns itself primarily with manuscripts, it carried on the ideas of the folk as passive tradition-bearers. A folk-memory, a tale, a ballad, carries itself on – it appears as the folk-spirit itself; the folk do not preserve it; it acts like a meme, with a life of its own. A nation is made up of stories; a people cannot exist as a people unless they have a sense that they are a people and stories imagine the unity needed to make a population into a people, a nation, a folk. A narrative such as *Eriks-visan* suggested a long continuity of

nationhood, of people-hood, partially through creating a nation to act as Other, as a mirror and which helped define Sweden as something distinct from (but superior to) Denmark.

Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens viewed the song as a proper Swedish ballad. Along with other scholars such as Säve (1849)[1] and Geijer (1825),[2] they believed that Swedish peasants had at one time sung the song. Jonsson writes that "*Johan Hadorph o. 1690 i en aldrig till trycket befordrad edition av den Prosaiska krönikan nämner, att Eriksvisan vid denna tid sjöngs av allmogen i Västergötland och Dalsland*" [In an edition of *The Prosaic Chronicles* that was never in print, Johan Hardorph around 1690 mentions that Eriksvisan was sung at that time by Swedish peasants in Västergötland and Dalsland] (Jonsson 1967, 680). Thus the song had existed in the Swedish language and been kept by Swedish peasants at least until Hardorph had written it down. Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens suggest this further by referring to Johannes Magnus's poem (SHPV # 1F) as "*Joannis Magni Latinska Öfversättning*" [Johannes Magnus's Latin Translation] and "*Denna öfversättning har blifvit omtryckt af Schroderus* ..." [This translation was reprinted by Schroderus] (SHPV, 7). In this, they seem to suggest that the song rose organically from the Swedish folk, as a *folkminne* [folk memory] of King Erik and came to the learned scholars who translated it into Latin hundreds of years later. Jonsson doubts that the song was ever sung by Swedish peasants, but rather that Johan Hardorph (1630-1693) was being patriotic in his claim that peasants "still" sang the song in the late 1600s. Jonsson notes further that Petter Rudebeck (1660-1710) was collecting ballads at that time in Småland and had a particular interest in King Erik but never recorded *Eriksvisan*. He "… *istället gjorde en bearbetning av Schroderus' text*" [instead made an adaptation of Schroderus' text] (Jonsson 1967, 681). Jonsson concludes, "*att den svenskspråkiga Eriksvisan … [t]ill formen är den en balladpastisch, och denna sin form har den troligen fått av*

[1] *Eriks-visan: Ett fornsvenskt qväde, behandlat i språkligt afseende* [Erik's ballad: an ancient Swedish lay, considered in linguistic respects].
[2]

Elaus Tererus" [that the Swedish language Erik's ballad … in form is a ballad pastiche[3] and Elaus Terserus has most likely given it its (ballad-like) form] (ibid, 681).[4]

Imagined as one of Sweden's oldest narratives about itself, the text became a monument or a relic. First of all, it was found in manuscripts; not in an ephemeral orally-transmitted form residing only in the failing memory of an old peasant woman. Instead, the manuscripts existed as material, textualized objects that held and froze the text. The text became concrete and reified. There was no individual singer like Greta Naterberg in the editors' representation of the text. The editors employ the word and idea of *minne*, which could suggest not only memory in the sense of idea or remembrance in the human brain, but also the idea of memento or relic – physical objects that evoke memory.

By speaking of "*[v]isan, sådan vi nu hafva den* ..." [the ballad, such as we now have it ...] the editors suggest the song's corruption. Imagining it in quasi-archeological terms, the editors view it as a ruin, a rusty relic from which to develop ideas about the past. They disdain the sixteenth-century orthography and seemed to suggest that sixteenth-century *Götiska* intellectuals mangled the spelling when they attempted to make the orthography comprehensible for readers in their own time. In Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens's attempt to reconstruct the original form of the ballad, they made use of the "thorn" [þ] character and Old Norse words and grammar. Their determination to have runes appears to have guided their use more often than did philological reconstruction. They employ the "thorn" [þ] when an "eth" [ð] was more likely.[5] Placing the ballad's origin in the 1200s made it

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[3] Ballad pastiche is a form of ballad imitation: "*är gjorda med pennan I hand, dvs. de är av sina författare medvetet från början diktade i samklang med vad som är eller av dem uppfattas som balladens form och stil*" [... are made with pen in hand, i.e. they are by their authors consciously from the start composed in harmony with what is or is understood by them as the ballad's form and style" (Jonsson 1967, 675).

[4] See Jonsson 1967, 680-1 for a more in depth critical discussion of Eriksvisan and the history of it representation.

[5] Both men were excellent scholars and Stephens at least was familiar with Old Norse and Old English; I expect they knew well the difference. I wonder if it was a printer's error. I did not find a manuscript of their reconstruction in Vs 3, which for Eriks-visan only contains the critical apparatus and not the variants, so it is speculation on my part. Moreover, I did not examine the correspondence between Hyltén-Cavallius, Stephens, and their publisher, Lindh, which might have

quite ancient, on par with the Icelandic sagas, thus giving Sweden a legendary song/epic text as ancient as Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* (Denmark) and Snorri's *Heimskringla* (Norway/Iceland).

Because texts from migration-period folk-memory written down in the 1200s constituted the earliest forms of Swedish literature and history, by presenting the different variants or corruptions, the editors traced an evolution and development of literature. Additionally they demonstrated and showcased their own competence in interpreting these later forms by attempting to reconstruct the original text. They do not use any word meaning "corruption" in the paratext, but by presenting all the extant versions, along with two modern Swedish translations, and finally presenting their own "attempt to restore the original (historical) linguistic form" the editors implicitly call other multiforms incomplete or corrupt (Hyltén-Cavallius & Stephens 1853, 1). Moreover, these corruptions serve a similar function to Geijer and Afzelius's representation of Greta Naterberg's "*Linden*" as a fragment. Corruptions and fragments served to assert and highlight the editors' intellectual authority. The editors/scholars controlled History, through presenting text(s) and through reconstructing a multiform, one which took precedence over the extant multiforms as more authentic, at least in the editors' minds. The past left concrete evidence for the present; the history of the nation proved its own story of itself and demonstrated that the best way to direct the nation was to return to the inner mental life of the past.

The song, as Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens assert demonstrated Sweden's dominance and precedence over Denmark. However, in the spirit of Pan-Scandinavianism, the editors softened their rhetoric by pointing out that the last verse was "*tillagd i senare tider*" [added later], i.e., during the 1500s. But at the same time, they assert that this primacy, since the song had once been known and accepted in Denmark. The editors promote pan-Scandinavianism, but so long as certain historical

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spoken of this if it had been an error. Alan Swansson (2000) calls their version "grotesque" though it during later periods the thorn letter was often used for both sounds and is an unwarranted aesthetic judgement.

"realities" are understood. Sweden remained the primary motivator in their pan-Scandinavian project: Stockholm was already in 1853 proclaimed the "capital of Scandinavia," as Stockholm Business Region claimed in an advertising campaign in 2006 (cf. www.visitstockholm.com), understandably offensive to city governments in Norway, Denmark and Finland. While Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens did not claim that Denmark still owed fealty to Sweden, they asserted historical precedence for Swedish leadership. Historical documents proved it. As Paula Henrikson points out, controlling the past is an attempt to control the future (2010, 103-4).

Because *Eriks-visan* was the oldest song of their collection, the editors placed it first and included all known variants. Moreover, to make the ideas it contains comprehensible to present-day Swedes, they also include Afzelius's and Säves's translations into contemporary Swedish. To get back to the linguistic roots of the song, they provided a restoration, reconstructing its original form and language. They make available both ideas and language of the past. At the end of the song's introductory paratext, the editors call *Eriks-visan* the oldest Swedish ballad. Specifically, they use the term *folkvisa*, not just *visa*. This term links the song more strongly with Sweden's ballad tradition, as set out by Geijer and Afzelius and Arwidsson. The extant ballad is fairly intact, even if it has been modified in the last verse and is not, as they mention earlier, in its original form. Its importance stems from its historical content rather than its poetic qualities. It provides linguistic evidence about the early Swedish language, which encapsulates the inner mental life of Swedes. The early language retains and contains the purity of the language and is closer to the origins and thus the purity of intention and will of the nation. To regain this purity is to come to the source of nationhood and allow for a rebirth, a renewal, an awakening of a national character which had been lost in the flux and uncertainty of modernity's march. Modernity's terrible visage has impelled the editors to seek stability and immutability (tradition) in which they can find rest, which after the troubles of 1848 must have seemed very attractive. The original language offers this stability of form, in which the

original is most stable. The original Swedish language reflects the original thinking patterns and forms of the Swedish people. The song's traditional, certain, and stable contents offer a bulwark against modernity's negative sides. Philological study opens up a scientific means of returning to that tradition. The editors did not seem to recognize that by reconstructing the song, they were also destabilizing it.

Like most of the songs in this dissertation, I want to suggest an interpretative scheme for *Eriks-visan*, relying again on Buchan and Holbek. Initially, the song text does not appear to work particularly well using their schemes. However, I think that at least structurally Buchan's schemes will be helpful. I agree with Bengt Jonsson in viewing the text as having a ballad-like form, i.e., the Swedish-language translations of a Latin original attempt to follow contemporary ballad forms. First, in terms of characters, the song appears to have only two: King Erik, a High-status, Adult Male who is the hero (H) and Dan, a High-status, Adult Male, the villain (V). They are both equal in status and Holbek's categories of character role oppositions hardly matter here. The text seems to have nothing to do with family. The resolution does not end in a successful or unsuccessful marriage. The point appears to be historical precedent for Danish kings paying taxes to Swedish kings because Swedes had settled Jutland. The drama is not intimate. It is not easy to read the song as either comedy (happy ending) or tragedy (sad ending). The song text appears to be a type of invocation, directed at Denmark. I suggest that we need to turn to a different set of interpretative strategies - Thomas A. DuBois' lyric interpretative axes, which I will turn to below, after examining the song's ballad-like structure.

Based on Mrs. Brown's recorded repertoire, Buchan suggests that ballads tend to have three main characters – the hero, the heroine, and the third character (most often the villain or threat) – and the ballad's story hinges on the relationship between the first two characters and the threat from the third. Buchan does admit however that the number of characters can vary from two to more

than three and this appears to be the case here. There is no apparent female counterpart to the hero, King Erik. King Dan plays the role of the villain. I suggest that Elaus Terserus was aware of the contemporary ballad traditions and felt that the story worked within ballad conventions. Buchan's analysis does not consider the ballad grouping called *kämpavisor* [heroic ballads], which differ in their story patterns and do not follow the types of narratives found in Mrs. Brown's repertoire. Heroic ballads tend to concern themselves with different spheres than marriage and social maturation, focusing instead on mythical themes and individual or heroic maturation. It is a heroic ballad that *Eriks-visan* resembles more and Terserus was likely aware of this fact.

However, while the song's historical and political narrative resonates with nation-building myths and resembles heroic ballads, the ballad's text portrays the relationships between land and king as one of family relations. I argue that we can read *Eriks-visan* in terms of ballad groupings that focus on hero-heroine-threat narrative types. Terserus symbolically borrowed from the knightly and supernatural ballad types, erecting a hero-heroine-villain love triangle that has something of a family element, specifically in that the villain threatens the hero and heroine, acting as a competing suitor. The *situation and complication* occur from stanzas one to four, wherein Erik's character is established and the problem with some of his subjects is introduced. But who is the female protagonist then?

I suggest that we read Jutland as the female protagonist. Terserus symbolically sets up Jutland as a passive heroine[6] who needs to be possessed, tamed, and ruled over in the narrative's development. This sort of heroine is acted upon as a passive object to be rescued. The song's refrain, repeated at the end of each stanza reinforces this reading: "*Så låther han först ergie vthi Juthland*" [He was the first to plough Jutland]; "to plough" here means to settle. It also suggests an earthy sexual reading: ploughing is the breaking of earth so that seeds can be planted. The settling of Jutland by King Erik becomes far more loaded: ploughing becomes a violent breaking of Jutland's

[6] I am not using the term heroine in the same way as Bengt Holbek does in *Interpretation of Fairy Tales*, where the heroine tends to play the role of an active agent even when not the primary protagonist.

ground to expand the Swedish kingdom (even if it is done with criminals). Moreover, the text depicts Jutland as empty of people: "*Ey war i Danmark någon till / som ploger monde wände*" [There was no one in Denmark / who might put it under plough] (st. 4). Jutland, as a woman, needs to be possessed, ploughed, and settled. King Erik does so by sending his people there to take possession and build it up under his protection.

If Jutland is the passive heroine, then King Erik becomes the active hero and King Dan the villain who threatens the relationship between Erik and Jutland. In terms of its resolution, the song becomes a tragedy with good king Erik losing the woman to the wicked interloper, King Dan. This reading also fits well with nationalism's identification of land with people as well as romantic and bourgeois representations of women as passive agents. Women were placed on a pedestal, to be gazed upon by male eyes. The woman is either virgin, wife, mother, or whore. This moralizing reading of the text may explain the interest of Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens in the song beyond the fact that it was supposedly old.

With Jutland as the passive heroine who is possessed and acted upon and King Erik as the hero, and King Dan the woman-stealing villain, reading the ballad from Buchan's story-pattern scheme begins to make sense. The *situation* lays out that Erik, the first king in Götaland, is pious and rules his land well and that there is an unpossessed and unsettled land. The *complication* is that some of Erik's subjects are wicked. The *development* then is that Erik sends his misbehaving people to plough Jutland, settle it and build it into a productive land on his behalf. King Himmel the Evil's son, King Dan comes to Jutland and takes it for himself and names it for himself (Denmark). The *resolution* occurs when King Dan does not wish to pay taxes to Sweden but must do so because he does not have the power to throw off Sweden completely; thus the admonishment for the Danish kings to pay taxes to the Swedish kings in stanza 10. The tragedy is that King Erik loses his land (the woman).

In addition to Buchan's scheme, Thomas DuBois's lyric interpretative scheme and its interpretative axes suggest a different but complementary manner to read this song. DuBois introduces a typology of interpretative strategies, which he views as representative of the normative traditions that communities use to interpret the lyrics of their community. DuBois posits a typology of three interpretive axes for lyric songs. The first axis is the *situational*. The second is the *associative*. Finally, the third is the *generic* axis. Dubois argues that any lyric poem (and I argue that narrative songs) can be interpreted along any of these, but a traditional, oral community has its own particular norm for interpreting its lyrics that leans more heavily towards certain ends of the axes than others. Interpretation along the *situational* axis depends on either *narrativization* or *proverbialization*. An audience interprets and understands a lyric because they know a story behind it or because they see it as generalization of individual human experiences. With the *associative* axis, a community interprets the lyrics by associating it with a particular person, thing or place. The association with the particular enables a community to fit or associate the lyric to a person, place or thing where it makes sense. There are three types of association along this axis: *personalization*, where the singer or poet creates self as the interpretive point; *invocative*, where the lyric is directed towards another, such as a deity; and *attributive*, where the community ascribes the lyric to another. From the *generic* axis, a community interprets a particular lyric based on familiarity with the conventions of the lyric genre. Typical *content* or *context* of performance provides the keys for the community to interpret the lyric. According to DuBois, a community may rely on more than one axis to interpret but some are more relied on in particular communities than others, and particular communities tend to gravitate to one type of interpretative point.

In particular, I point to the *associative (invocative)* and the *situational (narrativization)* axes to help suggest a reading. *Eriks-visan* was clearly composed for and addressed mainly to a Swedish audience as it elevates Sweden above their longtime foes, the Danes. But the text functions as an invocation

to Denmark the land and Denmark the nation. It exhorts Denmark to know its place. Invocation often beseeches other beings, such as gods, nature beings, etc. The texts do not so much invoke as command, nevertheless, being addressed to Denmark, the song has no meaning without the existence of Denmark both as a land and as a nation. Unlike some invocations, the song is not particularly mystical (to use DuBois's term), but "imaginative" (DuBois 2006, 3). However, while *Eriks-visan* is a more imaginative invocation, it also uses the imagery of the pious and good king Erik opposed to the evil king Dan to suggest a more mystical function: the text bears witness before the Christian God, even if the events have happened during pre-Christian times.

Moreover the song, ballad-like as it is, asserts in its narrative the preeminence of Sweden over Denmark in a specific narrative context. Sweden was superior not just because Sweden had a good and just king or that Sweden had more military might, but that this good and just king settled Denmark. Sweden possessed Jutland[7] as a husband possessed his wife, as property, and did it first, before anyone else could call the land after himself. The distant past speaks to the present: land is feminine, to be ploughed, tamed, settled, and made useful by men.[8] And while King Erik lost possession of Jutland to King Dan, this critique sprang from an entitled masculine arena of power: a powerful man possesses a woman or a land and treats her as an object. And the poem's conclusion, whether the contemporary reader accepts the tenth stanza or not, still calls Denmark to pay taxes, or perhaps in the time of Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens, to pay symbolic tribute to the preeminence of Sweden. In fact, in romanticism's binary thinking, the text feminizes Denmark, or more properly, makes Denmark less powerful. Danes are not the active agents that first possessed and ploughed

[7] Perhaps also the (symbolically) disputed territory of Skåne. Paula Henrikson explores the symbolic conflict between Denmark and Sweden over Skåne via critical editions of laws in "Scania Province Law and Nation-Building in Scandinavia" (2008).
[8] Cf. Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* (2008) and Annette Kolodny's *The Lay of the Land* (1975) for close analysis of the ways that white male intellectuals viewed land.

Jutland but appear as interlopers who do not have the power to fully possess Jutland. The poem, in this view, becomes an elegant way of telling Denmark off.

In this chapter, I have shown how the earlier collections of Geijer and Afzelius and Arwidsson influenced the views of Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius and George Stephens as they approached the task of ballad representation and editing, envisioning ballad songs as texts. However, I demonstrated that they approached these texts less aesthetically and less mystically, and more as archeological relics from which the inner mental life of ancient Swedes could be reconstructed. This approach differed significantly from the enthusiastic romanticism of Geijer and Afzelius, who saw a folk-soul expressed in ballads. For Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens, the ballads were texts and historical evidence. I read the text, *Eriks-visan*, which supposedly first originated as a poem in the eleventh-century and farther back still as folk memory of the migration period. For Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens, this text demonstrated the ancient roots of Sweden and proved Sweden as the source of the settlers and eventual rulers of Denmark. In the next chapter on the work of Eva Wigström, I turn to an approach which is once again romantic but also focused on social transformation, aimed at educating the "folk". Wigström's edition of songs and tales from 1880 demonstrates the continuing romantic approach to folksongs in the late nineteenth century while turning this approach to the more recent past and to education of the folk from which the songs were collected.

Chapter 5: Eva Wigström and Middle-Class Missions of Morality

In the last chapter, we examined how Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius and George Stephens, following in the footsteps of Leonhard Fredrik Rääf, Erik Gustaf Geijer, Arvid August Afzelius, Adolf Ivar Arwidsson, regarded ballads as texts a distant, ancient past. For these intellectuals, contemporary ballads were corruptions of medieval and ancient originals. Their romantic focus was on the distant past, and they interpreted ballads in terms of history. Unlike their predecessors who viewed ballads as childlike emotional impressions which recalled Sweden's childlike innocence and original greatness, Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens viewed ballads as relics of a mental archeology which could help them understand ancient Swedes. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, as romantic fervor faded still more, interest in ballads did not fade. Instead, intellectuals coming from different socio-economic situations, began to focus on the near past, finding evidence and inspiration in folksong.

In this chapter, I suggest that in the 1870s, a change began to emerge in the representation of the folk and ballads. Text remained king, but collectors such as Eva Wigström, began to suggest context. The work I concentrate on in this chapter is Eva Wigström's *Folkdiktning* [Folk Poetry] (1880), contrasting it with Richard Bergström's revision of the earlier edition of Geijer and Afzelius. Gender and class had not only been erased in the reification of the text, but the women who had helped collect songs during the entire nineteenth century were erased, marginalized or ignored. Eva Wigström selected, collected, textualized, ordered, classified, named and interpreted ballads as moralized lessons and as starting points for cultural understanding for teachers and others engaged in the social transformation of farmers and the rural proletariat. The daughter of a fairly progressive farmer, she grew up in a rural area in Skåne that informed much of her views on the folk. Factors such as education and the increased social mobility allowed Wigström to enter into the public sphere

and become an effective and prolific fieldworker. In marked contrast from Bergström, she received little support from most scholars in Sweden, finding intellectual encouragement from scholars in Denmark and Norway instead. She also found herself in-between worlds of her agrarian background and the middle class world she had entered. In her published folksong and folktale editions, she represents tradition as an escape from modernity, romanticizing the folk, while also obscuring the folk as individuals, either by erasing them or amalgamating several sources into a single teller in her frame narratives. However, in her writings about her fieldwork, she represents sympathetically and humorously her informants as human beings. She tried to show the folk in this light while writing for a bourgeois audience with particular expectations. Her work continued the tendency to treat folksong as folkpoetry and omitted melodies altogether.

Despite all appearances to the contrary based on written histories, women had long played important roles in the production of ballad editions. As I have pointed out in previous chapters, female informants sang, adapted and transmitted the majority of ballads. These women came not only from poor, rural areas (as is the case of Greta Naterberg), but also from more advantaged socio-economic status (as is the case of Beata Memsen). However, women also played other important roles in the production of ballad editions. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Augusta Fredrika von Hartmansdorff wrote out fair copies of many ballads subsequently published in Arwidsson's *Svenska fornsånger*. Women such as Wendela Hebbe, Selma Colliander, and Ellen Key collected ballads. But towards the end of the nineteenth century, women folklorists began to enter into the profession. Until recently, they were seldom mentioned; works by Maria Ehrenberg (2003) and Barbro Klein (2013) and others have begun to bring into the foreground these women of the past, who often worked in the background in archives and developed collections. They worked as collectors, archivists, curators, and editors and writers, as well as working in what we might today call public folklore, the public presentation and interpretation of folklore.

Eva Wigström was one of these pioneers, and one whose contributions have been acknowledged in the field. Anna Birgitta Rooth (1953) and later Nil-Arvid Bringéus (1985 & 1992) have both examined Wigström's work. In particular, they focus on her folktale collections. Maria Ehrenberg (2003) applies recent folkloristic and critical theories to Wigström's folktale collections; in particular she relies on Bengt Holbek's *Interpretation of Fairy Tales* (1987). In this chapter, I look at Wigström's ballad collection and the moral lessons she sought to promote. While she selected and collected texts in order to promote cultural understanding for teachers, she also developed a repertoire of songs that represented a moral viewpoint. Like Greta Naterberg, Eva Wigström's collection (repertoire?) of ballads centers on family. But unlike Greta Naterberg's concern with family cohesion, Wigström concentrates on romantic love and Oscarian, bourgeois family relationships. While Geijer, Afzelius, Arwidsson, and Grundtvig certainly inspired her, she differed from these male scholars in her concentration on a more recent past. As in the previous chapters, I examine a ballad from her published edition; however because of lack of original transcriptions and informant information, I work from her fieldwork journal in order to imagine a singer and her song, when I read the song in context.

Eva Wigström was born 24 December 1832 in Råga Hörstad in Asmundtorp parish in Skåne (Scania) province. Born as Eva Pålsdotter, her father was Pål Nilsson (1794-1853), a farmer. Her mother was Pernilla Jönsdotter (1799-1855). Eva had nine siblings. She did not receive much formal education, but her father held fairly liberal ideas and she received a basic education at home. Her father had a library, which she was given access to on weekends; she developed a desire for and appreciation of literature and history. On Midsummer's eve, 1855, at the age of 23, she married Claës Wigström, a *fanjunkare* [warrant officer] at Ramlösa Brunn [Ramlösa Spring], where he worked as the spa's director. Claës Wigström's rank and title was military; however, the Swedish army was more of a career path than a commitment to military service. The two met because Eva father

owned part of the Ramlösa Brunna. After her father died in 1853, Eva's brother Jöns took possession of the spa for a time. Eva and Claës had two daughters. They moved often as Claës took up different positions: he worked as a shop owner in 1857 in Ystad St. Petri, and in 1859 in Lund. In 1861, the couple moved to Malmö, where Claës was assigned as a *fanjunkare*. In 1868, they moved to a different part of the city and Claës took up a position as a superintendent of work at Malmö prison. In 1870, he became the director for the Poor-Relief and Work House in Allerum, north of Helsingborg. In 1871, he opened a school for bookkeepers.

Eva Wigström wrote to help support her family, especially after Claës left his position at Malmö prison to open a bookkeeper's school. Claës's school was not a money maker, and Eva's income as a writer, small as it was,[1] helped support the family. She wrote children's stories and folklife descriptions, a popular genre of the time. She edited a children's magazine and also wrote pieces on women's rights, the raising of children, prison, education, and poverty relief reform. She also worked as a translator from Danish into Swedish. She wrote from a Christian viewpoint, though not from the Evangelical or Pietist strains, but rather from a Grundtvigian. In 1877, in addition to writing and assisting in her husband's work, she taught at the girls' school that her daughter Gerda opened from 1877 to 1890.

Not long after she began to teach at her daughter's school, Wigström attended a conference at a *folkhögskola* [folk high school] in Denmark where she met Fredrik Lange Grundtvig, brother to Svend Grundtvig, the great ballad editor and folklore scholar. Fredrik Lange Grundtvig had developed a questionnaire concerning superstitions and folk beliefs about birds. Wigström was intrigued and sought out information for Grundtvig. It awoke childhood memories for her. This inspired her to start her collection expeditions in Skåne at the age of 47. Svend Grundtvig became

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Chapter 5 Notes

[1] She was not particularly well paid compared to other women authors in Sweden at the time. This may partly explain her large body of writing. (cf. *Fri och Fången* & Ehrenberg, x)

her mentor, advisor and editorial guide when she published *Folkdiktning I* (1880). Maria Ehrenberg claims, with some good reason, that she was the product of Danish folklore scholarship rather than Swedish (2003, 29). Indeed, her first volume, *Folkdiktning I* (1880) was published by a Danish publisher when she could not find a publisher in Sweden. The prefaces to the volume were written by Svend Grundtvig and Peter Christen Asbjørnsen. Wigström writes that Svend Grundtvig's death in 1883 was a particularly hard blow for her.

Wigström continued her collection expeditions after *Folkdiktning I*, though now with Swedish support: King Oscar II gave her 200 kronor. Further expeditions produced more ballads, folktales, legends, and folk beliefs, enough for two more volumes. She also wrote a book, *Vandringar i Skåne och Bleking* [Wanderings in Scania and Bleking], in which she details her experiences during her expeditions (1887). In this book, she chronicles her tireless efforts and abilities to endure hardship as well as her ability to get on with different social classes. Her husband helped her work by writing out fair copies and making second copies of her manuscripts. Her memoires also demonstrate her rigor as a folklorist, perhaps to quiet any criticism of her as a female intellectual. She was of course influenced by the worldview of Swedish middle-class Christianity: she openly admits that she had no interest in taking down bawdy and obscene stories and songs. She believed, however, that such material could be valuable, although she refused to collect them because of her personal beliefs. She continued to collect, edit, and publish folklore and folklife throughout the 1880s and 1890s. She died in 1901 in Helsingborg.

In the same year that Eva Wigström published *Svenska folkdikting* I (1880), the chief librarian at Kungliga biblioteket, Richard Bergström published a revised and expanded edition of Geijer and

Afzelius's *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden*, with new ballads and variants, titled simply *Svenska folkvisor*,[2] a work which I will also discuss in this chapter. Like Geijer and Afzelius's 1814-1818 edition, Bergström published his work in three volumes, but he arranged them quite differently. The first volume includes all the ballad texts and Geijer's 1814 introduction; the second volume contains Geijer and Afzelius's ballad paratexts, supplemented by commentary, short essays, and bibliographic references; the final volume contains all the melodies to the texts along with essays on folk tunes. He changes the connotations of ballads by removing "*från forntiden*" from the title, effectively following the intellectual currents of the day that suggested that ballads were not necessarily just from the past, but also honoring Geijer's desire not to have a subtitle.[3] He justifies the change in terms of Geijer's authority. Bergström connected the edition with Svend Grundtvig's ballad collection and thanks Grundtvig for his help (GABI 1880, xxx). The commentaries to the texts and melodies provide additional information on the sources, references, and on connections to tales, history, and myths. Bergström does not state that he thinks of ballads as a dead form. August Bondeson remarks in his introduction (1903, iii) that Bergström told him that there were plenty of broadsheet ballads; but made no mention of ballads as a living tradition, a sentiment shared by others (ibid., iv).

Instead of suggesting the blind, harp-playing bard like Ossian or Homer, who graced the title page of Geijer and Afzelius's 1814 edition, Richard Bergström's title page depicts instead an image of what appears to be various ballad characters acting out their roles on a moonlit landscape. There are some similarities of framing to those employed in the 1814 title page's, such as a tree that arches over the scene, but the image implies less that the editor and the edition are interested in the ancient Swedish singer or the literary heritage of Sweden than upon the ballad narratives, plots, and contents. Romanticism's literary-history project had changed to one of literary science, with

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[2] In references, I will refer to Bergström's edition as GAB; the first volume as GABI, second as GABII, third as GABIII. Songs will be designated as GAB 1, etc.

[3] Cf. KB Vs 126a A – letter from E.G. Geijer to A.A. Afzelius dated 14 July 1814.

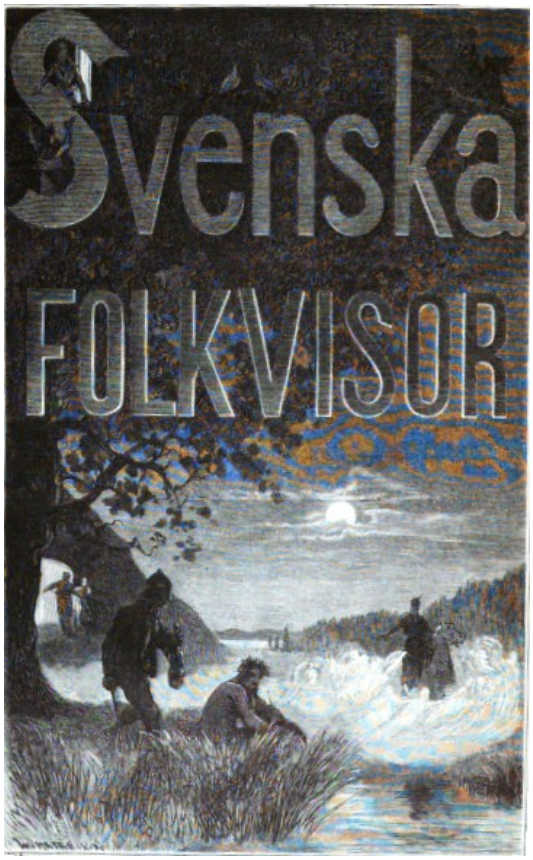

Figure 6. Title page to Bergström's 1880 *Svenska folkvisor.*

narratives to be analyzed rather than Swedish character to be shaped in enraptured contemplation of the Ur-Poet.

Bergström's *Svenska folkvisor* contains 106 song types, arranged slightly differently from the way they had been arranged in Geijer and Afzelius's edition. For example, Bergström still denotes Greta Naterberg's "*Linden*" as a variant and has the same lacuna as in Geijer and Afzelius's edition, but is now numbered 71. Volume 1's paratext reveals nothing about where the song comes from or that Afzelius had designated it as a fragment. Instead, Bergström places all this information in the second volume's commentaries (GABII 1880, 292-6). In these commentaries, Bergström includes additional variants along with remarks about the ballad's place in folklore. He mentions, for example, a variant of "*Linden*" from "*Upland"* and its "*sångerska*" [singer] (GABII 1880, 293). And for Greta Naterberg's "*Linden*," he repeats the observation from Geijer and Afzelius's edition that the song was a "*fragment*." After these remarks, he cites similar songs from other languages and mentions a German song which had a similar narrative. Bergström then follows up with a short essay that interprets the song and analyzes it from a historical perspective, seeming to look for the song's original forms and its connections to folk belief, not only in Sweden (ibid., 292) but also in Germany (ibid., 296). He describes this type of ballad, with its happy resolution, as resembling more fairy tales than other ballads, and suggests they be considered as a different type of ballad, "*trollvisan*" [the magic song], a designation close to that which these songs receive in Bengt Jonsson, Svale Solheim

and Eva Danielson's *The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* (1978) and Jonsson et al's *Sveriges medeltida ballader* (1983): *naturmytiska visor* [supernatural ballads].

In contrast to Bergström's edition and all other editions I have examined so far, Wigström does not focus exclusively on ballads in her 1880 *Folkdiktning* I. The first section consists of a collection of ballads and *ballad-efterklang* [ballad echoes] which are presented with little paratextual commentary. The next section follows with a series of tales set in a frame narrative of a few tale tellers who Wigström amalgamated from many different informants. Maria Ehrenberg (2003) examines the ways that Wigström constructed these stories, creating and silencing the voices of her informants. I refer the reader to this excellent work for a consideration of her engagement with folk tales, which I do not consider here. Wigström privileges folk poetry: as her title and content suggest, she regards folk poetry to be more than just songs, and like her Danish contemporaries, seems to employ the term to refer to folk narratives or folklore in general. Like her predecessors, she privileges ballads above prose tales. However, she provides the ballads with no frame narrative. She does not appear to follow strictly the classificatory systems put forward by Geijer and Afzelius, Arwidsson's, or Svend Grundtvig. With the folktales she includes, she lets an imagined folk narrator tell the tale in a frame narrative following the model of Asbjørnsen and Moe. With the ballads, in contrast she does not depict herself sitting in a crofter's cabin listening to the songs. Instead, she seems to follow the ballad collection legacy while perhaps suggesting that ballads emerged from the folk. However, by employing a frame narrative for the folktale section, she perhaps invites her reader to also read the ballad texts as coming from this same sort of environment.

Problematically, Wigström did not retain her field transcriptions and nor any record of her individual informants; she apparently destroyed all her fieldwork transcripts. All that remains are the fair copy manuscripts for the publisher. What editorial alterations she might have made are impossible to examine. Thus, when I turn to a ballad from her edition, I cannot look at an individual

singer personally nor at Wigström's editorial alterations. Thus, I make some generalizations about Scania's peasant populations of the time and I focus more particularly on the themes of the ballads she selected for her edition.

Unlike Bergström's revision and expansion of Geijer and Afzelius's edition, Wigström did not seek to be exhaustive, taxonomical, or academic though her work was certainly scholarly. Instead, she sought to show that authentic folkpoetry still existed, and that people continued to perform it. But like her younger colleague, August Bondeson, Wigström attempted to entertain as well as enlighten by contextualizing the folktales for her middle-class readers by using a semi-fictional frame narrative like that of Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe in *Norske Folkeeventyr* [Norwegian Folktales] (1844). In doing so, she connects tales together while never acknowledging the fiction of her frame narrative. However, as mentioned above, she provided no such frame narrative for the ballad section. Nonetheless, she may have attempted to imagine a connecting thread that shaped the songs into a larger narrative. For example, the first ballad's villain is a merman, while the second features a mermaid. However, if Eva Wigström intended to create an overarching narrative, she never explicitly states so. Generally, I find little evidence that she intended to order her songs in any way. Most of the ballads deal with family creation or dissolution, but such is typical of most ballads. She may have modeled her ordering of ballads somewhat on Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska folkvisor* (1814). The first six ballad narratives in *Folkdiktning* (1880) resemble the first six in *Svenska folkvisor* (1814).

Wigström asserts that the folk still tell tales and sing ballads – "our" tales and songs. But she seems to recognize a gap between most of her audience and the world in which the singers and tellers lived. Thus she often refers to the idea of authenticity in her introduction. She affirms the authenticity of origins for tales and ballads, as opposed to the unstated inauthenticity and artificiality of modernity, saying that she relates the tales and ballads "*i samma trovärdiga ton, som de blifvit mig*

meddelade af de många hvilka ännu i dag tro på hela denna sagoverld, som folkfantasien skapat och ännu skapar" [in the same credible tone that they were communicated to me by the many who still today believe completely in this fairytale world, that the folk-imagination has shaped and shapes still] (1880, 1-2). The folk's tales and songs may contain false beliefs, but within them, Wigström suggests that "*hvad som är äkta nordiskt, skall väckas vid klangen af de gamla tonerna i våra visor och sagor*" [what is authentically Nordic shall be awakened at the sound of the old tones in our songs and tales] (ibid., 2). While modernity, individualism, education, and industrialization destroyed traditional modes, Wigström like Geijer before her emphasizes that tradition provides Sweden with deep roots into the past.

With her emphasis on and claim to authenticity, Wigström is also able to assert her own authority by pointing out that she knows the folk and that she collected the tales and songs contained in her volume herself. She asserts her authority specifically by writing, "... *ty det är min personliga erfarenhet* …" [for it is my personal experience] (ibid., 2) and "… *jag af folkets läppar mottagit det*" [I have received [the material] from the folk's lips] (ibid., 3). While it might be easy to dismiss this assertion of authority over folk tales and ballads, with my critique of middle-class ideology and reification of song performance, I cannot ignore that she did not simply embrace bourgeois values here: she was a woman working in a man's arena. There are many women who we now classify as folklorists, but most of these women worked behind the scenes (cf. Klein 2013). Wigström was not hidden: she was better known at the time for her semi-fictional portrayal of folk life, *För fyrtio år sedan: taflor ur skånska folklivet* [Forty years ago: images from Scania folk-life] (1870) and her work as a writer of children's books and social essays. She was not regarded as a serious folklorist or collector. She began her song and tale collecting later in life: she did not start collecting folklore as a young university student, as so many male intellectuals had. Instead, she asserted her authority via her firsthand experience. She could aptly claim to know the Skånska peasantry far better than did her male contemporaries, since she had grown up among them.

To the scholars of her day, science was a male pursuit; one that the female body (and mind) was not suited for. Wigström, like women more generally, was regarded as emotional, attached, and embodied, in the eyes of contemporary male intellectuals.[4] Men could be scientists, not just in the realms of chemistry, biology, or physics, but in the whole production of human knowledge, including archeology and folklore. The male mind was created to be detached, calculated, and intellectually focused. Ann-Charlotte Gavel Adams, in her essay "*Vetenskap och manlighet*" [Science and masculinity], speaks of the two realms in nineteenth century Europe:

> *Kroppslig kärlek och intellektuellt tänkande horde hemma i olika domäner i 1800-talets Europa. Att utöva vetenskap likställdes med ett rent intellektuellt skapande i en värld där intellektet betraktades om manligt och naturen, det kroppsliga och emotionella betraktades som kvinnligt. Vetenskapen var en manlig domän, dit kvinnan inte hade tillträde.* (2006, 69)
>
> Physical love and intellectual thought belonged to different domains in nineteenth century Europe. To practice science was on par with a purely intellectual creating in a world where the intellect was regarded as masculine and nature, the physical and emotional were regarded as feminine. Science was a masculine domain; woman did not have admittance there. (2006, 69)

Folklore and "*folkdiktning*" were not perhaps as overtly scientific as August Strindberg's spiritual pursuits via chemistry, Gavel Adams' subject, but as we have seen, editors and collectors had striven to be increasingly scientific since the time of Geijer and Afzelius. There are a few women who can now be numbered among these scientists in the nineteenth-century, but they are exceptional and few. This is the case in part because there was "no admittance" to the men's club, and also because women scientists, fieldworkers, collectors, and editors are rarely celebrated in the "great man" narratives of the history of science (or of folklore, for that matter). This is slowly being corrected, but remains a neglected area in folklore studies today.[5]

[4] This was not always the case; for example, August Bondeson looked up to Eva Wigström and wrote her letters for advice and intellectual comradeship.
[5] For example, see Klein 2013 and Blacker & Davidson, 2000.

Wigström stepped into an arena that had been designated as masculine and thus necessarily needed to assert her authority through the authenticity of the materials she has collected from the lips of the folk. In making this appeal to her reader's enlightened minds, she stressed how she keeps intact the original dialect of her songs and tales as much as possible (1880, 3). She states that she only took tales and ballads orally transmitted to her (ibid.). The high praise she receives from Svend Grundtvig and Peter Christen Asbjörnsen in their prefaces also helps bolster her intellectual reputation and authority. It is interesting to note that Wigström was unable to find a Swedish publisher for the first volume of *Folkdiktning*. However, with Grundtvig's influence, a Danish publisher was found. Wigström feels it necessary to point out that she is not writing for children: "... *denna bok ej är någon barnbok, utan blott ett samladt arf, som öfverlemnas åt mogna män och kvinnor*" [this book is not some children's book, but a collected heritage, that is presented for mature men and women] (Wigström 1880, 1). She addresses this specifically because of her established reputation as an author of children's stories. She feared, likely with good reason, that she would not be taken seriously as a researcher and rigorous collector.

Wigström must also, like many of us in the humanities, assert the utility of her work. As a long-time social reformer (cf. Ehrenberg 2003), she saw her work as a way for providing insight into the peasant mind. While Wigström bemoans the loss of tradition and its magic, she also asserts that knowledge of tradition could help teachers and educators to educate peasants: "... *har jag ... tanken, att det kanske skulle vara af gagn för dem, som handhafva folkets undervisning eller arbeta på dess upplysning, att de lärde närmare känna den mark de vilja odla* ..." [... I have … the thought that it would perhaps be of use for those who are in charge of the folk's education or work on this enlightenment, that they got to know more intimately the soil they want to cultivate …] (Wigström 1880, 2). She writes of folklore as giving the characteristics of the soil, where the soil is the peasantry: to know that soil enables educators to better cultivate it (cf. Wigström 1880, 2). She echoes Artur Hazelius's motto for

Nordiska museet: "*ty det är alltid nyttigt att lära känna sig sjelf så väl som möjligt*" [for it is always useful to get to know one's self as well as possible] (ibid.).[6] She saw this cultural knowledge as a way of getting into the folk's mind to help them move away from "*dunkla aningar*" [dim notions] to "*klara tankar*" [clear thoughts] (ibid). She wanted to help the folk move into modernity by awakening in them their Swedishness. They would become good and patriotic citizens who loved their nation because of their love of the authentically Nordic (ibid.).

Folkdiktning I (1880) contains forty ballads or ballad-like songs. Twenty-nine of the song types are found in *Sveriges medeltida ballader* and *Types of The Medieval Scandinavian Ballad*. Using the classification schemes these later works, 27% (8) are ballads of the supernatural; 7% (2) legendary ballads; 52% (15) knightly ballads; 3% (1) heroic ballads; and 7% (2) jocular ballads. She includes no historical ballads. I have also tentatively placed the remaining songs into the classifications they most closely matched: the volume contains 24 chivalric ballads or songs (60%) and 10 supernatural songs (25%). As noted above, most of her included ballads deal with family creation or dissolution. Both knightly and supernatural ballads deal most strongly with these themes, particularly in terms of successful or failed maturation, with success measured by marriage.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Greta Naterberg also focused on family, but more particularly on family cohesion. If we treat Eva Wigström's ballad collection in *Folkdiktning* as a sort of repertoire, her repertoire seems to focus on romantic love and bourgeois relations between men and women. The morality she favors can be demonstrated both positively and negatively. She includes 21 ballads with comic (happy or socially positive) endings and 18 ballads with tragic (unhappy or socially negative) endings, implying a slight emphasis on happy endings. One ballad adopts a didactic tone. She favors female protagonists slightly more than male protagonists (26 females to 14 males). However, this is not an entirely always helpful observation if we realize that some ballads have more

[6] Artur Hazelius' motto for the museum was "*Känn dig själv*" [Know thyself].

than one protagonist. Some have both a male and a female protagonist, though one of them tends to be more active (cf. Holbek 1987, 356-7). The threats or antagonists to the protagonists vary.

Antagonist type	# instances
human, male	16
nature or abstract	10
human, female	5
supernatural	5
maturation problem	4

Table 5. *Folkdiktning's* ballad antagonists

Among the human antagonists, in 14 ballads, family members figure as the Villain. Male relatives, such as fathers and brothers, present the most frequent threat. They always threaten a female protagonist. Below is a breakdown of these family antagonists. Exceptionally, a step-mother (usually a stock villain) figures as an ally to her daughter-in-law against her ill-mannered son in song number 28.

Family member as villain	# instances
Father	5
Brother	4
Mother	3
Sister	2

Table 6. Instances and types of family member antagonists in *Folkdiktning's* ballads

Protagonist fate	# instances
Death, male	12
Death, female	11
Marriage	11

Table 7. Protagonist fates in *Folkdiktning's* ballads.

The most common fate for protagonists in Wigström's collection is death. There are cases where the female is rescued by a male (song 4), revenge is exacted (song 3), the female escapes on her own (song 2), and in one ballad (song 16), the heroine rescues the hero. The family anchors and centers Wigström's edition, as it suggests a middle-class family. The behaviors of men and women ensure the bonds of family or destroy them. Moreover, she suggests in her included songs a notion

of romantic, sentimental love, a type of love of great value that could extend even into death, legitimizing it as natural and proper (cf. song 26).

I have selected for analysis Wigström's song 6 "*Den döde brudgummen*" [The dead bridegroom] because, as a supernatural ballad, it was among the second-most common ballad type in her collection. However, the song also demonstrates the difficulty of applying a single interpretive scheme to all ballads, even ones from the same classificatory grouping. Many supernatural ballads can easily be analyzed using both David Buchan's story-pattern and story-type ideas and Bengt Holbek's theory and methods of fairy tale analysis. But this particular song does not easily fit into either of these schemes. My analysis underscores the need for socio-historic and cultural context, both for the milieu in which the song was collected, and also for that of the collector. The ballad allows us to look at Wigström's ideas as well as the wider academic discourse because it has a parallel in Bergström's revised edition of Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska folkvisor* (1880). Song 6 in that edition, titled "*Sorgens makt*" [The power of sorrow] was a multiform of the same story type, and Bergström's commentary provides a revealing look at the way the song was interpreted by middle class academics, one which contrasts starkly with how a Scanian peasant might interpret of the song's moral.[7]

As noted above, Wigström provided next to no provenance for her songs and stories other than a general location – the parish.[8] Her later book, *Vandringen i Skåne och Blekinge* (1887) provides some justification for this, writing that informants had conditions: "… *fråga om sagor och visor, möter det ej något hinder att på stället uppteckna dem, dock alltid med villkor att ej meddelarens namn sättes ut*" [the question of tales and ballads, it is not any obstacle to record the place, however, always with the

[7] That both works number this ballad type the same is perhaps further proof that Eva Wigström followed *Svenska folkvisor från forntiden* as her model.
[8] In one instance in her *Folkdiktning* II, she mentioned the sex of the singer

condition that the informant's name is not revealed] (18). In this same book, she occasionally provides information that matches up to an informant's occupation and sex. However, for "*Den döde brudgumma,*" Wigström provides no such information, though I will make some suggestions about the sex of the singer. However, Wigström provides some reasons for her search for this song in particular, which she actively selected and sought out. In the remainder of this section, I 1) suggest some ideas about the singer, 2) discuss its narrative, 3) look at the contemporary middle-class academic interpretations of the song, 4) and finally, suggest an interpretation rooted in the local context using recent interpretative schemes.

The song makes no clear indication of who the more central protagonist is: whether the heroine, Kerstin, with whom it begins and ends, or the dead bridegroom, who guides the action and dominates the dialog. Thus it is difficult to suggest whether the song is "masculine" or "feminine" according Holbek's interpretative schemes for fairy tales.[9] Neither the male or female character in song appears to change level of maturity or social status in the "tale roles," which Holbek uses to determine whether a fairy tale is masculine or feminine (cf. ibid, 416-7). Both characters are of High, Young status. However, based on the sex of informants of other multiforms in *Sveriges medeltida ballader* (excluding broadsheet editions), I suggest that the singer was most likely a woman.[10] Furthermore, Wigström's narrative about her initial hunt for the song in *Vandringen i Skåne och Blekinge* (1887) also suggests a woman as a more likely source (15-6).

It is useful to examine how Wigström undertook her ethnographic work and how she viewed her informants to help suggest a picture of the "informant type" that provided her with this

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[9] "The tales in which the hero plays the active part in these moves whereas the heroine is passive, will now be defined as *masculine* tales, fairy tales of masculine gender. The tales where these roles are reversed will be defined as *feminine* tales" (Holbek 1987, 161). "Male and female repertoires differ. There is a distinctive tendency for men to prefer masculine fairy tales, whereas women's repertoires are more evenly distributed between the two genders of fairy tales" (Holbek 1987, 405-6)

[10] 20 orally collected multiforms; 10 female informants (50%), 4 male (20%) , 6 unknown (30% - SMB 32T is listed as unknown, but it is likely that "A. Hellström" was female. SMB 32Ha-c are excluded as broadsheet multiforms. Holbek also notes that "This classification is not always simple" (1987, 161).

song. In *Vandringen i Skåne och Blekinge*, Wigström narrates her perspective and experience of the ethnographic events during her collecting expeditions from 1878 onward. She dealt willingly with discomfort and bad weather in order to collect tales and songs. She also empathized with the extreme poverty of some of her informants. Below, to contextualize her work and the informants she worked with I present two excerpts from *Vandringen*. The first one tells of her relations with a man who traveled with her a short while, an adventure which she recounts in an ironic fairytale manner. In the second excerpt, she narrates her quest to find a specific ballad from a specific person: the ballad she sought was a multiform of "*Den döde brudgummen*."

In *Vandringen*, Wigström relates that in 1879, she stopped to ask a woodcutter the way to Klåveröd village in Konga parish:

> *Just som jag sporde en vedhuggare om vägen, kom en ung hussar gående. "Hör, Sten, du bor ju i Kläfveröd, frun här kan följa med dig," sade karlen.*
>
> *"Då får hon raska på fötterna!" svarade hjälten utan att stanna. Detta blef en marsch öfver stock ock sten, rännilar och stengärdesgårdar, utan att han tog den ringaste notis om min person. Jag förstod dock snart, att herr Sten hade för afsikt att gå mig så trött, att jag skulle nödgas be honom vänta mig. Men efter en timmes förlopp tyktes han själf ha fått nog af denna språngmarsch. Han saktade stegen ock började uppvakta mig med prof på hur han kunde ljuga. Af mina egendomliga svar fann han, att äfven detta var förspild möda, ock i en särdeles hygglig ton förde han samtalet in på sina egna förhållanden. Han hade en gammal mor att försörja, kunde således inte tänka på giftermål, ty det var orätt att draga en annan i fattigom ock bekymmer. Som goda kamrater gingo vi nu hyggligt bredvid hvarandra under uppbyggligt samtal, tils vi, belysta af den nedgående solen, höllo vårt intåg i byn. Mina gamla bekanta log, när de hörde, att jag haft Sten till vägvisare, ock jag blef inte litet flat, när jag fick veta, att han ändå narrat mig. Han hade både hustru ock barn. Karlen hade en mani att ljuga.* (Wigström 1887, 15)
>
> Just as I asked a woodcutter about the way, a young ruffian came walking by. "Listen, Sten, you live in Klåveröd. This lady can go with you," said the man.'
>
> "Then she needs to be fast on her feet!" answered the hero without stopping. It was a march over log and stone, rivulet and stone fence, without him taking the slightest notice about me. I soon understood however that Mr. Sten had the intention of getting me so tired that I would be obliged to ask him to wait for me. But after an hour's lapse, he himself seemed to have had enough of the double time. He slowed the pace and began to court me with proof of how he could lie. From my peculiar answers he found that this was also misspent labor, and in an extremely well-mannered tone, he led the conversation to his own relationships. He had an old mother to provide for, and thus could not contemplate marriage, for it was unjust to draw in another into poverty and worries. As good companions we went along

> now decently side by side during this well-mannered conversation, until we, illuminated by the setting sun, made our entry in the village. My old acquaintances smiled when they heard that I have had Sten as a guide and I was not a little abashed when I found out that he has still taken me in. He had both wife and children. The fellow had a lying mania.

In this case, we get a taste of Wigström's wry sense of humor after having been tricked.[11] In that same area and period, she also sought out a particular singer and song that she knew from her childhood:

> *I min barndom hade jag i denna by hört visan om den döde brudgummen, hört den i en helt olika form mot alla de varianter, som jag sett. Nu gälde det att uppsöka en piga vid namn Sissela, som sjungit den. Sissela är ett tämligen vanligt namn i denna bygd, men man var ense om, att denna Sissela bodde så där en half, kanske en hel mils väg från min nuvarande bostad. Sedan jag hemsökt en mängd andra personer i orten, begaf mig en dag på upptäktsfärd efter "Else lilla", som visan här kallades. När jag kom till torpet, fann jag en sängliggande kvinna, hvars af döden märkte drag framkallade en flock orediga barndomsminnen. I hopp om att hon kunde hjälpa mig att reda dem, nämde jag för hänne mitt flicknamn.*
>
> *Hon brast i tårar ock fattade mina händer. "En af er hos mig! Gud välsigne frun, min syster har då fått förlåtelse!" Nu viste jag, hvarför hon föreföll mig så bekant, men min Sissela var det dock inte. Hon var död, denna var nästan döende.*
>
> *"Frun skall ändå ha en visa af mig," sade hon, sättande sig upp i sängen, ock, ofta afbruten af svår hosta, framsade hon visan om "Mön på balet". Vid slutversen om dufvorna ock korparna, som hämtade själarna, vände hon sig med darrande röst åt sin unga, vackra dotter ock riktade till hänne en sträng hotelse om helvetesstraff för alla, som beträda lastens väg. Flickan tyktes ej stort akta därpå, ock jag anade, att här fans "gengangare" i denna släkt. Modern berättade mig, att en torpardotter i grannskapet hade af en "lägersherre" denna sommar blifvit dragen ned i last ock elände, ock denna döende mor såg i andanom sin unga dotter på samma bana. Då modern slutat sin gripande skildring ock sin förmaning, svarade flickan, vänd till mig: "Frun kan aldrig tor, hur grant guldur ock guldbröstnål tösen har fått."*
>
> *På den sjukas önskan läste jag en stund för hänne i den gamla boken "Örtagårds sällskap". Särskildt gladde det hänne att höra beskrifningen på återseendet med hädangånrna i himlen ock den försäkran, att man där skulle känna igen äfven sina små hädangångna barn. På min fråga, om hon ej önskade något för kroppens behof, svarade hon: "Jo en bit smör på brödet". Jag ryste, när jag tänkte på torftigheten i dessa kojor ock den lysande ståten på – lustlägret.*

> In my childhood, I had heard a song in this village about the dead bridegroom, heard it in a completely different form from all the other variants that I had seen. Now, it was matter of finding a maid by the name of Sissela, who had sung it. Sissela is a fairly common name in this district, but people were in agreement that this Sissela lived a matter of a half, maybe a whole mil's[12] distance from my present lodgings. Since I had inflicted myself on a great number of other people in the locality, I set out for a day on an expedition after "*Else lilla*,"

[11] An interesting point of analysis is the relations here a lower status adult male and an upper status adult female, which I do not have the space to indulge.

[12] *En mil* is today reckoned to be 10 kilometers or about 6 miles.

> as the song is called here. When I arrived at the cottage, I found a bedridden woman, whose features were marked by Death, who evoked a host of confused childhood memories. In hope that she could help me at clarify them, I mentioned my maiden name to her.
>
> She burst into tears and took ahold of my hands. "One of you at my place! God bless the mistress, my sister has then received forgiveness!" Now I knew why she seemed so familiar to me, but it was not my Sissela. She was dead and this one was near death.
>
> "The mistress shall have a song from me anyway," she said, sitting up in the bed, and often interrupted by severe coughing, she recited the song of "The Maiden Burnt at the Stake". At the final verse on the doves and the ravens, who fetched the souls, she turned with trembling voice to her young, pretty daughter and directed to her a stern threat of hell's torments for all who set foot on way of vice. The girl did not seem greatly bothered about it and I suspected that here was the "short cut taker" in the family. The mother told me that a crofter's daughter in the neighborhood had been dragged down into vice and wretchedness that summer by a "camper" and in her mind's eye, this dying mother saw her young daughter on the same path. When the mother finished her pathetic account and her exhortation, the girl answered, turning to me: "The mistress can never believe what fine gold watches and gold breastpins the lass got."
>
> At the sick woman's request, I read for a while for her from the old book "Garden's society". It gave her particular pleasure to hear the description of the reunion with the departed in heaven and the assurance that there we would even recognize our departed children. At my question, to whether she did not want anything for her body's needs, she answered: "Yes, a bit of butter on my bread". I shivered when I thought about the poverty in her cottage and the splendid pomp of – the pleasure camp. (Wigström 1887, 15-6)

From this account we see Wigström's views about the material she collected and her sense of humor. She hunted for specific ballads at times, and failing to find a specific singer or song, she collected what she could. She also developed relationships with her informants and observed their lives, though not without some unstated moral judgments. She took the time to read a book to a dying woman. She often asked around for singers and story-tellers of note in each parish and village and went through hardships to find them. She was conscious of the impositions she made on many people, as she pressed for songs and time amid their busy daily lives.

While Wigström did not find the song or the singer she was looking for in this instance, she did find a multiform of it in the same area, in Bjuv parish. She got off a train at Bjuv station a few days after Midsummer before setting out through the neighboring areas, including Klåveröd village

(ibid., 7). The farmer that was to meet her at the station did not show up until late that afternoon so she used the time "*att här insamla så mycket jag kunde*" [to collect here as much as [she] could] (ibid., 7). It is most likely during this short break that she collected the song version which was published in *Folkdiktning* I the next year as song number 6, "*Den döde brudgummen*."

"Den döde brudgummen" *Folkdiktning* I (1880) # 6
(Bjufs socken)

1. Det var så sent en afton, då allting var tyst,
   då skulle den döde till liten Kerstin gå.
   Hon gråter efter honom uti löndom. –

2. Han knackade på dörren med fingrarne små:
   "Statt upp, liten Kerstin, drag låset ifrå'!

3. Vill du ha veta hvem som här vill in,
   så är det lille vännen eller fästemannen din."

4. Jungfrun stod upp, drog låset ifrån:
   "Välkommen min käraste, hvar kommer du
   ifrån?"

5. Så satte hon honom på förgyllande stol,
   der drog hon af honom både strumpor och skor.

6. Se'n satte hon honom på förgyllande skrin,
   och tvättade hans fötter i rödaste vin.

7. De lade sig att sofva, den sömnen var ej lång,
   de sofvo icke mycket, de bara taltes vid.

8. "Ack hör du, liten Kerstin, gråt icke efter mig,
   jag kommer aldrig mera på jorden till dig.

9. Och hvar gång du gråter med sorgset mod,
   då droppar i kistan det rodaste blod.

10. Men hvar gång du glädes och fröjdar dig,
    så växer der en lilja i kistan hos mig.

11. Det lider nu mot ottan och hanen han gal,
    nu får jag med vännen intet mera tal.

12. Statt upp, liten Kerstin, drag kläder uppå dig,
    så skall du få följa ett stycke väg med mig!"

13. När som de kommo ett stycke utom by,
    så fingo de se en morgonstjerna ny.

"The dead bridegroom"
(Bjuv parish)

1. It was so late a night, when all was silent,
   When the dead man comes to little Kerstin
   She weeps for him in secret –

2. He knocked on the door with fingers small:
   "Get up, little Kerstin, draw the latch!

3. If you want to know who here wants in,
   then it is your little friend or young man."

4. The maiden got up and drew the lock:
   "Welcome my darling, from where do you
   come?"

5. Then she sat him on a gilded chair,
   where she took off both his socks and shoes.

6. Then she sat him on a gilded box,
   and washed his feet in reddest wine.

7. They laid down to sleep, their slumber was not
   long,
   They sleep not much, they only spoke together.

8. "Alas, listen, little Kerstin, weep not for me,
   I come never more on earth to you.

9. Every time you cry with sorrowful heart,
   then the reddest blood drips in my coffin.

10. But every time you are glad and delight,
    then a lily grows in my coffin with me.

11. The dawn draws near and the cock crows,
    Now I may not speak more with my friend.

12. Get up, little Kerstin, put on your clothing,
    then shall you come a little ways with me!"

13. When they came a bit outside the village,
    then they got to see a new morning star.

14. När som de kommo uppå kyrkogård,
der fälde den döde sitt fagergula hår.

15. Liten Kerstin hon tittade på stjernorna små,
Den döde försvann, han for långt der ifrån.
Hon gråter efter honom uti löndom. –

14. When they came to the cemetery,
there the deceased let down his fair yellow hair. [13]

15. Little Kerstin looked at the stars small,
The dead man vanished, he traveled far away.
She weeps for him in secret. –

As mentioned above, it is difficult to determine whether the singer of this ballad was a man or a woman. However, I believe it was a woman. The ballad's narrative audience is most clearly aimed at women. It has something of a patriarchal view, but not one tied to bourgeois and capitalist gender roles. Rather, the gender roles and behaviors it promotes are those of a peasant society. The dead sweetheart has thirteen of the fourteen dialog lines – his warning and pleading dominate the dialog, urging her to happiness. The ballad is slightly weighted towards action (i.e., non-dialog): sixteen non-dialog lines to fourteen dialog.

The song was most commonly titled *Sorgens Makt* [The power of sorrow] in nineteenth-century ballad collections. Geijer and Afzelius's *Svenska folkvisor* provided the first published Swedish exemplar of the song in 1814 with this title (GA 6). Richard Bergström's revised edition kept *Sorgens Makt* as the sixth song. In the commentary volume he includes Geijer and Afzelius's critical apparatus as well as his own additions, including an interpretation of the song. I cannot say if Wigström would have understood *Den döde brudgummen* in the same light, as the multiform she includes differs from that of *Svenska folkvisor*. However, Bergström's reading is based on a Romantic tradition of interpreting the ballad according to ideals of romantic love and likely represented a scholarly assessment of the ballad's narrative. A wider reading public likely accepted this reading and the assessment would have colored the audience's perception of Wigström's multiform, as she provided no paratext to contradict this romantic interpretation. Moreover, I believe that her

[13] " der fälde den döde sitt fagergula hår" (st. 14, ln. 2) - there let down his fair yellow hair; which seems a bit strange to me. In another multiform, SMB 32 K – also recorded by Eva Wigström in 1882, the singer puts it "Ju närmare de kommo till kyrkogård, / ju mera så falnade hans fagergula hår" (st. 9); this might be a case of the singer trying to make sense of a line – that his hair "withers" seems to make more sense. This could also be that I am mistranslating it above – perhaps it should be that his hair is falling out. Either way, it appears to be a localized commonplace in Skåne at the time.

understanding of the ballad followed closely on Bergström's interpretation because she used the title *Den döde brudgummen* which implied romantic love far more than grief. I argue below that Bergström's interpretation ignores rural workers' understanding of the narrative in favor of romantic bourgeois projections.

Bergström roots his interpretation in middle class, Oscarian (or Victorian) understandings of love, born from Romantic era idolization of romantic love. This understanding of love was imagined to have its roots in the ancient past and had been carried forward among the folk. Romantic thinkers attempted to impose middle class ideals onto past Swedes in order to legitimize present behaviors and desires. They also evinced a misunderstanding and ignorance of peasant customs as they strove to create a new norm for love. Bergström's interpretation is not a particularly long part of his commentary; instead he cites other variants, types and legends, and refers to how other intellectuals have interpreted them. He states the core of his interpretation here:

> *På mångfaldiga hall förnimma vi spåren af en folktro, som ännu icke torde hafva dött ut, att yttringar af djup sorg störa de dödas hvila i grafven – variationer af det sublima temat:* kärleken är starkare än döden. *I förevarande folkvisa har nämda tro fått ett af sina mest rörande uttryck* .... (GAB II 1880, 34; emphasis in original)
>
> In diverse places we perceive the trace of a popular belief, which still has probably not died out, that expressions of deep sorrow disturb the dead's rest in the grave - variations of the sublime theme: *love is stronger than death*. In the present ballad this belief has received one of its most moving expressions....

The first part of Bergström's interpretation makes intuitive sense: extreme grief could disturb the dead's rest. He then suggests that this is a variant of a classical "sublime" theme that "love is stronger than death." I think that this interpretation has some roots in traditional Swedish rural life – deep grief can come out of loss of a loved one. But this interpretation fails to fit with the various multiforms' narrative and in particular, with Wigström's multiform. His interpretation is born of a romantic understanding of love, one epitomized by Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774/1787) and Gottfried August Bürger's 1774 romantic ballad imitation, *Lenore.*

Nineteenth-century middle class views of romantic love and marriage centered on the type of emotional attachment that *The Sorrows of Young Werther* and *Lenore* celebrated. Orvar Löfgren notes that "Bourgeois culture develops an ideology that emphasizes the importance of the emotional ties that binds the family together" (Frykman & Löfgren 1987, 93). Partly this developed from a change in the roles of men and women in the bourgeois home – the man became the sole producer, the woman moved from a fellow producer into the position of a consumer. She depended on her husband for her material and emotional well-being. Löfgren refers to this ideology as "the cult of love" (ibid.). It enforced a "new sincerity" in relationships that set the stage for interpretation of *Sorgens Makt* so that love was so strong that it could bring back the dead. Following other multiforms of the song, the woman dies of grief and she is reunited with her love in the grave and on the heavenly plane. It becomes "we two against the world" as Löfgren puts it concerning engaged couples, rather than a larger family or other social unit (ibid., 99).

But contextually, the ballad is not concerned with "we two against the world" but with the wider community, which centers on grief as a threat to the social order. In David Buchan's interpretative scheme, the resolution leads to either "cementing" or "dissolution" of the relationship between the heroine and the hero. But in *Den döde brudgummen*, the threat is not to the relationship of the heroine and the hero, but to the larger community. I must do some analytical violence to the song to make it fit Buchan's story-telling patterns. I suggest that stanza 1 fulfills the *situation* stage, and although the *complication* in the narrative is not really addressed until stanza 8, the refrain sets up the *complication* from the start: "*Hon gråter efter honom uti löndom*" [She weeps for him in secret] and is repeated with each stanza emphasizing it. Additionally, the singer's implied audience was likely already familiar with the story. The young woman's grief threatens her life and the social order. The *development* stage runs from stanza 2 to stanza 14, with the two lovers spending quality time together. The *resolution* is the final stanza (st. 15), where the dead man disappears and Kerstin looks at the

stars, which indicates that the dead sweetheart has gone to heaven. More importantly, this final stanza emphasizes that the living and the dead have taken their rightful and proper places in the world.

The song does not easily fit into Buchan's story-telling patterns or Holbek's fairy tale analysis of tale roles. The heroine, Kerstin, appears to be a high status, young, female (HYF) and the dead man was a high status, young, male (HYM); they are not married, though engaged. The story's conflicts are not about status (haves versus the have-nots), generational (adults versus the young), or gender (male versus female). Their relationship is thwarted, but not by a Third Character villain, but by an abstract force of nature: death. But even death is not really the enemy. Instead, as I have suggested, grief is the real threat in this song's story. The threat is not against the relationship of the two main characters, who are already separated, but to the community and social order.

Before I analyze grief as primary in the ballad, I want to look at the ballad's symbol system. I want to point out some contrasts that the singer makes through the story: late night – dawn (*sent en afton – ottan*); home – outside; village – not village; earth – heavens (stars); life – death; bed – coffin; intimacy – distance. Following the theory of the humors, symbolically the dead man is cold and dry. He does not belong in the land of the living but he has not moved to where the dead belong, in his case, in heaven. He dwells on an earthly plane but he is not living. He is in a sort of limbo. Similarly, Kerstin, the living, warm and moist heroine, is not really participating in the land of the living. Her grief, performed in secret, prevents her from living. While the singer does not specify how her grief affects Kerstin, the singer suggests that her grief is overwhelming by having the dead man ask her to stop grieving. Her tears cause blood to drip from his coffin. The ballad's singer projects Kerstin's grieving and pain onto the dead man.

The dead man, who takes on the hero role (H), is a revenant. A revenant is a dead man who has corporeal form and effects. He is not a ghost. In his form, though not in purpose, he resembles

a modern popular-culture zombie or a vampire. Medieval European revenants demonstrate a popular Catholic belief that death is not the end of life (cf. Caciola 1996, 4). Nancy Caciola states that the living and the dead need to achieve a balance. Masses, prayers, and ritual dances are methods which might help restore the balance between them (Caciola 1996, 45). There are no masses, prayers, or ritual dances here (though the resolution does happen in the church yard) but the balance is restored when Kerstin is able to release her lover because she is able to cease her grieving. Kerstin returns into the realm of the living and her sweetheart moves into the realm of the restful dead. Revenants appear in Scandinavian legends often, sometimes with ill-intent and at other times with good (cf. Kvideland & Sehmsdorf 1991, 91-113; esp. 91-3).[14] Given that beneficial revenants often come with warnings or advice, I think we can dispense with the idea that the ballad is about love being stronger than death. Instead, the ballad's revenant articulates a warning that too much (hidden) grief and its expression are dangerous. In the multiform that Geijer and Afzelius published, the heroine dies of grief at her dead lover's grave. The heroines die in many other multiforms. Indeed many multiforms incorporate the famous ballad motif of two bushes or trees growing from the lovers' graves and intertwining branches, which certainly suggests that love is stronger than death. However, the warning that the revenant gives in all these romantic tragedies is ignored by the heroine. She dies because she fails to stop grieving.

Peasant ideas of marriage and love differed from the ascending middle class ideas, with peasants placing less value on "love" and more on livelihood and economic partnership (Frykman & Löfgren 1987, 92). The intimacy of the couple in middle class ideology was seen "as something exotic by the peasantry" (ibid., 99). Löfgren writes that "[t]he concept of family had no self-evident position as the foundation of peasant society. The social landscape was based on the farm, not on

1414 In his introduction to Reidar Christiansen's *Folktales of Norway* (1964), Richard Dorson referring to *draug*, says that "He is a malevolent being, and his appearance is an omen of impending disaster" (xxx). Specifically, the Old Norse *draugr* and Norwegian *draug* tend to have grudges against the living, but I think Dorson placed too much emphasis on the malevolence and not enough on the idea of bearing warning or advise.

the individual or the biological family" (ibid., 91). He notes that peasant relationships were more economic than emotional and it was important economically to marry again soon after the death of a spouse (ibid., 92).[15] Even so, basic human emotions at the loss of a sweetheart could be devastating to the survivor. And here is where the moral of the ballad's story comes into play via the revenant's warning.

Grief could destroy a person emotionally, and this emotional destruction could have serious consequences for the primary peasant social unit – the farm. The ballad works on two levels. On the individual, personal level, it speaks to the survivor's healing. On the social level, it speaks to the continuation of the farm household. Young peasant men judged potential wives mainly on their capability to work (Gaunt 1983, 176). If a young woman did not show that she could be a capable and hard-working partner to a young man, her value as a potential wife dropped significantly. Prolonged grief and depression significantly inhibit a person's ability to work. And as many multiforms of the ballad show, it can lead to the woman's death as well. The ballad is life affirming. As a moral lesson for its implied audience, it suggests that she can go on living and feel joy again.[16]

Part of Bengt Holbek's interpretative scheme for fairytales derives from Freudian psychological mechanisms (Holbek 1987, 435). These mechanisms have to do with the way that fairytales process emotional impressions into narrative symbolic expressions.[17] I think that three of these psychological mechanisms help clarify my argument that this ballad is not about the "sublime

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[15] That the couple is not married would seem to detract from my argument. Kerstin is obviously not married; she is not referred to as a widow and the revenant refers to himself as her "little friend or fiancé" (st. 3). However, the two (before the dead man's untimely death) were betrothed (trolovad), of which David Gaunt titles a chapter section: "Trolovning – det folkliga giftermål" [Betrothal – the folk's marriage] (1983, 66ff). In peasant society, a wedding was a formality; the betrothal made, for all practical purposes, the relationship legitimate (ibid.).

[16] It may also apply to situations were a young woman as lost her young man through other things than death.

[17] It is important to note that Holbek states that the tellers and audiences of fairy tales realize that fairy tales are fictions (Holbek 1987, 406). The situation is similar for ballads; even a singer recognizes that a ballad might be rooted in real events, the song itself has become a fictional expression through which she can deal with emotions such as grief, anger, love, fear, etc., like fairy tales do. However, unlike Holbek's defined genre of fairy tales as folk tales that end in triumphant marriage, i.e., collective day dreams (cf. ibid, 404-6) ballads (if we consider ballads a genre) deal with collective nightmares and proverbial hardships as well.

theme that love is stronger than death" but that too much grief in secret is deadly for the individual and for the social group. Grief needs to be appropriately dealt with in order to release the mourner. The first mechanism is hyperbole; the second is projection, and the third, contraction. Hyperbole is an "[i]ntensity of feeling ... expressed by exaggeration of the phenomena eliciting the feeling" (Holbek 1987, 442-3). Hyperbole is not as evident and combines with projection to create a situation where character's intense emotions are expressed as if her emotions did not allow the dead lover to sleep (cf. Holbek 1987, 440 & 442-3 respectively). Projection is where "feelings and reactions in the protagonist's mind are presented as phenomena occurring in the surrounding world" (ibid., 440). Kerstin's intense feelings of loss and grief are projected onto her dead sweetheart. Her grief causes her pain, but instead of accepting her pain and accepting that she is causing herself further unhappiness, she places it on the dead lover. Her grief is projected on to the dead man such that he suffers when she weeps for him. Perhaps the singer suggests that Kerstin feels as if she cannot allow herself to be happy out of misplaced loyalty. The dead man returns to his lover as a revenant, spends the night with her, and then tells her he will not return. He tells her that her tears cause him unhappiness. Symbolically, tears and blood are comparable, as both represent moisture. Her tears keep his blood moist and he is unable to enter the land of the dead in a state of cold but wet. But he also tells her that good things grow out of her joy; that is to say, he is not pained when she is happy. The revenant liberates Kerstin. Kerstin allows herself to live by either letting her dead sweetheart rest in peace or die completely (become cold and dry).

This release is intensified by the transition from late night to dawn; it is almost a rebirth for Kerstin. But this transition appears to happen literally overnight for Kerstin. Of course, the process of grief does not typically happen overnight, and this is where the final rule, contraction, comes into play. Holbek states: "Developments extended in space or time are contracted so as to appear as instantaneous changes, often by three stages. The slow change, the long and weary journey, the

endless routine work and the gradual transition are never *described* in fairy tales" (Holbek 1987, 444). While it is helpful to realize that grief lessens only after a significant amount of time, stories don't describe this protracted process. The ballad contracts the long and intense emotional process into a short, visceral experience of night to day.

By releasing her dead sweetheart, Kerstin releases herself and is now able to rejoin the land of the living in the normal social world. She may then work around the farm and possibly find another sweetheart to marry so that the farm can continue, without feeling guilt. She can become a capable worker and wife. The theme of the ballad is not "sublime" in the romantic definition; it is not that love is stronger than death. Its theme is far earthier: grief brings further unhappiness.

Perhaps because she read the ballad's narrative as valuing romantic love and the bourgeoisie family structure, Wigström included the ballad in her collection. The song could help the educator of the folk understand the folk but perhaps also could help her instruct them on bourgeois values. Her inclusion of the song both legitimized bourgeois morality and made it acceptable to impress on the folk. It made acceptable the changing socio-economic statuses and made normative the romantic couple. Like Rääf, Geijer, Afzelius, Arwidsson, Hyltén-Cavallius, Stephens, and Bergström before her, she sought to control the future by editing the past. But her goals were far more immediate: the education of the folk and the promotion of the bourgeois family as normative. These normative ideas found in *Sorgens makt* and *Den döde brudgummen* continue to shape ideas about romantic love even today: we still hear songs and see films extolling its virtues. However, it was a gross misunderstanding of peasant and rural life to read *Den döde brudgummen* as a past truth about love, as it likely expresses a different moral lesson about grief and healing to promote community interests, rather than bourgeois understandings of romantic love. In the next chapter, we turn to August Bondeson, who represents a paradigm shift in how folksongs and singers were represented. Like Eva Wigström, he focused less on the distant past. Instead of the near past, he sought to find

folksongs and ballads that were still being sung and he expanded the notion of folk from rural to most any Swede, including industrial workers. He was also willing to examine the obscene songs that Eva Wigström saw as valuable but found morally objectionable to collect.

Chapter 6: August Bondeson: The Changing Face of the Folk

Until now, I have examined critical editions, in which intellectuals selected, collected, textualized, ordered, classified, and interpreted ballads. In the latter third of the nineteenth-century, education and literacy began to change what people practiced these metadiscursive practices. Men and women who came from lower classes began to assume such roles and speak in their own voices. August Bondeson's *Visbok* (1903) suggests a different way to present folksongs, though its impact was muted by academic and intellectual conventions originating with the ballad editions of Geijer and Afzelius, Arwidsson, and Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens. Whereas these earlier editors ordered songs by text and type, Bondeson ordered the folksongs in his edition by the informant's repertoire. The fruit of Bondeson's thinking (paralleled by that of Evald Tang Kristensen in Denmark)[1] was markedly ahead of its time. Editors of more recent editions order ballads by type (cf. *Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* & *Sveriges medeltida ballader*). Organizing folklore by informant's repertoire emerges with Roger Abrahams (1970), Azadoskiĭ (1974), Henry Glassie (1982), Bengt Holbek (1987) and others. Nonetheless, Bondeson's decisions to select, collect, and order songs had important ramifications both for how the songs might be interpreted (as part of a worldview and part of a repertoire) and how we view Bondeson and his informants. He acted as a curator of songs rather than as an editor.

Most editions of ballad and song collections (as well as folktale and other verbal art forms) present primarily texts. Geijer & Afzelius (1814-18), Arwidsson (1834-42), Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens (1853), Svend Grundtvig et al (1853-1976), Francis Child (1882-1898), and more recently, *The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* (1979) and *Sveriges medeltida ballader* (1983-2001) order and

[1] Cf. Timothy Tangherlini *Danish Folktales, Legends, and Other Stories* (New York: Garland, 2013) and Bengt Holbek *Interpretation of Fairy Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeaktemia, 1987). Both Bondeson and Kristensen came from humble backgrounds, paid attention to many different genres, and created rich portrayals of folk performers and thier lives.

classify ballads and other songs as texts, though some do include textualized melodies as well.[2] The texts are presented as the central items of musical performance, which intellectuals select, collect, textualize, order, classify, name and interpret. The editors tend to order texts by type (or species). Text matters more than music or singers in these editions. This sort of ordering method makes it easier to apply comparative and historic-geographic methods, but it fails to see each text as a performance of an individual in a certain historical, social, economic, and cultural condition.[3] The idea of a main species or type suggests the idea of an original, a convenient heuristic fiction of dubious epistemological value. Even the idea of variants obscures the idea of a folk artist who crafted and sang something of her own at a given moment in time, borrowing and adapting from the ever changing traditions she knew, as I have shown in Chapters 1 through 3. In this chapter, I examine a folklore collector who represented concretely the folk as well as the lore in folklore and expanded the notion beyond romantic ballads and peasants.

Along with Eva Wigström, one of the greats of Swedish folksong and folktale collection in the last half of the nineteenth-century was August Bondeson. Like Wigström, Bondeson did not come from the bourgeois or aristocrats; in fact, unlike Wigström, he was born into a lower middle status[4] family, as the son of a shoe-maker. Kerstin Arcadius suggests that his lower status origin

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[2] This text based ordering system is also generally the basis of folktale, proverb, legends etc. collections and editions. AT and ATU are two examples of classification systems that reduce folktales to text types. More recent critical folksong editions join melodies to texts; earlier editions, such as Arwidsson's included melodies at the end of each volume; Geijer and Afzelius included melodies in a separate volume that came out several years after the main volumes.

[3] I am not advocating that comparative classification systems such as TSB and SMB be seen as relics; rather that such classification systems be secondary to other classification data. After all, it is very helpful to me to find other multiforms of the various ballads I have been working with in this dissertation. But my dissertation also contends that people need to be the primary focus of any study of a text. Otherwise, we are not folklorists, but literary scientists. My ideas here seem self-evident in contemporary folklore studies, but given the time spent to redo AT to create ATU and the various papers I have sat through at folklore conference that treat texts as texts to which theory is simple applied makes this common sense idea suspect.

[4] I am tempted to refer to Bondeson's family as lower class, but they were not in the same position as a *torpare* [crofter]. Albert Sandklef writes, "*Hantverkare och torpare hade intet att saga till om [stämmen]. De voro i regel mycket fattiga, i synnerhet torparna. Hantverkarna kunde emellanåt med flit och sparsamhet nå ett visst välstånd. Men deras hus voro alltid vida mindre än böndernas, ofta voro de därtill uselt byggda, kalla och ohälsamma*" [Craftsmen and crofters had no voice in voting. Generally, they were very poor, particularly the crofters. Craftsmen could sometimes with diligence and thrift reach a certain prosperity. But their houses were always far smaller than the farmers' and besides they were often poorly built, cold and unhealthy. (Sandklef 1956, 15)

marked his folklore collecting (1992, 119). Unlike the sons of craftsmen from the beginning of the nineteenth century, he did not become a shoemaker himself, but rather a medical doctor, a folklorist, and an author of note, writing over twenty works.

At the end of her "Svenska folket taget på kornet: August Bondeson" [The Swedish People to a T: August Bondeson], Arcadius asks what August Bondeson, the famous folklorist and storyteller, would have become if he had been born fifty years earlier.[5] She wonders if he would have followed his father's footsteps and become a shoemaker and storyteller in his home village.[6] His life experiences resonated with upwardly mobile lower middle-class Swedes and with changing notions of authority for lower-class individuals in the last half of the nineteenth century. Many of Bondeson's works demonstrate these changes, but I focus on his song book, *August Bondesons Visbok* [August Bondeson's Song Book] (1903) and on the singers and texts that the work contains. I point to three factors as a background to these transformations in mobility and authority: education and increased literacy, industrialization, and the consequent increasingly marked individualism in all classes. These educational and industrial strides enabled individuals to assert agency on a wider and more noticeable scale. No longer was the idea of the individual reserved for kings, aristocrats, romantic poets, and middle class males. For Bondeson, the folk were not a generalized idea, but individuals in his own time.

August Bondeson.

Figure 7: August Bondeson

[5] "Vad, kan man undra, hade August Bondeson blivit om han varit född femtio år tidigare?" (Arcadius 1992, 125).
[6] "Hade han då tillägnat sig faderns och andras berättelser som en muntlig tradition och själv blivit en historiegubbe i Ätradalen?" (Arcadius 1992, 125).

August Bondeson was known in Scandinavia for his folktale editions, such as *Historiegubbar på Dal* [Storytellers in Dal] and a novel, *Skolläraren John Chronschoughs memoarer* [School Teacher John Chronschogh's Memoirs]. His work was revolutionary for his time and foreshadowed the directions of folklore studies beginning in the latter third of the twentieth century. Bengt af Klintberg considers August Bondeson's folktale collection and resulting editions to be one of the high points of such work in Sweden (1999, 203-4). Af Klintberg states, "What sets *Historiegubbar på Dal* off from previous tale collections (and most later ones, too) is that Bondeson not only retells the tales and legends but also explains how he made contact with his informants and describes their farmsteads and the people around them. He notes when and where the tellers learned their repertoires and describes their own attitudes towards the stories" (af Klintberg 1999, 207). This attention to the storytellers extended also to his work with folksong. He did not provide as much deep context to the singers as he did for the storytellers from Dal, but he made the singers and their repertoires central to how he arranged the songs in his *Visbok* I-II (1903).

August Bondeson is relatively well known in Scandinavia, particularly among folklorists and ethnologists. But to the English-speaking folklore discipline, he is at best a footnote,[7] referenced occasionally in articles and books. The most obvious trace of him in more recent works is Bengt af Klintberg's chapter in Kvideland & Sehmsdorf's *All the World's Reward* (1999).[8] August Bondeson was born in 1854 in Vessige parish in Halland province. His mother was Lisa Beata Bondeson née Nygren, the daughter of a parish clerk and shoemaker from Småland, Johannes Arvidsson Nygren (Arcadius 1992, 119; Holmgren-Strömbom 1913, 7). His father, Carl Bondeson (b. 1812) was also a shoemaker and saddler. Of his father, Bondeson writes "*[d]en som väckte mitt sinne för folkdiktning var*

[7] Carl Wilhelm von Sydow is far better known, perhaps because he was an academic. Far more of his work has been translated than Bondeson's.

[8] I direct the reader to Bengt af Klintberg's chapter, esp. pp. 203-214; Agneta Lilja's article "August Bondeson och den folkliga vissången" (1988); Albert Sandklef's *August Bondeson, folklivsforskare, författare* (1956), Kerstin Arcadius' "Svenska folket taget på kornet – August Bondeson 1854-1906 (1992); Greta Holmgren-Strömbom's *Ur den blåmålade kistan* (1913).

min far" [He who awoke my heart to folkpoetry was my father][9] (qtd in Holmgren-Strömbom 1913, 8). In the same essay, he writes, "*Ifrån min tidigaste barndom underhöll han mig med sagor och berättelser. Hans minne var oerhört. Allt, vad han sett, hört och läst, stod präntat i minnet. I hela omnäjden var han också känd och högt värderad för sin berättarkonst*" [Since my earliest childhood, he entertained me with tales and stories. His memory was unsurpassed. Everything that he saw, heard and read was stamped in his memory. He was also known and highly valued for his narrative art] (ibid.). August Bondeson's home environs appeared to have played an enormous role in his work with folktales and songs. Perhaps his desire to recognize tellers and singers in his books stemmed from his own intimate relationship with his father. According to Bondeson's own account as well as Greta Holmgren-Strömbom's research (1913?), his relationship with his father, mother, and siblings was warm and close.

Bondeson received his basic education in Halmstad, and from there began studies at a *gymnasium* [upper secondary school] in Göteborg in 1873, where he was quite happy. He became deeply involved in a student literary society called *Balder* which produced a student newspaper called *Brage*. In 1877, Bondeson matriculated at Uppsala University, where he joined the Göteborg nation. He began studying the humanities and philosophy, and then in 1879, turned to medical studies. He struck up a relationship with Artur Hazelius and did some field work for him. In 1877, he had seen a Halland style cottage exhibit at Hazelius's Etnografiska museet [Ethnographic museum][10] in Stockholm. He was extremely critical of the "imitation" and sought out Hazelius to discuss it. Hazelius took Bondeson seriously and saw in him a valuable collaborator in his efforts to increase his ethnographic collections. Hazelius encouraged the young man in his collection work and in his writing, urging him to learn from criticism and keep his wits about him. Hazelius and Bondeson remained friends until Hazelius's death in 1901.

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[9] The whole is: "Den som väckte mitt sinne för folkdiktning var min far" (qtd in Holmgren-Strömbom 1913, 8).
[10] Later to become *Nordiska museet*.

In June 1889, Bondeson became a licensed medical doctor. In his ten years of medical studies, he also wrote books and performed as a *bondkomiker* [peasant comedian]. In 1880, the same year Eva Wigström published the first volume of *Folkdiktning*, he published *Halländska sagor, samlade bland folket och berättade på bygdemål* [Hallandic tales, collected among the folk and told in dialect]. In 1886, he published what is perhaps his most important contribution to folklore studies. Learning from the criticism he had received for his style in his previous folktale collection, in *Historiegubbar på Dal, deras sagor och sägner mm* [Storytellers in Dal, their tales and legends, etc.], he presents an intimate portrait of four storytellers, their context, and their repertoires. Eva Wigström's frame narrative seems to have inspired Bondeson's description of his tellers and their lives. While most intellectual interest in 1870s and 1880s for folktales was to document language, Bondeson seems to have had more interest in the stories and the people who told the stories. After he was licensed as a medical doctor, he settled down to practice medicine in Göteborg. He kept a busy practice and an active social life. He never married. In 1904, a year after he published *August Bondesons visbok*, he began to suffer from "*en svår blodkongestion åt hjärnan*" [a serious blood stoppage to his brain], as he called it (Sandklef 1956, 242). His memory began to suffer. He recovered somewhat but in 1906, his illness returned more seriously and on 23 September 1906, he died.

An interest in folksongs, particularly ballads, was active for the entire nineteenth century, as we have seen. This interest was focused on the songs themselves as texts and intellectuals such as Geijer, Afzelius, Arwidsson, Hyltén-Cavallius, Stephens, and to a certain degree, Wigström, organized their materials according to an imagined time of origin and related material by similarity of narratives told in the songs. These intellectuals did not mention singers, singers' contexts, their repertoires, their audiences, or their performances. August Bondeson did something quite different: he acted less as an editor and more as a curator of songs. He presented songs as musical

performances (albeit, in textualized form) and he ordered the material not by age or type, but by informant. He showed parts of individual singers' repertoires. He included the singer's name, occupation, and locations. We have not seen such information included since Chapter 1, when we looked at Leonhard Fredrik Rääf the provenance information he included on his unpublished manuscripts.

In his introduction to the *August Bondesons visbok*, Bondeson writes, "... *en visa utan melodi är en fågel utan vingar*" [... a song without melody is a bird without wings] (Bondeson 1903, v). Bondeson recognized that singers performed folksongs. What most ballad and folksong editions lack is context; the text is primary. Collections of other genres showed this same tendency, particularly during nineteenth century, as the various works I have examined in this study demonstrate. Bondeson's *Visbok* did not supply thick description and deep context in the way he provided in his folktale edition, *Historiegubbar på Dal*. His *Visbok* does not reference ethnographic events, the singer or informant's living conditions or daily life. However, Bondeson focuses more on human beings and their songs than any other edition or work we have discussed thus far.

At this point, I want to examine August Bondeson's *Visbok* and the editorial principles that Bondeson follows, as much as these can be gleaned. The song book appeared in two volumes, published by Albert Bonnier's Publishing in Stockholm in 1903. The edition contains 389 numbered songs, some of which are variants. Bondeson prints melodies with each and every song text, setting the melody immediately before the text. He prints the first stanza set into the melody. The only exceptions are when the preceding song(s) has the same melody. Approximately fifty informants provided the songs. Some were singers themselves and others were collectors, such as the composer Gösta Geijer. Bondeson published quite a bit of provenance information: name, occupation, location, and date of recording are included for each informant. This practice contrasts starkly with previous folksong and ballad editions. For one informant, Bondeson provides a short biographical

description in addition to the provenance information. This singer was a former sailor, Adolf Olsson (songs # 272-343), to whom I shall return below. Biographical information for two other informants, Johannes Anderson (songs # 6-13) and Anders Backman (songs # 14-22) can be gleaned from Bondeson's *Historiegubbar på Dal*; they were two of the four story-tellers in that work.

With *Visbok*, Bondeson emphasizes his focus on the present in the subtitle: *sådana de lefva och sjungas ännu* ***i vår tid*** [as they live and are still sung **in our time**] (my emphasis). He explicitly states this in his introduction, writing, "*Jag har i detta arbete ej särskildt strävat efter att lämna nya sidostycken af hvad literaturkännare företrädesvis beteckna såsom folkvisor nämligen fornsångerna. Dessa äro redan väl bevarade i Geijer-Afzelius' och Arwidssons samlingar*" [In this work, I have not particularly endeavored to offer new side pieces of what literary experts designate as ballads, that is to say, ancient songs. These are already well preserved in the collections of Geijer & Afzelius and Arwidsson" (Bondeson 1903, viii). Bondeson looked not to the past as the source, but to people in his own time. Of the 389 songs in his edition, Bondeson only includes ten songs that would be considered ballads at the time.[11] There are twenty additional songs that *Sveriges medeltida ballader* lists as ballads, but these were the problematic jocular ballads (*Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* F types), which are not regarded as proper ballads.

As seen with the subtitle of this work, Bondeson shifts the conversation from romantic ideas of folksongs and ballads on to the idea of *folkets visor* – the people's songs. Above, I mentioned that Kerstin Arcadius remarks on Bondeson's temporal focus being firmly rooted in the present. He did not present the songs as ancient or ballad-like. His idea of the folk was not the Romantic peasant, but everyday people in Sweden. Beyond the title's emphasis on the here and now, Bondeson's critical apparatus asserts a broad spectrum of present-day people as the Swedish folk. He names the informants and also gives their occupations. These occupations include the "peasant" farmer,

[11] Three ballads of the Supernatural (TSB A types) and seven ballads of Chivalry (TSB D types).

crofters, cotters, farmhands, and farm maids; but he also notes that sailors, tailors, house wives, navvies, smiths, nurses, carpenters, drivers, teachers among others had imparted songs. Bondeson explicitly represents the people from a broad spectrum of Swedish class and status. This notion of representativeness was the most explicit of any folksong edition up to that time.[12]

Bondeson does not organize the songs by type or imagined age. Instead, he organizes them by informants' repertoires. The informants are presented alphabetically. Prior to each informant's first song, Bondeson indicates the informant's name, occupation, location, and date. The ordering principle for each informant's remaining songs is unclear. Bondeson includes titles for some songs, but does not do so with most. Perhaps Bondeson indicates titles for those where the informant provided it. He includes a first line register for each volume. In addition to including melodies and tempo instructions, Bondeson provides a note for each song indicating where the informant sang the song or where she learned it. Sometimes this information suggests lines of transmission; for example, for song number 165, the critical apparatus mentions that the informant, "*Fru G—s fader hade hört visan i Vänersborgstrakten*" [Mrs [Augusta Gustafsson's] father had heard the song in the Vänersborg area] (Vol. I, 401). However, Bondeson keeps his editorial intrusions on the songs and texts minimal in paratexts. He makes no use of variant readings or extensive footnotes.

With his subtitle, Bondeson set the Swedish folk front and center. But in the critical apparatus to the melodies and texts, he brings individuals to the forefront. This edition resonated with his own social movement: he subtly underscores education and literacy, industrialization, and individualization. He touches on industrialization by including the occupations of some of the informants, for example with Adolf Andersson, a machinist (songs 1-2) and Sven Viktor Bergqvist,

[12] Of course, as I have pointed out, previous editions also incorporated broad spectrums of the social weft and warp, but maintained that the ballads, songs, and tales came from the folk as a generalized whole, not individuals. And the folk in these earlier editions were portrayed as a peasants. Albert Sandklef (1956) has a complete list of informant's occupations (104-5).

railway worker (songs 34-35). Some of the songs also spoke to and about an industrial world (songs 35, 83, 158).

Education and literacy are far more widespread in Bondeson's day than ever before, and Bondeson makes this clear in his work. In general, ballads collected from contemporary sources tend to be presented as coming from oral tradition. Earlier editors tended to point to the manuscripts that the older song texts came from, setting up a dichotomy of literacy and orality, that ran across social class and status divides. The effects of literacy were easy to spot in Bondeson's work. Bondeson's edition indicates that some of the songs came from informants' own manuscripts.[13] He notes in the paratexts that some of the songs come from the informants' own manuscripts. And not all of these manuscripts are from high status persons like the composer Gösta Geijer. Adolf Olsson (songs 272-343) wrote down many of his songs for Bondeson as well as singing them. Bondeson prints one page of Adolf Olsson's manuscript in the work (1903b, 177). He also mentions Adolf Olsson's education in a short biography: "*Han lärde sig läsa i hemmet, men skrifva först, då han vid 19 års ålder gifvit sig till sjös*" [He learned to read at home, but to write when he was nineteen years old, when he went to sea] (Bondeson 1903b, 176). Some songs reference reading and writing in the texts themselves: letters are written and read by the song's narrators (cf. songs # 158, 293, & 300). Letters were not a new phenomenon in ballads, but generally these letters exist as transitional devices and were sent between high born men and women. Their servants only delivered letters. In Bondeson's collection, we see accounts of working-class readers and writers.

In Bondeson's time, the people valued as individuals had begun to broaden significantly. As mentioned in my discussions of Greta Naterberg, it was not that lower status people were not individuals, but that individuality was not the most important characteristic in a rural community. Intellectuals did not tend to represent "the folk" as individuals. In accord with this time, Bondeson

[13] For example: "*Efter Gustaf Larssons eget manuskript*" [From Gustaf Larsson's own manuscript] (Vol. I, 347) & "*Täksten efter A. O-s eget manuskript*" [The text from A[dolf]. O[lsson]'s own manuscript] (Vol. II, 214).

does represent his informants as individuals, allowing them voice, authorship, and authority. He also makes himself beholden to them by doing so. This exchange of culturally valuable items was not perfect – the songbook was titled as *August Bondesons Visbok* and the singers and informants were not the recipients of monetary reward for their contributions. But nonetheless, Bondeson treats his sources far more respectfully than any of the previous collectors and editors we have examined hitherto.

By treating his informants, sources, singers, and tellers as individuals, Bondeson respects them as human beings. In his early career, he was not as careful, but listening to criticism, his approach evolved. He came to value his sources. He did not infantilize them by hiding them behind the generalized idea of "the folk." Instead, he developed relationships with them. Sandklef mentions Bondeson's relationships with the story-tellers from Dal as friendly, close, and long-lasting. They wrote letters back and forth, and Bondeson occasionally included gifts in his letters (Sandklef 1956, 75-6). Another example: he invited Adolf Olsson, the former sailor, who had a reputation for riotous behavior, drunkenness, and crude language, to stay with him for several weeks, giving him room and board, while he wrote down Olsson's songs and melodies.

Bondeson valued his sources and treated their stories and songs like currency – ephemera of value and worthy of his time and expense. In doing so, he treated the singers and tellers as individuals who had skill sets and expertise. Partially because of the literacy of many of his informants, but also because of his respect for them, he made efforts to ensure the accuracy of his recordings. In general, he did less editing of the texts and less sanitizing, although there are a few exceptions. For example, Bondeson was not willing to publish randy, obscene songs in his collection, at least not without cleaning them up. For example, in a jocular ballad, song number 335, there were eleven stanzas in Adolf Olsson's manuscript multiform, but Bondeson's published multiform omits the last three stanzas, thereby only suggesting that the male protagonist had a drink

and perhaps got into the sexually assertive female protagonist's bed for sex.[14] The manuscript multiform leaves no illusion about subsequent events.

By including melodies, and directly connecting them to texts, Bondeson delivers the songs as songs and music, not as some idealized "folk-poetry." Contrasting starkly with how Geijer and Afzelius treated Greta Naterberg's "Linden" as a fragment, Bondeson declared that "*[ä]fven det kortaste fragment äger sitt värde, då det återgifves äkta med sin melodi*" [even the shortest fragment has its value, when it is rendered authentically with its melody] (Bondeson 1903, viii). Each singer and song stood on their own, something Bondeson stressed in his introduction: "*Knappast bror och syster, ännu mindre föräldrar och barn sjungas, om de en tid varit skilda, sin visa alldeles lika*" [There is hardly a brother and sister, let alone parents and children who sing their song completely alike, if they have been separated for a while. Therefore, it is also important to indicate the person who supplied the song] (Bondeson 1903, ix). Bondeson indicates that the "folk" are made up of distinct individuals. He might also hint here that these singers are artists in their own right, shaping *their* songs, even if the song came from a family tradition. And if each singer might sing the "same" song differently, Bondeson suggests also that they understood these songs somewhat differently. He accorded his informants not only a measure of authorship and authority,[15] but also autonomous intellect.

At the same time that Bondeson respected his informants and promoted their expertise, he also repositioned himself from the role of editor to curator. He became the steward of his informants' songs. He had a responsibility to them. He was not a botanist, picking specimens to place in jars and inform taxonomy, nor did he seem to set himself up as a savior of a dying tradition

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[14] However, even in the manuscript, either Bondeson "blanks out" several words in the last stanza or Olsson suggestively omitted complete words in his manuscript, which were crude and obscene: "(10) *Och när du kommer i min säng, / Så låt mej se, du är en rasker dräng.* / (11) *När du kn-t f-n full, / Så tar i r-n och stjälp omkull!*" (SMB 230I, st. 10-11); the last stanza is likely something like: "*När du knopat fittan full, / Så tar i röven och stjälp omkull*". The stanzas translate to something like: "And when you come to my bed, / Then let me see you are a hearty man, / When you've filled my pussy / Then take me in the ass and pound it". It is not hard to see why Oscarian and Victorian middle class morals would not allow such lower class smut to besmirch their beloved epic and romantic hero-nation ballads.

[15] Again, not to the point of being generally being paid and having control over their songs.

that must be saved from the peasants who corrupted and forgot it in the face of modernity. Instead, he notes "*[d]essa visor lämna äfven klara prof på den till folket nedträngda skiftande smaken under olika literära skeden i vårt land*" [these songs also give clear proof of the changing tastes which prevailed through the folk during different literary periods in our land] (Bondeson 1903, viii). Again, his focus is on his present day and on the shifting tastes of the Swedish people. He also writes, "*[a]ll samling har den egenskapen, att aldrig blifva fullständig*" [all collecting has this characteristic, that it is never complete] (ibid., x). The fact that any work of collection could never be completed, pointed to how Bondeson saw living and changing tradition, which human beings create, recreate, and sustain, as Bondeson illustrates with people such as Johannes Anderson, crofter, Augusta Bengtsson, seamstress, Adolf Olsson, former sailor, Matilda Olsson, hired girl, or Fredrik Zetterlind, smith. The folk are not an idealized collective ideal. Bondeson promoted and valued people.

Now, let me turn to one of Bondeson's informants and the informant's songs to once again ask how we can interpret folksong texts differently using recent interpretive approaches. We look at Adolf Olsson and one of his songs, entitled "*Hale Visa*" [Hauling Song] (song 296), looking at this jocular ballad as a parody or satire of supernatural and chivalric ballads such as those we examined in Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 5. I demonstrate that the song critiques bourgeois and romantic values and attacks the notions of upper and lower class, but does so by denigrating women.

Adolf Olsson provided Bondeson with 72 songs which Bondeson included in his songbook. The represented repertoire was the largest in the songbook by a great margin. Bondeson includes a rather longer biographical description for Olsson than for any of the other informants and singers. The description only gives the basics of the singer's life:

> *Adolf Olsson, f.d. sjöman, föddes i Vallda församling i Halland den 13 nov. 1841. Fadern, skeppstimmerman, dog tidigt. Modern, född i Fjärås, Halland, uppfostrade gossen. Han lärde sig läsa i hemmet, men skrifva först, då han vid 19 års ålder gifvit sig till sjös. Lärde sig sjunga visor af far och mor. Förökade sin visrepertoar under 18 års segling med svenskar och norrmän. Led skeppsbrott vid danska*

> *kusten, hvarefter han öfvergav sjömansyrket. Gick 1881 till Nordamerika (Chicago), där vistades till 1890. F.n. brefbärare och fiolspelman i Vallda.* (Bondeson 1903 vol. 2, 176)

> Adolf Olsson, former sailer, was born in Vallda parish in Halland on 13 November 1841. His father, a ship's carpenter, died early. His mother, born in Fjärås, Halland, raised the lad. He learned to read at home, but to write only when he went to sea at 19 years old. [He] picked up singing song from his father and mother. [He] increased his song repertoire during 18 years of sailing with Swedes and Norwegians. Suffered shipwreck on the Danish coast, whereupon he forsook the sailing profession. 1881 went to North America (Chicago), where [he] stayed until 1890. [He is] presently a postman and fiddler in Vallda.

However, as Albert Sandklef's (1956) research demonstrates, Adolf Olsson was not the epitome of the older, folksy peasant deeply bound to the Swedish soil like E. G. Geijer's *odalbonden* [freeholder]. Rather, he was a sailor, who drank hard and traveled the globe. He had immigrated to America and returned to Sweden. He had learned songs from Norwegians, as well as Swedes. His large repertoire reflected his life and world view.

Adolf Olsson was born in Vallda parish in Halland, 13 November 1841 to a ship's carpenter and his wife. Olsson's father died when Olsson was young and he was subsequently raised by his mother. He learned to read at home; literacy was becoming more common among Swedes in general. He later learned to write when he went away to sea at age 19. He told Bondeson that he learned some of his songs from his parents; these songs are marked in Bondeson's editions as "*af modern*" [from his mother] or "*af fadern*" [from his father]. He learned many more songs while at sea. As one would expect, a large proportion of the songs that Adolf Olsson sang were sailor songs. He worked as a sailor for eighteen years. He survived a shipwreck off the Danish coast, and after this decided to leave the sailor's life behind. In 1881, he went to Chicago. He stayed there until 1890 and returned to Vallda, Halland, Sweden, where he worked as a postman and played fiddle.

Bondeson found the former sailor through a friend, the Vallda postmaster Patrik Peterson, who had sent Olsson to Bondeson as a patient (Sandklef 1956, 104).[16] Patrik Peterson informed Bondeson at that time that Olsson had a large repertoire of songs. Bondeson's occupation as a medical doctor gave him access to a great variety of people, from postmasters to postmen. Keeping with his practice of asking after songs, Bondeson asked Olsson and hit the mother lode, as it were. In 1900, Bondeson invited Olsson to stay with him at his house for several weeks so that he could record both texts and melodies of Olsson's songs.

Olsson, better known in Vallda as "Spelanius" or "Spelarn" [both meaning "player"], was a bit of "*en ohjälpig boheme*" [a hopeless bohemian] (Sandklef 1956, 105). He proved a difficult guest. He did not keep on task well, he drank, and he troubled Bondeson's household; in particular, he seemed have caused Bondeson's housekeeper quite a bit of grief. Bondeson, however, seemed to have a great deal of fun with Olsson. Even so, Sandklef notes that Bondeson might not have succeeded recording as many songs as he did without the help of Patrik Peterson and a business man from Vallda, Edvard Janson, who kept the wayward former sailor and postman on track (Sandklef 1956, 105).

Like Bondeson's *Visbok* as a whole, the number of songs that fell into the strict definition of ballads was quite low. Of Adolf Olsson's songs, *Sveriges medeltida ballader* only categorizes seven of them as ballads. Only one of these is a ballad from grouping I examined in previous chapters: a supernatural ballad (Bondeson 329). The remaining six are all *skämtvisor* [jocular ballads]. This proportion of song types was similar to Bondeson's work as a whole, and reflects his intention, as he states in the introduction, to focus on songs that are not found in Geijer and Afzelius or in Arwidsson's works. Olsson's represented repertoire was 40% sailor's songs, 33% love songs, 10% ballads. He also had ballad-like narrative songs, young male narratives, America songs, a few songs

[16] In Sandklef's description of the relations between Adolf Olsson and Patrik Peterson, I detect a certain paternalism between boss and employee, which I don't have time to explore here.

about social status and social conflicts, and two Christmas songs. Several of Olsson's jocular ballads deal with social status conflicts, in addition to interactions between the sexes, which are typical of jocular ballads.

Having been a sailor and having learned a great many songs while at sea, unsurprisingly, Olsson's repertoire contains a great many songs about life at sea or other types of maritime songs. As Bengt af Klintberg notes concerning tales, "a tale repertoire does not arise from a vacuum but resonates with the storyteller's experiences, personality, and view of life" (1999, 209). This axiom holds true for song repertoires as well. The songs often reflect a longing for the girl left behind, worries about whether she has been faithless or faithful. They relate first person narratives of life at sea and often disparage the work of landlubbers, particularly of farmers. One of the jocular ballads is even arguably a sailor's shanty (work song), as it is titled: "*Hale visa*" [Hauling Song]. Olsson and his sailor comrades very likely sang this song while hauling lines on a ship. The practice of singing ballads during rhythmic or tedious work was common.

Bondeson introduces Olsson's song in a simple fashion compared to the elaborate paratexts Geijer & Afzelius or Arwidsson. The headnote contains the song's number (296), the title ("*Hale visa*"), followed by the tempo "*muntert"* [merrily], and finally a presumable provenance, where Olsson learned or used the song "*Till sjös*" [at sea]. The first stanza and refrain are printed underneath the melody's staff lines. The remaining stanzas follow and exclude the refrain until the last stanza. The ordering and set up follow common conventions of various songbooks (like hymnals). However, the editor does not include any information about the song, either historical or national.

"Hale Visa" Bondeson # 296 (vol. II, 229-30); SMB 233AE / TSB F22

1. Riddaren och jungfrun, de möttes åt på bron,
   - Å hurra för kilebussa runn!
   De lofvade hvarandra sin ära och sin tro,
   - Sjung falle ralle räj, falle ralle ralle räj!

"Hauling Song" Bondeson # 296 (vol. II, 229-30). Translation

1. The knight and the maiden, they met on the bridge,
   - Oh hurrah for the old salt wedging the run!
   They promised one another honor and faith,
   - Sing falle ralle ray, falle ralle ralle ray!

2. Så stod där en fantegutt och lydde däruppå:
I afton skall riddaren till jungfrun gå.

3. Och riddaren red, och fantegutten sprang
Och fantegutten hant lite fortare fram.

4. Och fantegutten klappar med fingerhandsken sin,
”Stå upp, sköna jungfru, släpp riddaren in!”

5. Och jungfrun kommer ut i silkesärken sin,
Så öppnar hon på dörren, släppte fantegutten in,

6. Jungfrun drager fram en förgyllande stol,
Sen drog hon af honom både strumpor och skor.

7. Och jungfrun bäddar upp en förgyllande säng:
”Och där skall du ligga, du riddaresvän!”

8. Och jungfrun gick i sängen med silkesärken sin,
Och fantegutten efter med fillerocken sin.

9. Och när han hade legat där, till klockan, den var två:
”Nu får jag upp och krypa och knaska och gå”

10. ”Och är du en riddare, som kom hit i går,
Så skall du ej gå förr än ljusan dag.”

11. ”Jag är väl ingen riddare, fast jungfrun tycker så,
Jag är en fattig fantegutt, som kom hit i går,”

12. ”Är du en fattig fantegutt, som kom hit i går,
Så skall du aldrig komma med lifvet härifrå.”

13. Och fantegutten ut genom fönstret sprang,
Den förgyllande knifven efter honom ut slang.

14. Jungfrun stod i fönstret, hon skratt’ och hon log:
”Och har du min ära, så har jag dina sko.”

15. ”Ja, nog kan jag få mej ett par pinnalappasko,
- Å hurra för kilebussa runn!
Men aldrig så får du din ära då god.”
– Sjung falle ralle räj, falle ralle ralle räj!

2. A gypsy-lad stood there and listened:
This evening, the knight will go to the maiden.

3. And the knight rode, and the gypsy-lad ran
And the gypsy-lad got there a little faster.

4. And the gypsy-lad knocked with his gloves,
“Get up, pretty maiden, let the knight in!”

5. And the maiden comes out in her silken shift,
She opens the door and lets the gypsy-boy in,

6. The maiden pulls out a gilded chair,
Then she pulled off both his socks and shoes.

7. And the maiden made up the gilded bed:
“And here you shall lay, young knight!”

8. And the maiden went to bed in her silken shift,
And the gypsy-lad after with his rag-coat.

9. And when he had lain there, until it was two o’clock:
“Now I get up and creep and snack and go”

10. “If you are a knight, who came here yesterday,
Then you shall not leave before the light of day.”

11. “I am surely no knight, even if the maiden thinks so
I am a poor gypsy-lad, who came here yesterday,”

12. “If you are a poor gypsy-lad, who came here yesterday,
Then you shall never escape with your life from here.”

13. And the gypsy-lad dashed through the window,
A gilded knife was slung after him.

14. The maiden stood at the window, she laughed:
“And you have my honor, but I have your shoes.”

15. “Yes, but I can get myself a new pair of Lapp boots,
- Oh, hurrah for the old salt wedging the run!
But then you’ll never get your honor back”
- Sing falle ralle ray, falle ralle ralle ray!

In short, the ballad’s narrative starts out like a chivalric ballad, with the two sweethearts meeting on a bridge, promising one another faithfulness and that they should meet that evening. A gypsy-lad overhears the lover’s conversation and intuits what they plan to do and races for the

maiden's house, beating the knight there. In the dark, the maiden assumes the suitor is the knight and brings him in. She removes his shoes and socks, an intimate gesture in ballads (as seen in last chapter), suggesting that copulation lies not far off. They lie together, but at two o'clock the gypsy-lad decides to head out. The maiden is offended; she points out that as an honorable knight, he should stay until dawn. The gypsy-lad then reveals himself. The understandably upset maiden attempts to kill the gypsy-lad with a knife but he escapes by jumping out of a window. They then claim to triumph over one another, with the gypsy-lad getting the last word and winning. She gets his shoes, but he got her virginity, which unlike shoes cannot be replaced.

Sveriges medeltida ballader and *Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* classify "*Hale visa*" as a *skämtvisa* [jocular ballad]. Jocular ballads are a fairly recent addition to the ballad genre.[17] The editors of *Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* write that "'Jocular Ballads' have by most scholars not been hitherto considered ballads proper" (1978, 17). They point out that jocular ballads were ignored in the nineteenth-century by scholars who were often both overly serious and prudish. Like other ballad categories, it is difficult to make broad pronouncements about jocular ballad narratives, but they often center on illicit sexual advances, misadventures (sexual or otherwise), and foolish behavior. At times, anthropomorphized animals take the stage in place of human players. Foolishness, lust, and greed are the main themes. It is no wonder romantics did not see jocular ballads as worthy of the title of ballad; they did not provide the romantic tragedy or comedy with the clear morals desired by middle class editors or readers.

David Buchan's interpretive schemes and Bengt Holbek's fairy tale analysis are not particularly well suited to dealing with jocular ballads. The story pattern only roughly fits Buchan's story pattern, which works best with knightly ballads and to some extent with supernatural ballads.

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[17] As late as 1962, in Karl Ivar Hildeman's essay "Balladen, medeltiden och nuet" in Matts Arnberg, ed., *Den medeltida balladen / The Medieval Ballad* (Stockholm: Sveriges Radio, 1962) which accompanies Sveriges Radios publication on vinyl of ballads, omitted even to mention *skämtvisor*.

However, the song's differences from Buchan's scheme's norms, directs us to the song's inversion of chivalric (and bourgeois) norms and invites us to question who the hero is. The song has a *situation* + *complication*, a *development*, and a *resolution*, but the resolution diverges from Buchan's two resolution types: the happy cementing or tragic dissolution of a relationship. Any "relationship" of the gypsy-boy and the maiden is not happily cemented nor is it tragically dissolved (even from the maiden's point of view). The ballad also does not fit any of Buchan's story patterns. However, like most ballads, the tension and drama derives from the relations of the sexes and social conflicts. The ballad does not remotely come near to Holbek's idea of the triumphant wedding. However, Holbek's oppositions of social status, maturity, and sexes provide a place to start an analysis.

I propose below a preliminary analytical scheme for some jocular ballads. As I have noted, neither Buchan's ballad analysis nor Holbek's fairytale analysis as I have used them work particularly well with jocular ballads. Nonetheless the structure of this jocular ballad follows many chivalric ballad structures and themes fairly closely although the moral differs. I suggest that many jocular ballads are often inversions of fairytale or chivalric ballads morals and plots. They often parody ballad character triangles and the attendant social and sexual conflicts. To tackle the interpretation and reading of jocular ballads, I look to Northrop Frye's "Theory of Myths" in *Anatomy of Criticism* (Frye 2000, 131ff). Specifically, I will refer to his "The Mythos of Winter: Irony and Satire" (ibid, 223ff).

Multiforms of this particular ballad (*Hale visa*) narrative set up a clear conflict of social status. The main male character (protagonist?) in jocular ballads tends to be a *dräng* [farmhand] or a *torpare* [crofter], both characters who were Swedish, but marginal and dangerous tricksters. In Olsson's multiform, this conflict between high status and low status members of the community is heightened through the use of the gypsy-lad. Not only is the character marginal and dangerous, but also Other, an outsider in Swedish society. It is possible that Olsson meant to displace the class

conflict from within Swedish society to an Other. But given Olsson's other jocular ballads (nos. 285, 335, and 339) which center on the conflicts of men and women and on social class, it is fair to assume that Olsson identified his experiences and world-view with the outsider gypsy-lad. Given Olsson's "*ohjälpig boheme*" status and his life of sailing and wandering, he may have felt like something of an outsider himself, making the character of the gypsy-lad resonate with him.

The humor or satire of the ballad comes from the parodying of ballad conventions. Northrop Frye writes that "[h]umor, like attack, is founded on convention" and "Two things ... are essential to satire; one is wit or humor founded on fantasy or a sense of the grotesque or absurd, the other is an object of attack" (2000, 224). He argues that satire also depends on agreed-upon moral standards. In late nineteenth-century Sweden, ballads had become a discursive feature of the ascendant middle class. While it is true that the ballads were often collected from the less privileged social classes, the middle-class generally did not look favorably on these classes, even when they sought to elevate them, as Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren point out in *Culture Builders* (1979/1987). Ballads and fairytales were used as a moral narrative, not only for middle-class children, but also in the schools which aimed to educate all children in a capitalistic moral system. Even working-class people without class consciousness could not help being aware of the difference between bourgeois fairytale and ballad morals and their own lives. Frye writes "the idealized art of romance as in particular the form in which an ascendant class tends to express itself, and so the rising middle class in medieval Europe naturally turned to mock-romance" (Frye 2000, 233). The same sort of response occurred in the working-class of Sweden in the nineteenth century. The middle class had become the ascendant class and a way it expressed itself was via romanticized

ballads and tales. Accordingly, working class singers turned to jocular ballads: ballad subgenres such as jocular ballads provided a counter-narrative.[18]

In the remainder of the chapter, I look at how Adolf Olsson's jocular ballad challenges, mocks, and perverts middle class values in ballads, both aesthetically and morally; in the last instance, the ballad relies on patriarchal, sexist ideas however. I should also point out here that Olsson learned it "*till sjös*" [at sea] and it is titled as *Hale visa* [hauling song], in other words, the song was likely a rhythmic work song and its narrative was only part of its appeal. As a rhythmic work song, which might be sung as lines were hauled aboard sailing vessels; the story was not its primary function. Its humor and its rhythm were the more important aspects. In addition, the song comes from a long tradition of songs sung only in male company such as shanties and military cadences. Nonetheless, the story may have resonated with sailors and with Olsson in particular, as a pointed commentary on both social class and women. I think that Olsson kept the song in his repertoire partially because of the humorous nature of the narrative.

Firstly, the ballad subverts middle class conventions concerning ballads, through a plot with stock characters who do not receive their just ends, thus breaking middle-class narrative expectations. Olsson's song also mocks ballads as a genre and middle class pretensions by using typical ballad formulas and structure, but using these to subvert audience expectations. This use of conventions also likely countered non-middle-class audience expectations as well, but it probably did not offend the sensibilities of lower-class audiences as much. Because it takes the form of a chivalric ballad and parodies it, the ballad critiques romantic notions of the ballad. The ballad avoids the wonderful or lofty which the romantics had sought. Instead it focuses on the earthy, dirty, and unchaste. But in critiquing ballads and bourgeois romantic ideals, particularly concerning class, the

[18] Not that the urban or rural proletariat did not sing jocular ballads prior to the ascendancy of the bourgeois middle class.

song also relies on them in a way that reinforces a patriarchal oppression of women. It supports patriarchy by placing the blame on the woman.

I begin with ballad formulas and phrases that demonstrate how his jocular ballad relies on wider Swedish (and Scandinavian) ballad traditions. Flemming Andersen defines ballad formula as a "*recurrent, multiform unit expressing a significant narrative idea, with more or less pronounced supra-narrative function*. And formulas may be grouped into families on the basis of similarity in form and identity of underlying narrative idea" (1985, 37; emphasis in original). Ballad formulas evoke certain connotations and advance the narrative in certain contexts. Olsson's third stanza runs "*Och riddare red, och fantegutt sprang / och fantegutt hant lite fortare fram*" [And the knight rode, and the gypsy-lad ran / and the gypsy-lad got there a little faster.]. The stanza functions as a ballad transitional and movement formula which we have seen in stanza 15 of the Västergötland multiform of "Linden" in Chapter 2. The formula runs something like this: "[hero] *han satte sig på rinnaren röd, / Så red han litet fortare än falken han flog*" [{Hero} he sat himself on his steed red / Then he rode a little faster than the falcon flew]. The formula points to speedy travel towards the goal, often the rescuing of a fair maiden. It also often serves to transition from Buchan's *development* phase to the *resolution*, where the hero comes to the scene where the action began. But Olsson does not use it to come to the resolution here.[19] The speedy journey to the maiden's bed is the goal. And instead of knight getting there faster than the falcon, it is the gypsy-lad who arrives first, and not on a horse, which is how the formula typically works. Already, the narrative expectations are subverted by both the gypsy-lad outracing the knight and doing so without a horse.

A second instance where a ballad formula occurs is in stanza 6: "*Jungfrun drager fram en förgyllande stol, / Sen drog hon af honom både strumpor och skor*" [The maiden pulls out a gilded chair,

[19] Though in all fairness, it does not always serves this function and sometimes only suggests speedy travel to a goal will happen.

/Then she pulled off both his socks and shoes]. We have seen this formula in the fifth stanza the ballad we examined in the last chapter, and we have seen a hint of it in Beata Memsen's ballad in Chapter 3, where Gunnela has the driver's shoes and socks ready for him when they make their escape. The formula functions to alert the audience that physical intimacy is planned or will happen. Here the formula is charged because the audience is already aware that it is not the knight that the maiden is undressing, but the gypsy-lad. Thus it signals that hilarity will ensue. These are just two of several commonplaces that characterize the song.

Interrelated with the ballad formula and commonplaces and the narrative structure they suggest and subvert are the stock characters. First, there is the stock character of *riddaren* [the knight]. The character of the knight is common in ballads, particularly chivalric ballads, often as the main protagonist or antagonist, either hero or villain. Often in the chivalric ballads, the knight is named, as in Beata Memsen's Sir Perleman illustrates (see Chapter 3). Occasionally this naming is due to a localizing of actions and story; at other times, the knight's name does not vary locally and seems to be attached to the song. Olsson, however, provides his ballad's apparent protagonist with no name. Audience familiarity with the chivalric ballad genre suggests that the knight will be one of the prime movers of the story. Generic convention dictates that he will become a key player in the comic cementing or tragic dissolution of the relationship between himself and *jungfrun* [the maiden]. In Olsson's parodic ballad, however, the knight disappears as an active character after the third stanza, and does not reappear in the *resolution* as one would expect. His unexplained absence adds further humor to the song, leaving the woman to deal with the rival suitor by herself.

The next stock character, *jungfrun* is also familiar to us by now, from Greta Naterberg's "Töres dotter i Wänge" and "Linden" in Chapters 1 and 2 respectively, Beata Memsen's Gunilla in Chapter 3, and little Kerstin from "Den döde brudgummen" in Chapter 5. The characteristics of the maiden are clear by now: virtuous, chaste, and available for marriage. The narrative expectation for

her as the female protagonist in the ballad triangle is that she will end up with the knight in the comic resolution or dying at the hand of one of the male characters in the tragic ending. As he does with the knight, Olsson does not give his female character a name, but her actions resemble the actions of other maidens in the ballads, except that she does not attempt actions to protect herself from rape as Memsen's Gunnela, but instead indulges her sexual desires. Olsson does not describe her, but lets her character become apparent through her actions.

The last character is not a stock character in Swedish chivalric or supernatural ballad traditions, though he is common in the multiforms of this story, and furthermore, resembles the cunning protagonists of other jocular ballads, *drängen* [the farmhand], *soldaten* [the soldier], *tiggaren* [the beggar], and *torparen* [the crofter]. Often these stock characters are tricksters, who one up their betters; indeed, the farmhand is often portrayed as lazy and dirty in middle-class narratives, always trying to pull one over on his betters. These characters are by and large marginal and dangerous figures. At first, the *fantegutt* [gypsy-lad] appears to be an antagonist, who will either destroy the budding relationship between the knight and the maiden, or be slain by the knight. Of all the characters, the gypsy-boy is the most fleshed out. His outward description and deeds point to his poverty and marginal status: he hides under a bridge while eavesdropping, he runs to the maiden's house (demonstrating he owns no horse), and he wears a rag-jacket. He lies to make his way into the maiden's bed, and then he leaves her in the night, sneaking out, and calling himself "*en fattig fantegutt*" [a poor gypsy-lad] (st. 12).

The term *fantegutt* also underscores that he is an outsider and an impure one at that. *In Culture Builders*, Löfgren and Frykman write that *rackare* [knackers] were seen as dirty and that "[i]mpurity imparted a stigma that shut him out effectively from full membership in society" (Frykman & Löfgren 1987, 163). They note further "[o]ther people such as gypsies and vagrants were viewed the same way being considered anything from generally repugnant to directly ill-omened - but always as

dirty" (ibid). Society viewed the gypsy-lad as dirty and villainous. He defiles the maiden's bedroom by the very act of entering it. The gypsy is Other - he may well have magical powers and be able to seduce easily with his magic the young maiden (although, the song significantly blames the maiden, by suggesting that she initiated the sexual adventures more than the gypsy-lad). Gypsies were regarded as untrustworthy liars as well. It is also worth noting that the lad's boots are described as Lapp boots – *pinnalappsko* – the humble shoes of another marginal group, the Sámi.

The ballad formula and commonplaces and the stock characters all work to subvert the generic expectations of supernatural and knightly ballads. As we have seen in the ballads discussed in previous chapters, Buchan suggests that ballad story *resolutions* end with either the relationship being happily cemented or its tragic dissolution. This ballad's typical happy cementing could either be: 1) the knight and the maiden end up together or 2) the gypsy-lad and the maiden end up together. In both these hypothetical cases, being together suggests marriage and the creation of a new family. The tragic dissolution could be accomplished in three ways: 1) the knight and the maiden die, 2) the maiden and the gypsy-lad die, or 3) all three characters die. This ending would be accomplished through murder, murder and suicide, or murder and death by grief. However, none of these story resolutions occur. Instead, the relationship of knight and maiden is not cemented (indeed, never again addressed) and dissolution is not directly addressed. No one dies. No one ends up together in the narrative. Furthermore, the knight and maiden will not come together if we imagine the narrative further, as I discuss below.

The resolution of this song does not fit with any of Buchan's; but it is a jocular ballad, which is closer to parody, satire, and irony. The ballad takes the themes, ideas, and characterizations from supernatural and knightly ballads and uses them to mock these forms. However, it does fit into one of Buchan's story-patterns: the relations between the sexes. It also speaks to what Bengt Holbek calls the social oppositions of the haves and the have-nots. It ends with the maiden losing her *ära*

[honor] and the gypsy-lad making a sexual conquest. The knight's fate is unknown. The maiden and the knight do not happily cement their relationship and the gypsy-lad leaves and does not cement a relationship with the maiden either. By ballad conventions, the ballad does not have a comic ending. It is closer to tragedy in that no happy cementing occurs, but even here, it is not really ballad tragedy: no one dies. It is tragic for the maiden, losing her honor and chastity. But the protagonist, the have-not gypsy-boy triumphs over socially privileged haves through sexual conquest. Irony or satire lies at the center of this ballad.

Finally, I turn to the content of the ballad: the narrative and its humor develop from a concept that is particularly important to the knightly ballads: the idea of a woman's *ära* [honor or chastity]. Olsson's multiform makes this clear in the first stanza: "*De lofvade hvarandra sin ära och sin tro*" [They promised one another honor and faith]. Here, faithfulness and honor (or chastity) are linked. In the last stanza, the gypsy-boy taunts the maiden: "*Men aldrig så får du din ära då god*" [But then you'll never get your honor back]: by having sexual intercourse with a man she is not married or engaged to, she has lost her honor/chastity and can never regain it. This concept has come up before in the ballads we have examined: in Greta Naterberg's "Per Töres döttrar i Wänge" and in Beata Memsen's "Jungfru Gunnela och Riddar Perleman." In both cases, the heroines manage to maintain their *ära* - their chastity. Töres' daughters choose death over loss of *ära*. Maiden Gunnela thwarts Perleman's attempted rape and thus also maintains her chastity. In the remaining discussion, I want to explore this concept of *ära* in terms of rape.

To discuss the concept of *ära*, I am going to return again to Karin Jansson's book *Kvinnofrid*, which I referred to in Chapter 3. Here I discuss her ideas about the *ärbara hustrun* [the chaste wife]. While Jansson's study covers the early modern period in Sweden (1600-1800) and thus concludes roughly a hundred years before Bondeson recorded this song, we have seen that the concept of *ära* and the chaste women continued to play an important role in how singers imagined the ballad

worlds. Ballad singers tended to give ballads a conservative tinge. I have argued above that Adolf Olsson mocked ballad conventions with this jocular ballad, both within the peasant milieu and the bourgeois reshaping of them. At the same time, the song also holds onto other conventionalized conceptions of gender. However, I do not think that these ideas were entirely current in Olsson's day and circles. It is difficult to write definitively about gender and sex in ballads like this one because these concepts varied so much from individual to individual, and by class and sex.

Ära is usually translated into English as "honor" but contextually it may also be translated as modesty or decency: *hennes ära* thus as "her honor" or "her modesty/decency." In the ballads (as well as old documents) *ära* was a synonym for *kysk* [chastity]. When a man attacked a woman's *ära*, in part, he attacked another man's property. A woman who lost her *ära* lost much of her value. She might even be divorced by her husband; rape could be seen as an act of unfaithfulness in the early modern period (Jansson 2002, 186). Rape was primarily viewed not an assault on the woman, but on her family (ibid.). Jansson writes "*Kvinnans ära var i hög grad kopplad till hennes sexuella beteende – kvinnlig ärbarhet var detsamma som kyskhet*" [The woman's honor was highly connected to her sexual behavior – feminine decency was the same as chastity] (Jansson 2002, 170). In having sexual intercourse with the gypsy-lad, the maiden loses her chastity, as the last barbs that the two fling at each reveals. It might be objected that the ballad's maiden was not married to the knight, but ballad conventions suggests that they were engaged, which in peasant society gave permission for them to have sexual intercourse. They were married in all but formal ritualistic terms (Gaunt 1983, 66-9).

The maiden taunts the gypsy-lad as he makes his escape that while he may have taken her *ära*, she has his shoes.[20] The maiden's logic is flawed and, from the song's frame of reference, hilarious, because the shoes are of little or no value to her, particularly in comparison with the honor which she has lost. The gypsy-lad points out the flaw: "'*Ja, nog kan jag få mej ett par pinnalappsko, /*

[20] A strict Freudian might easily read something more into the shoes; however, sometimes a shoe is just a shoe.

aldrig så får du din ära då god" ["Yes, but I can get myself a new pair of Lapp boots, / But then you'll never get your honor back"] (st. 15). He understands the sexual economy: he can easily replace his boots but she cannot reacquire her sexual honor and chastity. She has allowed a strange man into her bed willingly, albeit through his deception. She was so foolish as to not recognize the gypsy-lad as not her lover, though this may speak to a mockery of middle class prudery. Olsson's ballad shows little regard for female thought.

In the court proceedings that Jansson examines in her study, rape was not considered rape if there was no sign of violence on the woman's body and (thus) proof that she had struggled against her attacker. Otherwise, she had allowed her attacker to have intercourse with her and was guilty of unfaithfulness (cf. Jansson 2002, 58ff, 184-5). Because the ballad's maiden did not resist the gypsy-lad and he used no violence or threat of violence, in ballad conventions and early modern Swedish law, the woman was guilty of unfaithfulness and not viewed as a victim of rape. In modern terms, the gypsy-lad's assault can be the equivalent of date rape. The maiden has little recourse. In the ballad world, the best that she could hope for is that her sweetheart would be understanding and marry her anyway or that he believe her and avenge her. But the ballad ends at the point of the gypsy-lad's shaming of the maiden.

Adolf Olsson's multiform (and all the collected multiforms of this ballad in general) pit an outsider to Swedish society against those who have power. But instead of direct confrontation with the knight, the outsider attacks the most vulnerable member of that social class. The disempowered outsider attacks the disempowered insider. Sexual conquest here is used to get one over on one's betters. The ballad's humor comes from this: it sneers at the social superior's hypocritical morality. From my present-day perspective, the ballad is not funny, but disturbing. Yet it also worth considering the context in which Olsson learned and probably first performed the ballad, in a company of men aboard a ship, as a member of a class that would have little access to refined

courtship or fine marriage. Olsson's shanty depicts the triumph of an underdog, even if it does so only at the expense of a somewhat more enfranchised peasant woman. Perhaps from the very male perspective, the real victim is the knight, whose property has been so effectively and permanently damaged. We can wonder as well just how serious the knight was: he certainly does not show up at the maiden's house as promised. As a knight, this character represents perhaps more the morally corrupt and decadent aristocracy than the middle-class, as we observed in our discussion of Beata Mems's ballad in Chapter 3.

Finally, "Hale visa" is a type of sea shanty. Sea shanties and other rhythmic work songs traditionally were sung in male only company.[21] Stan Hugill (1969) remarks on the different types of shanties and hauling songs that were sung by English sailors from the 1600s to the 1800s. Many of the songs that sailors themselves developed for rhythmic work focused on dalliance with women on land, expressing a desire for womanly company. During my time in the Marine Corps, we learned and sang marching cadences while on forced marches which were equally bawdy and ribald, both to keep us in time and to motivate us. However, in co-ed units, these same songs became extremely problematic. The songs we sang are not songs I would ever repeat in my mother's presence. Such songs dwell on the sensual and sexual, though often in ribald ways, things which many soldiers, sailors, and others in male-only groups ponder often in the absence of female company (cf. *Journal of American Folklore* 75 1962).

In this chapter, we have seen that social transformation began to affect who selected and collected folksongs and ballads. Social mobility enabled August Bondeson, a shoemaker's son, to become a medical doctor as well as a collector of folktales and folksongs. Informants also demonstrated that education made an impact. Singers such as Adolf Olsson not only sang songs for

[21] Though not always, as Roger Abrahams (1974) points out in his essays about contemporary shantying in the West Indies. Women and children would sing them as well, depending on the context. Shanties were often adapted there for housemoving, etc.

Bondeson, but also sent Bondeson handwritten manuscripts of songs. Bondeson acknowledged that Sweden was more than just a land of the middle class and imagined peasants: society included creative individuals from all socio-economic classes, including industrial, rural, and urban workers. Bondeson laid great weight on his informants as individuals; he acted more like a curator than an editor. With Adolf Olsson's jocular ballad, *Hale visa*, I suggest that jocular ballads invert and subvert romantic, middle-class conventions and expectations. Yet by having one disempowered person, a marginalized male, triumph over another disempowered person, a pedestalled woman the ballad portrays a humor that does not radically question or challenge the status quo. In the next chapter, we look at a working-class man, Karl Sigfrid Johansson, who selected, collected, textualized and ordered songs in his own handwritten songbook. The factors of education (literacy), industrialization, and individualism came into play in the social movements of which he was part. We will examine how Karl Johansson achieved agency and criticized middle-class conventions by parodying poems by Johan Ludvig Runeberg.

Chapter 7: Patriots and Parody: Kalle i Lövstad's Handwritten Songbook

In this final chapter, I turn from scholarly publications to the literary-artifact of a working-class individual. One of the things that middle-class intellectuals did was to make themselves authors of the folksongs they edited by setting them in a framed narrative of national history and literature and by editing or improving the songs for public consumption. Barbro Klein writes that "[u]ntil recently, Swedish folklore texts were not seen as the works of individual creators. They were examples of a stock of shared traditions" (Klein 2007, 131). Because editors stepped in to represent these works, they took the authority for themselves to alter, reconstruct, and represent the works of individuals as a collective whole – the folk. As I have pointed out for all the published works, except for August Bondeson's, individual singers are seldom if ever identified by name, class, or gender. In the same essay, Klein further states that by seeing folklore texts as shared tradition, "[t]he result is a sanitised folklore heritage in which people are deprived of agency and power" (Klein 2007: 132). And this is the crux of the matter: selection, collection, and textualization reified and made concrete an ephemeral act of singing by an individual transforming it into a discrete text which served to describe and create a Swedish national tradition. And in this shared national tradition, there was no place for the individual; an individual's artistic choices became, at best, corruptions of tradition, as I demonstrated in Chapter 2.

Consequently, whenever editors changed a text, they treated a singer's words in ways that they would not with those of a famous, recognized literary authors. Klein notes:

> ...We are speaking about issues of control and freedom of expression: a dead writer has no say about the ways in which his words are used. One could also add that social class is an issue here; in the case of statements composed by uneducated or poor writers, scholars, not least folklore scholars, have often taken a kind of editorial freedom they would not take with established authors. (Klein 2007: 132)

In this chapter, I examine the ways in which one working-class Swede, Karl Sigfrid Johansson, established and challenged authority when he wrote down a parody of a famous poem by Johan Ludvig Runeberg. While intellectuals sought to shape national characteristics via the folk, the folk were often busy subverting the national narrative. Karl Johansson probably did not compose the parody. A "common sense" way of understanding his copying is to see his song as merely a copy. But in the act of writing down this parody, I argue, he took authorship, in a way little recognized by literary studies and its endless array of great authors. This young man asserted his own authority and became a creative artist.

Between September 1906 and September 1908, Karl Johansson wrote down 34 songs in a black oilcloth notebook. Johansson was not a university-educated intellectual; he worked as a *rallare* [navvy] and a *sprängare* [blaster]. He wrote down more than just songs in his handwritten songbook. I argue that his project was one of personal and social narrative, rather than taxonomical and historic-national projects of Rääf, Geijer, Hyltén-Cavallius, Stephens, Afzelius, and Arwidsson. He critiqued the romantic national idea of the nation through his handling of a character that serves elite, middle-class ideology. His narrative can be seen as a call for a more equal and fair world.

The medium in which Karl Johansson wrote down his parodies of Runeberg's poems is referred to as *handskrivna visböcker* [handwritten songbooks].[1] These are very much what their name suggests: books in which songs are handwritten. Bengt Jonsson states: "*Ordet visbok syftar i allmänt språkbruk på en vissamling (tryckt eller otryckt; i detta sammanhang avses endast handskrifter) av ett icke alltför obetydligt omfång, till det yttre sammanhållen till en enhet, genom inbindning eller på annat sätt*" [The word *visbok* [songbook] refers in common usage to a song collection (printed or unprinted; in this context only manuscripts are referred to) of no insignificant size, and a coherent unit in exterior, through binding or some other means] (1967, 29). In addition, Jonsson differentiates between songs written down for

[1] A similar term exists in the English language: ballad book.

personal use and enjoyment and those written down with historical or antiquarian motives (ibid., 29-30). The Danish so-called *Hjertebogen* [The Heart Book], written in the 1550s, is the oldest Scandinavian example (ibid., 31). The oldest Swedish preserved songbook dates from the beginning of the 1570s (ibid., 29). Gunnar Ternhag points out that defining the characteristics of handwritten songbooks is complicated, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, because "[d]et är nämligen ett känt faktum att handskrivna visböcker nästan alltid innehåller mer än vistexter" [it is a fairly well-known fact that handwritten song books almost always contain more than song texts] (Ternhag 2008: 12). These books often contain recipes, addresses, financial tabulations, stories, book lists, etc., in addition to song texts (ibid).[2] They also sometimes contain printed texts (inserted loose, bound or pasted in). The very early examples (those from the 1500s and 1600s) were owned by upper-class persons and antiquarians: i.e., educated, literate people. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, bourgeois people began to keep such books as well, as "*ett fruntimmer[s] samling af folkvisor*" [a woman's collection of ballads] from the 1790s demonstrated (cf. Chapter 3). However, in the late nineteenth century, Swedish young people, particularly from the rural and urban proletariat, began to keep and use handwritten songbooks as well. Sven-Bertil Jansson states that socio-economic factors, such as industrialization (specifically, the wide distribution of vaxduk [oil-clothe] notebooks) and widespread literacy helped to create the conditions for handwritten songbooks to thrive among the working class (2008, 119).

Factors such as literacy and the ready availability of goods contributed to the growing use of handwritten songbooks among laborers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Along with other scholars, I argue that three aspects were especially relevant to why and how working-class youths used the books they write. First, goods, such as notebooks, became inexpensive and more

[2] In some ways, handwritten songbooks functioned like the present day smart phone, tablet or laptop computer. Most of us do not write or record our own music: we download it and set it into playlists, all the while using these devices for addresses, calendars, communication with others, recipes, lists, etc.

widely available as a result of mass-production that came with industrialization. Secondly, by the turn of the century due to mandatory primary education laws, most Swedes had attended primary school and were literate. A third factor was increased individualization: people of all classes increasingly imagined and constructed their own lives and emphasized their own worth, tendencies that could lead them to choose to write books of their own.

The Industrial Revolution in generally said to have begun in England in the late eighteenth century. Sweden was a late-comer, only becoming what is considered an industrialized nation between 1890 and 1920, when Swedish industry began to specialize. One key sign of industrialization was the railway system, which permitted essential transport of goods and also constituted an important industry in the day. The main system was built between the 1850s and the 1910s. The railway enabled faster travel on land between destinations, with more freight than ever before. For example, prior to the railway connection between Christiania (Oslo) and Stockholm, the journey via bad roads in horse-drawn wagons took between six and eight days, depending on weather and road conditions. In 1871, when the cities were connected via railway lines, the same journey took between 17 and 18 hours (Stråth 2012, 320). Moreover, the railway travel was consistent and regular. Railways allowed not only goods to be delivered more quickly, but people suddenly were able to connect and communicate to people more easily than before (Svensson & Wallette 2012, 8-9). Railways quickly replaced boats as the main vehicle for transporting goods from one part of Scandinavian to another.

The railroads moved goods not only more quickly but also more cheaply. Some of the goods from industrial mass production included modern notebooks and oil-cloth notebooks.[3] With a pen and a notebook, whoever wanted to could collect songs, not just intellectuals from cities and universities (cf. Jansson 2008, 119). Not only did the working class have access to cheap notebooks,

[3] However, it is good to keep in mind that the population of Sweden in 1900 was only 2.5 million people and 79% of the population was still rural.

but thanks to educational reforms from the 1840s and 1860s, they were also able to read and write, expressing their individuality and expanding their social networks far beyond the parish or *härad*. In Greta Naterberg's time, she connected with few people outside of Slaka parish; by 1906, people connected to people in America and Europe through newspapers and books and could occasionally even travel there themselves, as we noted in the last chapter in case of Adolf Olsson.

As Sweden began to industrialize, the population increased, particularly among the landless underclass. As in earlier eras, the middle class feared revolution. In 1842, Sweden's parliament passed a law requiring four years of education for all Swedish inhabitants. A curriculum was set, consisting of religious education and emphasizing patriotism. It took until the 1860s at least before these educational reforms took hold. In the 1840s, this growing underclass sought to solve their problems through emigration; the middle class regarded this solution, too, as a threat to the Swedish nation. The idea of religious and patriotic education was supplemented by the idea that the underclass ought to be educated in order to be useful to the nation-state's interests. The result was that most Swedes were literate by the beginning of the twentieth-century, as Gunnar Ternhag writes, "*[l]äs- och skrivkunnigheten var väl utbredd sedan två-tre generationer svenskar utbildats i den allmänna folkskolan*" [literacy was widespread after two or three generations of Swedes were educated in public elementary schools] (2008a, 11). And while the intent was to produce good and obedient citizens, once educated, working class youth began to express themselves and to make their voices heard as just as legitimate as those of the middleclass intellectuals who produced the newspapers and books. General public elementary education, such as Karl Johansson received, laid the ground for his songbook and for his self-education.

In a sense, the concept of modern individualism was an upper-class prerogative; one that middle-class, romantic writers and poets seized themselves. Modern concepts of individualism proposed that individuals were independent agents in all matters of their lives, though perhaps

individualism should also here be referred to not merely as theory or principle, but as a practice. Erik Gustaf Geijer granted himself and practiced individualism in a way that he could not accord Greta Naterberg because of his education and social capital. No one is able to act freely in all matters – we are always beholden to someone. The church and aristocrats interfered with kings; the bourgeois interfered with aristocrats; the nation-state enforced laws on the bourgeoisie, even if the nation-state was very much a middle-class creation, an adaptation of nationalism to increase their power. For the proletariat, both industrial and agrarian, the practice of individualism did not come through political or economic gains, nor exactly through the gaining of political voice. Universal male suffrage did not come until 1909, and universal suffrage was only achieved in 1921. Rather, working class people made themselves heard through the voice that comes with literacy. The mass-production of cheaper goods, such as notebooks, helped facilitate their writings, which led to political voice.

In handwritten songbooks, individuals mediated themselves as literate, intelligent, and active human beings. Such is not to say that the "folk" were somehow not individuals until the late nineteenth century, but that they now engaged with the tools available, such as handwritten songbooks, to express themselves and to participate in a larger world. In the case of songbooks, this expression was more personal: they produced "*ego-dokumenter*" [ego-documents] (Ternhag 2008, 13). The owner of the songbook collected songs and acted as his own editor and curator. Karl Johansson's songbook and the songs it contains relates to his interests, loves, disappointments, and work – to his own life.

6 August 2014. I landed at Arlanda Airport in Sweden in the morning. Tired and jetlagged, I stopped at Svenskt visarkiv[4] in Stockholm before returning to Stockholm Central to buy some flowers and then hopping on to a train to Linköping. I tried to sleep but I gave up after about forty-

[4] The Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research.

five minutes. I turned to my notes, rethinking the questions I wanted to ask about Karl Johansson, checking the directions that Inger Karlsson's granddaughter, Sofia Ulvan, had given me to find the building. Linköping station came up. Nervous and still tired, I got off the train and sat down in the station to figure out how I would find my way to Inger's house. I hoped that my Swedish would hold up – it had been a while since I had to speak Swedish to anyone but first-year American college students. I walked from Linköping station, followed some minor twists and turns and found her house. It was unusually hot that summer. I was nervous. I rang the doorbell. After a minute, Inger came to the door. I greeted her and handed her the flowers – I felt like flowers are the least I could do when someone agreed to put me up for two nights and take precious time to tell me about her grandfather.

Figure 8. Inger Karlsson on her balcony. 2014.

Inger showed me to the room I would stay in. My memory of what happened after is a bit fuzzy – jetlag, exhaustion, and the efforts of speaking another language make it all a bit fuzzy. Even the letter I wrote to a friend back home that very evening is confusing. Inger understood my exhaustion though. That evening, she provided dinner. I was surprised and delighted. She served *knäckebröd*, with caviar, farmer's cheese, butter, cucumber, yellow bell peppers, sliced boiled egg, and a dense soft bread as well – *smörgås*! Inger pointed out that we were using silverware that she had inherited from her grandmother, Alida, Karl's wife. We ate on her balcony, in the fresh air. She told me that she eats on the balcony as often as possible during the summer. The centerpiece of dinner was a bowlful of raspberries and blueberries,

mixed together, sugar lightly sprinkled, milk and heavy cream poured over – Inger urged me to have seconds of this regional dish and I did.

For dessert, there were *skorpor* [biscuits], which I related to Astrid Lindgren's book *Bröderna Lejonhjärta* [The Brothers Lionheart]. Inger remembered getting them fresh from Alida's oven, spread with butter. Her eyes lit up as she told me about them. Her memories of her grandmother are connected deeply to food. She told me that the whole meal is based on summer meals that Alida used to make. She shows me old photographs of her family and when she explained the next day's plan she stated: "*Lukt säger mer än tusen ord*" [Smell says more than a thousand words]. She told me about how all the senses are engaged when you go somewhere and don't just look at photographs or talk about it. Inger wanted me to understand Karl and Alida and the places they lived. She said she knew I could not possibly put it all in words and those words won't convey the smells, sights, touch, sounds, and taste. This was why her cousins Sten and Kjell, Kjell's wife Kjerstin, and Inger would take me on a road trip to experience Åkerby and Lövstad.

I had sent her questions via email; she had prepared a manuscript for me, meticulously writing down answers – I had only meant to let her know the sorts of questions I intended to ask but to my delight, she wrote them out for me. I glanced at them briefly before falling asleep at 8:30 PM. What she related to me helped my study. But the words don't do Karl or Alida justice. The next day's adventures placed me into space.

The next day, Inger and her cousins took me to the little house in Åkerby that Alida grew up in and then to Lövstad. Inger was right. I cannot put into words this experience as well as I would like.[5] I took hundreds of photographs; I tried to record conversations with varying degrees of success. As they all talked, sharing life stories, I wanted to spend more time with them than I had so that I could find out more about their lives. We arrived at Lövstad that afternoon. The people who

[5] I would like to write an article about this experience, about Inger, Sten, and Kjell, and their stories. There is not room here and it goes beyond the limits of my dissertation, so I have to set this all aside for another time.

lived there now invited us to look around and to come in. Inger, Kjell, and Sten began to talk about how the buildings were laid out, what used to be here or there. Inger pointed out the tiny cabin that Karl was born in – we could see it in the distance, maybe 500 meters from where Lövstad stands now. It was uncanny to walk through Karl Johansson's old house, to see the rooms that he lived in, the old stoves. During the road trip and the stops at significant places, we talked about Karl and Alida; they became more alive to me because of the animation and love that Inger, Kjell, and Sten gave them as they told me about them. Their love and stories matter and they are what inform the background to this chapter.[6]

In our first email exchange, Inger called her grandfather *Kalle i Lövstad* [Kalle from Lövstad], which reminded me of the name *Olle i Skratthult* [Olle from Laughterville], the stage name of Hjalmar Peterson, a Swedish-American *bondkomiker* [peasant comedian]. Johansson's grandchildren continue to refer to him with this combination of name and toponym. As the family's insistence I visit Lövstad suggests, she and her cousins connected their grandfather to the place where he grew up and lived. The biographical sketches of Kalle and Alida below are cobbled together from emails, documents, letters, interviews and fieldwork in 2013 and in 2014 with his granddaughter, Inger Karlsson and her cousins, Kjell Axelsson and Sten Axelsson. Certain methodological problems arise when using the memories of his grandchildren: they were not yet born during the time Kalle wrote down songs in his songbook. They knew him as a grandfather, from the 1930s forward. Kalle likely changed in the intervening years between his youth and old age. However, I believe that while he may have changed between the first decade of the twentieth century and the times that Inger, Axel, and Sten knew him, there is also continuity between the person he was as a young man writing in his songbook and the grandfather that he became. His grandchildren's recollections of Kalle are more

[6] This account comes more or less directly from my journal and a letter I wrote to a friend.

truthful than "accurate" archival research, which in this case would present only more discontinuous fragments. With his grandchildren, these fragments are threaded together and contextualized.

Kalle i Lövstad was born 12 June, 1882 in Tjärstad parish, Kinda härad in Östergötland. His parents were Johan Emil Rim Johansson (1859-1919) and Albertina (née Väster) (1856-1934). Kalle had a brother named Albert and sisters named Edit and Emma. He grew up near Lövstad in Åkerby. Kalle's father, Johan Emil, was a butcher who delivered to nearby Rimfors. He also served as the local dentist – removing sore teeth when needed. In the beginning of the twentieth century, Johan Emil began to build the farm Lövstad and its surrounding buildings. Lövstad was completed in 1905.

As an adult, Kalle worked as a navvy or railway worker and blaster. Sometime after the period that he wrote his songbook, he lost his right eye in a blasting accident, which he replaced with a glass eye. His grandchildren recall that he was heavily involved with the Social Democrats; in 1962, he received a Hjalmar Branting medal.[7] He also was active in working-class education efforts and may have run something of a lending library with his own personal collection of books, according to Kjell Axelsson. Kalle listed his book collection in the back of his songbook. During the time that he kept his songbook, he became engaged to Alida (Julin) Seger. She was born on 23 December, 1882 in Juby, Askby parish, Östergötland. The

Figure 9. Åckers seen from Lövstad, 7 August 2014.

[7] Hjalmar Branting (1860-1925) was a prominent Swedish politician. He was one of the main organizers of the Swedish Social Democratic party. He served as the Swedish prime minister three times; the first time, as the first Social Democrat in 1920. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1921 for his work in the League of Nations. The Hjalmar Branting Medal is awarded by local organizations for service; it is an award that comes from the Swedish Social Democrat party.

location information for many of the songs indicates that Kalle visited Juby quite often from June 1907 until he stopped collecting songs around October 1908. On 2 May 1909, the couple married. They had three daughters, Edit, Rut, and Ingrid. Edit was Inger Karlsson's mother. Ingrid was Kjell and Sten's mother. Alida passed away 1 June 1957. Kalle followed her on 17 October 1965.

Figure 10. Lövstad in 1912. Photograph courtesy Ingrid Karlsson.

Figure 11. Lövstad 7 August 2014.

Inger recalls that Kalle was not known for his singing voice. He had a hoarse voice. In his younger day, he played at youth-organized dances in the summer. He became a teetotaler, according to a story, "… *efter att någon gång i sin ungdom, ha vaknat i en gödselhög efter tydligen en 'blöt kväll'*" [... after once in his youth, [he] had woken up in a dung heap after clearly a "wet evening"] (Karlsson 2014a). Inger did not remember him being particularly religious, at least not in his later life, but he did not swear much; the worst that Inger remembers Kalle saying is "*ättan*" (along the lines of "blast it" or "darn it"). Inger remembers that he liked to tease her: "*[h]an retade mig att jag hade 'krokigt' hår*" [He teased me that I had 'crooked' hair]." He was an excellent gardener and Inger

remembers that he made teas from linden flowers. He played the fiddle. He worked as a *rallare* [navvy] and as a *sprängare* [blaster]. Kjell Axelsson showed me a *Betyg* [Reference] for Kalle from Bröderna Larsen & Krogh AB for the period 4 Sept. 1906 to 12 May 1908, roughly the period that Kalle was writing down songs. Inger believes that Kalle lived at Lövstad with his parents until he began working.

Sometime during the period that Kalle was recording songs, he met his future wife, Alida (Julin Seger). Kjell Axelsson remembers hearing that they met in Askeby. Alida's family lived in a small house between forest and fields in Juby, Askeby, called Holmen, built in 1906 (Holmen). The original house burned down in 1983, but was rebuilt in the same style, which is still in use today. Since 1967, it has been owned by Askeby missionförsamlingen, which bought it from Eskil Seger, Alida's brother. Inger thinks that Alida's father was the verger at Askeby's famous convent church; her brother Eskil later became the verger there as well.[8] Alida played the guitar and Inger remembers that there was a zither at Holmen. Alida had a good singing voice and sang or hummed while she worked. Inger does not remember the songs she sang; only that Alida had a powerful voice. She wove, keeping her loom in an outbuilding.

Kalle's songbook (SVA h1515) is currently archived at Svenskt visarkiv (SVA)[9] in Stockholm. Inger Karlsson donated it to the archive in 2007, saying that "*Jag känner inte till melodierna till mera än en av dem. Det kändes meninglöst, när jag inte kunde melodierna . Jag insåg att när jag går bort så var boken ointressant för nästa generation, så risken skulle vara stor att den försvinner. Därför nappade jag på SVA:s uppmaning*[10] *att skänka den. Den hade bara legat i en låda hemma hos mig*" [I did not know the melodies to more than one of the songs. It felt meaningless, if I did not know the melodies. I realized that when

[8] "*Om jag inte är fel underrättad så var Alidas far kyrkoväktmästare i Askeby (Gammal berömd klosterkyrka). Senare blev hennes bror Eskil också kyrkoväktmästare där*" (Karlsson, Inger. 2014a. IK/KJ001.a).
[9] The Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research.
[10] I do not know anything about the request at this point.

I passed away the book would be uninteresting for the next generation, so the risk was great that it would be lost. Therefore I jumped at SVA's request to donate it. It had just been lying in a box at my house] (Karlsson 2014a). Sometime after Kalle passed away in 1965, Inger's mother Edit inherited the book and in turn left it to Inger.

The songbook is 17.5 cm by 20 cm by 1 cm, bound with a *vaxduk* [oil-cloth] cover; it was mass-produced by LTC. The notebook originally consisted of 240 lined pages, of which two pages (171-2) were cut out. The pages are not numbered: all page numbers are my designation. Song texts take 36.5% of the pages; the booklist, 21%; stenographic text, 4.2%; a poem by Rudyard Kipling about 3.9%; the remaining blank pages take up a third of the volume. In addition, there is a loose sheet, with two variants of a text, found between pages 64–65. The book list and one song take up the final 53 pages, written conversely to the rest of the book's orientation. Most of song texts deal with love and work, which is usual for other handwritten songbooks of the time. There are some common structural elements for most of the texts presented in its pages:

1. Title of the song or poem written before the text, often underlined.
2. In most cases, Kalle wrote the following paratextual information at the end of songs or poems:
    a. A location (21 instances)
    b. A date (24 instances)
    c. Kalle's signature (K. Johansson or K. J_n) (28 instances)
    d. A flourish to divide songs.
3. Spaces between stanzas.

Some 21 of the 39 texts list a location. All of the locations are in Östergötland. Except for the loose inserted sheet, the final song text, and the book list, all the texts can be dated fairly accurately to between September 1906 and September 1908. All the handwriting is in Kalle's hand.

Location	# texts	%	Date Range
Juby Askeby	11	28 %	15 June 1907 – 13 Febr 1908
Linköping	5	13 %	25 Sept and 29 Nov 1906 and 12 Febr. 1907
Lövstad Opphem	4	10 %	23 Dec 1906 – 16 Sept 1908
Stora Metsjön, Wärdberg	4	10 %	14 Sept 1906 – 25 Sept 1906
Hageby, Örtomten	1	3 %	9 May 1907
No Location listed	11	28 %	N/A

Figure 12. Locations

I have categorized the song texts by theme. However, because songs may develop several themes, I cannot classify with more precision.[11] Several of the song texts fall into more than one thematic category. The selection of a main theme is admittedly subjective, based on my impressions of reading the song texts.

Thematic Categories (of 34 song texts)	# of instances	% of songs
Love (wooing, marriage, unrequited, lost/betrayed love)	14	41%
Social Justice (social justice, solidarity, labor, poverty)	11	32%
Young male narrative (adventure, moral warning, wandering, work w/no critique of capitalism)	3	9%
Traditional ballads, ballad echoes, ballad pastiche	2	6%
Humor/Jocular	2	6%
Sentimental (nostalgia, childhood, home, family connections)	2	6%

Figure 13. Thematic Categories

Kalle likely had models for his edition – the handwritten songbooks of others, popular songbooks and possibly critical and scholarly songbooks such as Geijer and Afzelius' *Svenska folkvisor* or Richard Bergström's 1880 revised and expanded edition. School readers, as far back as 1830 (cf. Arwidsson 1830), also contained songs; Kalle likely modelled his work on songbooks he knew from school, which contained songs in ordered manner (cf. *Folkskolans sångbok*, 1882). However, that Kalle and others followed songbook models was not a sign of adoption of middle-class ideology, but of claiming the form for their own purposes. In addition, handwritten songbooks were themselves a model among the working classes at least since the 1870s and one that was continuously practiced when Kalle was keeping his book (cf. Ternhag, 10-1 & Jansson 119 & 144). He likely shared and copied from the songbooks of friends and fellow *rallare*.

[11] Cf. the introductions to TSB and to SMB for the problems inherent in classifying types.

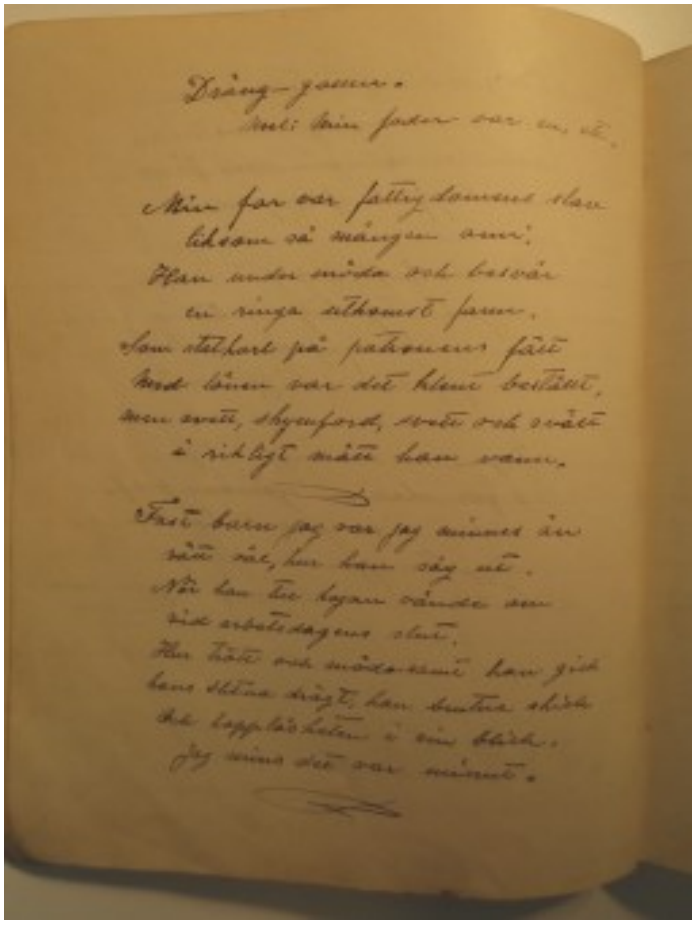

Figure 14. Kalle's songbook. [# 24]. "Dräng-gossen"

Karl Johansson had models from printed sources and from fellow songbook writers; however, he did not simply copy down songs willy-nilly. Looking through his entries, it becomes obvious that he organized the songs chronologically as he collected them. This may seems to make Karl Johansson's songbook unedited. In a sense, the songs appear as in Leonhard Fredrik Rääf's field transcriptions, filed chronologically. However, I argue that Johansson was far more invested in editorial scholarship. Repeatedly, I have referred to the fact that the intellectuals selected, collected, textualized, and interpreted songs, in addition to ordering, classifying, and naming them. Johansson carefully selected the songs that he textualized and his handwriting is legible. The songs, as I have said, held meaning for him and he interpreted them in the context of his life and experiences. If he were simply collecting and copying down songs, we might expect him to have written down far more songs in two years. However, as careful as Geijer, Afzelius, Arwidsson, Hyltén-Cavallius, Stephens, Wigström, and Bondeson before him, he selected and textualized songs.

Ann-Catarine Edlund refers to handwritten songbooks as literary-artifacts; they are material objects that contain writing, have multiple uses, and play different roles in different social contexts (2008, 52). Alf Arvidsson states "*att en individ i en viss historisk situation hade som del av sin*

handlingsrepertoar att kunna välja att nedteckna visor som är relevanta för deras sociala identitet, det må vara ideologiskt, geographiskt, knutet till kön, ålder eller kanske enbart urskiljbart som språklig identiet" [that an individual in a certain historical situation had as part of his toolbox the ability to choose to write down songs that are relevant for their social identity, whether that be ideological, geographical, connected to gender, age or perhaps solely as linguistic identity] (2008, 49). Kalle chose to write down songs that related to his class and age. It took time and effort to write down songs by hand; he had to like the songs to do so, or at least find the song to be noteworthy for some reason. The songs were likely songs which had special meaning to Kalle. The songbook was a way of expressing his own individuality and the narrative of his individuality – a part of telling his life story.[12] He also participated with others, sharing songbooks and songs. Youth exchanged and reinforced ideas through handwritten songbooks. In the first decade of the twentieth century, songbooks of Swedish youth might not only contain songs but also recipes, stories, book lists, and addresses. Swedes of the day seem to have used their songbooks the way Americans and Swedes use tablets or smart phones today – to keep songs, contact information, calendars, and so on, and store them in a single, accessible material object. Handwritten songbooks were the tablets and smart phones of their day.

The different types of songs Kalle collected display the shifting social networks he moved in as a wooer, as a railway worker, as a laborer, as a feeling and thinking human being. I turn again to Thomas DuBois's lyric interpretative scheme, a scheme which I used in Chapter 4. In brief, DuBois suggests that meaning from the situational axis emerges from either reference to a specific narrative description or proverbially as a commonly experienced situation. With the associative axis, the audience and performer associate the lyric with a particular person, place or thing to give it meaning. The last axis, the generic, asks the audience to interpret based on their knowledge of genre: familiarity with typical content and context provide the keys to meaning.

[12] Cf. Cashman, 2011.

With these interpretative axes in mind, I will cursorily examine the thematic category, "Love," before turning to a deeper analysis of the "Social Justice" category. In each analysis, I will look at the tendencies in each category but concentrate on a single song text. In the deeper analysis, I will also look at the overall collection of social justice songs and then narrow the focus to one song. The great majority of the song texts deal with love: 41% of the songs have love as the primary theme and several others also touch on love. The love is heteronormative. In the thematic category of love, I place songs about beautiful girls that catch the song's narrator's eye, songs about wooing, courting, engagement and marriage.

Marriage was one important goal for many young men and women in this period of Swedish history. No longer restricted to a few who had sufficient financial resources to marry, and no longer viewed as a transaction between families, marriage in early twentieth-century Sweden was an area for self-experience and self-realization. In taking down songs about love, Kalle addressed typical or perhaps personal desires and hopes for the future. He was unmarried at the time he wrote down his songs. The love songs he includes may very well have personal stories behind them, even if they are common popular songs of the time. I suggest that these songs about love can be interpreted contextually, personally, and proverbially. Because these songs were familiar to Kalle and his social circle, they could easily be understood the point, in terms performance and transmission. The love songs from this time in Kalle's life – during his engagement with Alida Seger – can be interpreted proverbially; but also potentially as associated specifically to his relationship with Alida. In particular I want to note "*Balens Drottning*" [The Queen of the Ball] (# 11) which he jotted down December 23rd, 1906 at Lövstad on Alida Seger's birthday. Love, dances, and courting were common experiences for Swedish youth. While the song was in the third person, it was likely that Kalle understood the song as personalizing his own feelings and experience. The song was quite popular

at the time.[13] Kalle and Alida and their friends would have been aware of its meaning and the context which it suggested concerning eroticism, courtship, and dance.

Between May 1907 and September 1908, Kalle wrote down nine of the eleven social justice songs. I have categorized the songs as focusing on social justice based on their statements regarding labor policies that exploited workers and ignored the most vulnerable members of society. The songs opposed nationalism. Whereas nationalistic songs tended to shame the individual for failing the nation or society, these songs turned that shame around towards the nation, the society, or more often towards the international (capitalist) system that abused human beings. In particular, the song *Wårt land* (or *Vårt land*) [Our land] attacked capitalism as exploiting workers of the whole world. The other songs that I have categorized as Social Justice songs are: "*Rallarevisa*" [Navvy song] (#4), "*Den blindes klagare*" [The blind grumbler] (#10), "*Tiggar-Flickan*" [The beggar girl] (#17), "*En Järnvägs, eller Rallarevisa*" [A railway or navvy song] (#19), "*En Sorglig Rallare-visa*" [A tragic navvy-song] (#20), "*En Sjömans begrafning*" [A sailor's funeral] (#23), "*Dräng-gossen*" [The farmhand's boy] (#24), "*?*" (#25), "*Tiggarnes fosterland*" [The beggars' native land] (#26), "*Wårt land*" [Our land] (#27), and "*Parisians son*" [Son of the Parisian] (#30) definitely fit these criteria, with "*Glad Kalles visa*" [Happy Kalle's song] (#5) and "*Rallare-visa*" [Navvy song] (#6) also dealing with some of the themes, though they fit better into a category I have designated young male narrative. While all of these songs are fascinating, I have chosen to focus on Kalle's "*Dräng-gossen,*" a parody of Runeberg's "*Soldatgossen*".

In the Chapter 6, we examined how Adolf Olsson parodied ballads to ridicule aristocratic and bourgeois sensibilities. Protesters of various stripes have long used parody as a way to attack and skewer their opponents on their own petards. School children have tested moral boundaries and played with ideas through parody ("Jingle bells, Batman smells ..."). Working class agitators have

[13] Cf. Svenskt visarkivs kataloger online at: katalog.visarkiv.se.

long used parody to attack religious and political ideologies that sought to defer social justice, as Joe Hill's famous parody of the Salvation Army's "In the Sweet Bye and Bye" with "The Preacher and the Slave." The Salvation Army hymn told people that "In the sweet bye and bye / We shall meet on that beautiful shore" which Joe Hill's song mocked with "You will eat, bye and bye / In that glorious land above the sky" (cf. Greenway 1970, 184f). Hill's parody criticizes the religious song, which offers hope for present misery in the afterlife, deferring justice and simple human survival and livelihood. Joe Hill's text notes that heavenly hope does not feed the hungry now. "*Dräng-gossen*" makes similar criticisms of religious and political ideology.

Parodies of Runeberg's works were unlikely to be recorded by collectors between the times that Runeberg first published the poems and very recent times. In Finland, Runeberg was the national poet and informants may have felt uncomfortable sharing parodies with collectors who in many ways represented the middle-class conservative ideology. The collectors themselves would have been very unlikely to seek such parodies. Parodies, jocular songs, and obscene song did not fit the models of folksongs and ballads either in terms of content or in apparent mode of conformity. They emphasize the creativity and authorial talents of present-day performers rather than buttressing a notion of oral tradition and originality far in the past, and illiterate singers (cf. chapter 6). The situation in Sweden was quite similar to that in Finland. In Sweden, Runeberg occupied a high nationalistic and patriotic position; like Geijer, his patriotic poems were included in songbooks of various kinds, including the all-important school songbooks.

Johan Ludvig Runeberg is not likely to be familiar to American audiences although he numbers among the great authors in Scandinavia. He was born in 1804 in Jakobstad, Finland, at that time still a part of the Swedish empire. His father was a sea captain; his mother belonged to a well-established merchant family. The family was fairly well off to begin with, though they suffered economic hardship after Runeberg's father suffered a stroke. Growing up in the years after the 1809

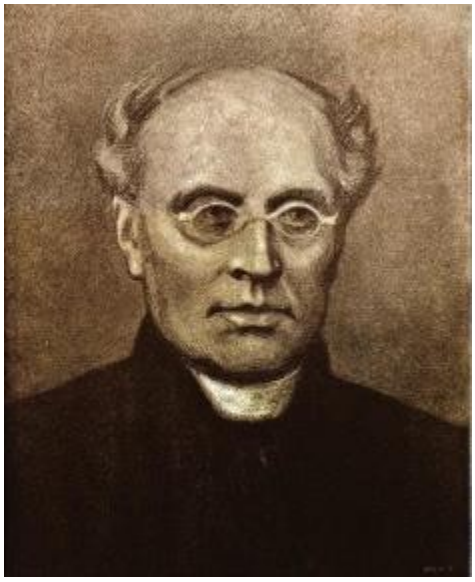

Figure 15 Johan Ludvig Runeberg by C.P. Mazer.

Russian accession of Finland and with romantic nationalism as a strong part of student culture by his university days, Runeberg became an ardent Finnish nationalist. His language was Swedish.[14] He composed poetry in the Romantic vein, borrowing from ballad styles and from poets like Erik Gustaf Geijer. Unlike Geijer and other Swedish romantic poets, however, he rooted his poems in a more recent past, and treated individuals from the lower classes more sympathetically, as he demonstrates in his epic cycle, *Fänrik Ståls sägner*, which generally uses the voices of soldiers to tell its narrative rather than grand heroes. In 1863, Runeberg suffered a stroke, which ended his immense literary productivity; he died in Borgå, Finland, in 1877.[15]

On 22 August 1907, Kalle wrote down "*Dräng-gossen*," (song 24) in Juby. The song challenges the idea that the nation's social order is somehow natural and instead, presents nationalism as elitist.[16] As "*Wårt land*" (song 27) parodies Runeberg's opening poem to part 1 of *Fänrik Ståls sägner* (1848), "*Dräng-gossen*" parodies Runeberg's "*Soldatgossen*," which opens the second part of *Fänrik Ståls sägner* (1860).[17] In both Runeberg's poem and the parody, the narrator speaks from a first person perspective to describe the life of a youth who has lost his father, gazes back at grandfathers, surveys the hardships the youth faces now, and looks ahead to the future. However, while both protagonists

[14] Like A.I. Arwidsson; cf. chapter 3.

[1515] There are several works that chronicle Runeberg's life. In particular, I suggest Ernest Brydolf (1966) and Wretö (1980). Tore Wretö's book is in English. More biographic details in relation to his literary work can be found in his *Samlade skrifter* (1933-2005).

[16] Cf. Hall 2000.

[17] Johan Ludvig Runeberg's "Vårt land" is the first poem in the first collection of *Fänrik Ståls sägner* (1848). Runeberg (1804-1877) was a Swedish speaking Finn, who felt deeply attached to the army and was deeply patriotic. His poems were popular in Finland and Sweden (Runeberg *Samlade Skrifter* XIV 1987). "Soldatgossen" was originally published in the Finnish kalendarn *Veteranen* in 1858 (ibid: 314).

face very similar obstacles and suffer similar hardships, the attitudes towards the events differ significantly. "*Soldatgossen*" has eight stanzas of six lines each. "*Dräng-gossen*" has seven stanzas of six lines each; it also mimics the rhyme scheme of Runeberg's poem, often using nearly the same wording. I summarize the narratives of both songs and hold off on quoting from them until later, when I quote them side-by-side. Kalle clearly wanted to remember this song, but his own father did not suffer a fate like the *dränggossen's*.[18] I suggest that the song needs to be understood generically as contextual (in the context of Swedish economic conditions in the period: a depression and sinking wages) and situationally as proverbialized (as something that was applicable to the experiences of many from the working classes).

Runeberg first published "*Soldatgossen*" in a Swedish Finnish almanac called *Veteranen* [The Veteran] in 1859, from whence it spread quickly to Sweden and was widely circulated (cf. Runeberg SS:14 1987, 304). Runeberg's *Soldatgossen* tells the audience about his father who became a soldier young and led a happy life, unbothered by fire, blood, frost, or hunger. The boy remembers his father's figure – here Runeberg paints a picture of the proud and brave soldier; one distinguished through the winning of medals. But one spring day, the boy's family gets word that the father is dead. The boy feels sorrow at his loss but also joy at his father's heroism; his mother dies of grief. The boy then tells about a battle in which his father fought, speaks of his grandfather who died with sword in hand fighting for King Gustav, and of his great-grandfather who also died in war. He then notes that they all lived courageously and that their deaths were glorious – death in battle is the only way to go. He then returns to his present, where he is poor and homeless, subsisting on the generosity of others, but turn to the future and he dreams of being a soldier and following in his father's footsteps, even unto death.

[18] I am going to refer to the narrators of the two songs as "*soldatgossen*" [the soldier's boy] and "*dränggossen*" [the farmhand's boy] respectively; English equivalents are cumbersome. I keep Kalle's dash between *dräng* and *gossen* when I refer to the title.

"*Dräng-gossen*" is not a common song – the only example I have found in my searches to this point is in Kalle's songbook. The *dränggossen* of Kalle's song tells the audience that his father was poverty stricken and worked for a county squire, who paid him poorly. *Dränggossen* describes his father as bent over, tired, broken and hopeless. His father takes up timber floating for work and is killed; a message comes for the family and the mother soon dies. The parish takes over the children's care; now *dränggossen* lives on charity. He reflects on his father's and grandfather's lives – his grandfather was also a soldier, but lived and ended his life as a beggar. He then looks to his own future and sees a bleak one. The church offers him nothing but words and all he can see is also his own death, as is the case with his counterpart in S*oldatgossen*. But for *dränggossen*, death is not longed for and glorious; instead, he sees it as very much like his father's – without value or meaning.

Johan Ludvig Runeberg's "Soldatgossen" (Runeberg SS:III:2 1974, 1-3)	"Dräng-gossen" example in Kalle's songbook (SVA h1515)
Min fader var en ung soldat, den vackraste man fann, Vid femton år gevär han tog, vid sjutton var han man, Hans hela verld var ärans fält, Der stod han glad hvar han sig ställt, I eld, i blod, i frost, i svält; Han var min fader, han.	Min far var fattigdomens slav liksom så mången ann! Han under möda och besvär en ringa utkomst fann. Som statkarl på patronens fält Med lönen var det klent beställt, men vett, skymford, svett och svält i rikligt mått han vann.
Jag var ett barn, när han drog bort, sen fridens dag var slut, Dock mins jag än hans stolta gång, jag mins den hvar minut, Hans hatt, hans plym, den bruna hyn Och skuggan från hans ögonbryn: Nej, alldrig går det ur min syn Hur herrlig han såg ut.	Fast barn jag var jag minnes än rätt väl, hur han såg ut, När han till kojan vände om vid arbetsdagens slut. Hur trött och mödasamt han gick Hans slitna drägt, han[s] brutna skick Och hopplösheten i sin blick, Jag minss det var minut.
Det hördes snart från höga nord, när häreп ryckte ned, Hur han var käck, hur han var stark, hur i hvar strid han stred. Så sads, han fått medalj också, Det spordes snart att han fått två; Ack, tänkte jag i hjertat då, Den som fick vara med.	Han gick till timmer flottning ut. Jag mins det väl, en vår ..... Ett budskap kom – "din fader dött, han drunknade i går. Wad sedan följde vet jag nog. Av brist och sorg min moder dog. Och socknser hand hom barnen tog, Som ofta nog det går.
Och vintern gick, och drifvan smalt, och det var lust och vår, Då kom ett bud: din fader dött, han dog för ädla sår. Jag tänkte då, jag vet ej hvad, Var stundom ängslig, stundom glad; Men mor hon gret tre dar å rad, Så blef hon lagd på bår.	Hos främmande jag haft mitt helm alltifrån min faders död, Och ödmjukhetens dygd jag lärt ren af till öfverflöd. Hårdt är det dock dag för dag Med hårda ord, ja, hugg och slag Få plickta för att man är svag Och äter nådebröd.

Min fader slöt på Lappos slätt, sin fana närmast invid;
Det sägs det var den första gång han blekna setts i strid!
På Uttismalm, för Gustafs land,
Min farfar dog med svärd i hand;
Hans fader föll vid Willmanstrand,
Han var från Carols tid.

Så var det med dem, så blödde de, så har det ständigt gått;
Ett herrligt lif de lefvat dock, en herrlig död de fått.
Ack, hvem vill stappla trög och tung?
Nej, gå i fält helt varm och ung,
Och dö för ära, land och kung,
Se, det är annan lott!

Jag är en fattig gosse jag, som äter andras bröd,
Jag har ej huld, jag har ej hem allt sen min faders död;
Men klaga är ej mitt behag,
Jag växer högre dag från dag,
Jag är en krigargosse jag,
För mig fins ingen nöd.

Och lefver jag tills jag blir stor och fyller femton år,
Till samman svält, till samma kamp, till samma död jag går.
Det kulor hvina tätast då,
Der skall man finna mig också,
Der vill ock jag försöka på
I min fäders spår.

Men mina fäder göra mig ej bättre öde rönt:
Min faders lif var armt på allt vad som gör lifvet skönt
Min farfar tjänte ”kung och land”,
Men dock – man det mig sagt ibland
– han dog med tiggarstaf i hand –
Så blef hans tjänst belönt.

Så lefde de – så svulta de, så har med dem det gått,
Ett tröstlöst lif de lefvat dock ett sorgligt slut de fått.
Försöka, kränkas, lida nöd,
I hopplös kamp för dagligt bröd
förträmpas, skymfas till sin död _
Är den förtrycktes lott.

Min framtid syns mig föga ljus vid fylda sexton år –.
Men prästen lärt mig allt är väl blott jag min plikt förstår.
Att tacka Gud och vara nöjd,
I mödan finna just min fröjd
och sträfva, under oket böjd
tills jag blir lagd på bår.

Johan Ludvig Runeberg's "Soldatgossen" Translation

My father was a young soldier, the handsomest there was,
At fifteen, he took up the rifle, at seventeen, he was man.
His whole world was glory's field
There he stood happy, was nonplussed
in fire, in blood, in frost, in starvation
He, he was my father.

I was a child when peace broke and he went away,
But I remember his proud gait, I remember every minute,
His hat, his plume, his brown face
And the shadow from his eyebrows:
No, never will it leave my sight
How manly he looked.

We heard soon from our army in the far north,
How plucky and strong he was, how he fought in every battle.
It was said, he got a medal,
we heard soon that he got two;
Oh! I thought in my heart then,
To be with him there.

"Dräng-gossen" Translation

My father was poverty's slave, like so many others!
Amid drudgery and hard work he earned a poor livelihood.
As a farm worker on the squire's fields
with wages that were poorly given
But abuse, taunts, sweat and starvation
in abundant measure he won.

Though a child, I remember very well how he looked,
When he returned home after the work day's end.
How tired and labored he walked
His shabby clothes, his worn out state
And the hopelessness in his eyes,
I remember it every minute.

He went out to a timber floating. I remember it well, that spring ...
A message came: your father is dead: he drowned yesterday.
What then followed, I know well.
Of lack and sorrow my mother died.
And the parish looked after the children
as it happens often enough.

And winter went, and melted snow drifts, and it was joy and spring
Then came a message: your father is dead, he died of noble wounds.
I thought then, I don't know what.
I was at times upset, at times happy;
But mother, she wept three days in a row
then she was laid in a coffin.

My father was killed on Lappos plain near the banner;
It's said that it was the first time he was seen paling in battle!
At Uttismalm, for Gustav's land,
My grandfather died with sword in hand;
His father fell at Willmansstrand,
He was from Charles's time.

So it was with them, so they bled, so has it always gone;
A glorious life they lived though, a glorious death they died.
Oh! who wants to totter slow and heavy?
No! To go to the battle field warm and young,
And to die for honor, land, and king,
See, that is a different lot.

I am a poor lad, who eats the bread of others,
I have no kindness, no home at all since my father died;
But complaint is not to my taste,
I grow taller every day,
I am a soldier's son,
For me, there is no distress.

And if I live until I am grown and reach fifteen years,
To the same starvation, to the same battle, to the same death I go.
Where bullets whine thickest then
there you will find me also
There I want venture
in my ancestors' footsteps.

With strangers I've had my home since my father's death,
And of humility's virtue I've learned quite abundantly.
But it is difficult every day
With hard words, yes, blows and lashes
Suffer (Fined) because you are weak
And live on charity.

But my ancestors experienced no better fate:
My father's life missed everything that makes life good
My grandfather served "king and land,"
Nonetheless – they tell me sometimes
- he died with a beggars staff in hand –
So was his service paid.

So they lived, so they starved, so it went for them,
Hopeless lives they lived but sad end they got.
Trying, wronged, suffering distress,
In a hopeless struggle for their daily bread
tormented, insulted until their deaths.
That is the oppressed's lot.

My future seems to me not very bright as I turn sixteen -.
But the priest taught me that all is well, if only I
understand my duty.
To thank God and be content
my joy is just in hard labor
and striving, under the yoke bent
until I am laid down in a coffin.

"*Dräng-gossen*" borrows not just the narrative structure, but words, phrasing, sentiment and melody.[19] It is the only song in Kalle's book that refers specifically to a melody. The borrowing is not direct, but twists the sentiment, making what is noble and patriotic into the mundane: an example in phrase borrowing and parodying is the news of the fathers' deaths. In "*Soldatgossen*" in the fourth stanza, the lines read: "*Då kom ett bud: Din fader dött, / han dog för ädla sår*" [Then came a

[19] There were several melodies to Runeberg's song; however the most popular and enduring was composed and arranged by J. Jacobsson in 1861 – it is most likely that this is the melody that Kalle refers to (ibid: 314).

message: your father is dead, / he died of noble wounds] (ln 3-4). Compare this to "*Dräng-gossen*'s stanza 3 "*Ett budskap kom – din fader dött, / han drunknade i går*" [A message came – your father is dead, / he drowned yesterday] (ln 3-4). Nationalism and the cult of the national hero glorifies a soldier's death in service of his native land, but the laborer who dies while working for another, his death is mundane.

I want to compare more closely the two texts now, to show how the parody plays on Runeberg's poem. Runeberg's song opens "*Min fader var en ung soldat, den vackraste man fann*" [My father was a young soldier, the handsomest there was]. The focus here is on a single individual, who serves the nation as a soldier and who represents the nation, projecting its power and masculinity.[20] "*Dräng-gossen*" begins also with a father, but he is not a representative of the nation, but he becomes representative of the working poor, a class that cannot escape its poverty: "*Min far var fattigdomens slav liksom* ***så mången ann****!*" [My father was poverty's slave, **like so many others**!]. *Dränggossen's* father is devalued and his work hardly provides a living. The soldier's allegiance is a given; it almost does not matter whether it is Sweden or Finland – it is a nation. The worker's service is spelled out and made concrete (though it is not localized: it is open, like Runeberg's poem, to more than just one human experience or place. He does not work his own ground, but the "*patronens fält*" – the country squire's fields, reinforcing his status as poverty's slave.

Stanza 1 "*Soldatgossen*"
My father was a young soldier, the handsomest there was,
At fifteen, he took up the rifle, at seventeen, he was man.
His whole world was glory's field
There he stood happy, was nonplussed
in fire, in blood, in frost, in starvation
He, he was my father.

Stanza 1 "*Dräng-gossen*"
My father was poverty's slave, like so many others!
Amid drudgery and hard work he earned a poor livelihood.
As a farm worker on the squire's fields
with wages that were poorly given
But abuse, taunts, sweat and starvation
in abundant measure he won.

[20] Consider how soldiers returning from tours of duty in Viet Nam in the late 1960s and early 1970 were treated as representatives of United State ideology or how criticism of US military personal can be considered un-American by some citizens.

In Runeberg's poem, the father's death is treated in the fourth stanza, which "*Dräng-gossen*" echoes:

Stanza 4 "*Soldatgossen*"
And winter went, and melted snow drifts, and it was joy and spring
Then came a message: your father is dead, he died of noble wounds.
I thought then, I don't know what.
I was at times upset, at times happy;
But mother, she wept three days in a row
then she was laid in a coffin.

Stanza 4 "*Dräng-gossen*"
He went out to a timber floating. I remember it well, that spring ...
A message came: your father is dead: he drowned yesterday.
What then followed, I know well.
Of lack and sorrow my mother died.
And the parish looked after the children
as it happens often enough.

Runeberg's soldier dies of noble or glorious wounds, his body penetrated by bullets or blades. He dies in service of the nation. *Dräng-gossen's* father does not die gloriously; his death is horrific, and yet unremarkable when compared to the soldier's death. He drowns, likely falling beneath the logs in a river – unable to breath and forced downward in this dangerous, low-paying wage labor. He dies because he needs to earn enough money simply to feed his family. Both fathers die, but *soldatgossen* is proud of his father's death, even if it breaks his mother's heart and leads to his homelessness. *Dränggossen* has no such pride in his father's death – it leads also to homelessness and his mother's death. He loved his father, but his death comes at the hands of industry, of capitalism's rational iron cage of bad wages and unsafe working conditions. It gives nothing to the family. The narrator emphasizes here that it is not simply of grief that *dränggossen's* mother dies, but of material lack, of poverty. And again, the parody clues the audience that it is proverberialization: it represents more than just the individual's experience but those of many workers: "*Som ofta nog det går*" [as it happens often enough].

In the final stanzas, both protagonists look to the future and foresee their deaths. Both view their ends grimly, but quite differently. Whereas *soldatgossen* sees himself dying gloriously in battle, following in his father's footsteps, *dränggossen* sees a future that is grim, oppressive, and ignoble. The priest stands in for the church, which sets forth a deferred hope and calls for no social revolution or transformation. The church offers no social justice for the poor and vulnerable working class. Both

protagonists see themselves following their ancestors. *Soldatgossen* wants to follow his forebears' paths, even unto death. *Dränggossen* does not directly connect his death to a following of his ancestors' footsteps, though it is obvious that such will be the case. The ancestral path leads to no glory – the protagonist sees his own death as meaningless as his father's. But he is still alive and there is the faint glimmer of hope in the parody. Things can change.

Stanza 8 "*Soldatgossen*"
And if I live until I am grown and reach fifteen years,
To the same starvation, to the same battle, to the same death I go.
Where bullets whine thickest then
there you will find me also
There I want venture
in my ancestors' footsteps.

Stanza 7 "*Dräng-gossen*"
My future seems to me not very bright as I turn sixteen -.
But the priest taught me that all is well, if only I understand my duty.
To thank God and be content
my joy is just in hard labor
and striving, under the yoke bent
until I am laid down in a coffin.

In Runeberg's song, death is glorious and noble when it occurs in service to the nation. The soldier stands as the bulwark and the frontline of the nation. In Kalle's song, the deaths described are inglorious, ignoble – serving no end. The characters' lives are spent serving masters who profit and who are unwilling to pay proper wages. The workers here are not at the forefront of the nation, or on top or even equal, which is what the rhetoric of nationalism promises, what Benedict Anderson calls "deep, horizontal comradeship" (2006, 7). The workers remain at the bottom. As Anderson notes, injustice and inequalities may be real, but a nation must regard itself as a common community, and with education and literacy, the under classes begin to see this injustice as a problem and as an impediment for the nation to overcome. Runeberg's *Soldatgossen* cannot imagine and does not point out how unequal the relationship between soldiers and state is or how military men are exploited. *Dränggossen* imagines and accuses the nation of exploitation. He has the education to do so; his father and grandfather may well have seen the injustice, but with literacy, this injustice can be communicated much farther afield, in various media, including protest songs.

Soldatgossen's personal, historical roots for his love of his native land go so far back as the times of Charles XII (1682-1718), which fits well the Romantic scheme of a glorious past in order to

Figure 16. Kalle i Lövstad, at Lövstad. 1950s. Photo courtesy of Inger Karlsson.

justify and establish the nation. His ancestors served their nation gloriously, and the young lad intends to do so as well. The past is an inspiration to continue the traditions of the past, providing a model for the young, homeless boy. History also comes into play in Kalle's parody, but only back to the dränggossen's grandfather's time (not that of his great-grandfather). And this history is not in any way glorious. His grandfather also served as a soldier, but dränggossen emphasizes his suffering and death as a beggar after surviving wars. The nation has higher regard for those that died in war than those who survive and is content to allow veterans to live as beggars (the Veteran's Adminstration in the US exists to avoid this sort of injustice). Battle won dränggossen's ancestors nothing but poverty. For dränggossen, the past is also an inspiration, instead of seeing it as a call to continue the status quo, Kalle's parodic narrator indirectly calls for change, one that provides equality, social justice and fair livelihood for all. Other songs in Kalle's songbook make similar calls, such as "*Tiggarflickan*" [The beggar-girl]. Kalle's involvement with the Social Democrats and political activism seem to have resonated well with this song's message.

As the parody indirectly calls for change by looking through a lens of history, I suggest it also asserts the dignity of the working class. It announces that the working class is also worthy, valuable and that their lives matter – as Kalle was, I am sure, convinced his did.

Kalle's perception of the nation and his critique of nationalistic imagery did not extend to a critique of the essentially masculine gendering of the nation. "Dräng-gossen" is also not a radical

critique of the very concept of nationalism; rather it narrates how the nation does not live up to its laudable ideals. The song "Wårt land," however, does attack the idea of the ethnic nation and calls for a class-based nation of workers. These songs contend that the underclass's interests must be represented. They are exploited. They work hard but receive no glory for their contributions to the nation the way that the middle class imagined themselves as the *odalbönder* [freeholders] of Erik Gustaf Geijer's poem or as are the heroic soldiers in Runeberg's poems.

Kalle's critique attacks the national romantic idea of the *odalbonden*, who stood in for the middle class and its values of independence, as the ideal and foundation of the Swedish nation, an assertion of middle-class centrality erected, as we saw in Chapter 4, in the aftermath of the tumult of the 1848 revolutions. The theory of nationalism that Kalle suggests through the songs he wrote down in his songbook rejects an elitist theory. He attacks elitism, as did many others in the Social Democratic party, as well as communists, labor organizers, etc. These groups set up the ground for a more fair and equal society, both politically and economically, one that took definitive shape in the aftermath of the two World Wars.

In this chapter, I diverged from the sort of editions that I looked at in previous chapters. Karl S. Johansson's handwritten songbook expresses his individuality and experiences. Leonhard Fredrik Rääf, Erik Gustaf Geijer and Arvid August Afzelius, Adolf Ivar Arwidsson, Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius, George Stephens, and Eva Wigström all sought to tell stories as well, but stories about the Swedish nation and people. Karl S. Johansson's story was far more intimate. August Bondeson's *Visbok* (1903) tells the story that the Swedish people still sing but rather than representing himself as the author and editor of the edition, Bondeson presents other people's songs and stories, acting as a curator of their songs. Karl S. Johansson acted as his own curator. He showed a keen awareness of the day's social issues and of the patterns of nationalist discourse, including its dominant symbols, as he includes a parody of Runeberg's "Soldatgossen." The parody

mocks the nationalist ideals that sought to inspire and engage the working class but offered very little in return.

In 1909, from 4 August to 4 September, some 300,000 Swedish workers went on a general strike. The unions failed and membership dropped significantly in the aftermath. But the results of the strike made important contributions to the 1938 *Saltsjöbadsavtalet* [Saltsjöbaden Agreement], which established norms of behavior between unions and management. Consensus and cooperation became the desired goals. I don't know how much Karl Johansson was involved in the 1909 *Storstrejken* [The Swedish General Strike], but his songbook provides elegant arguments for workers' rights.

Epilogue: Past, Present, and Agency

> *"I said that there were several songs about me. There are thirty-one, to be exact, though none are in the Child collection just at present –" His eyes widened suddenly, and he grasped the magician's shoulders. "You wouldn't be Mr. Child himself, now would you?" he demanded. "He often goes seeking ballads, so I've heard, disguised as a plain man –"*
>
> *Schmendrick shook his head. "No, I'm very sorry, really."*
>
> *The captain sighed and released him. "It doesn't matter," he murmured. "One always hopes, of course, even now – to be collected, to be verified, annotated, to have variant versions, even to have one's authenticity doubted … well, well, never mind. Sing the other songs, Willie lad. You'll need the practice one day, when you're field-recorded."*
>
> …
>
> *"I mean, you can't leave epic events to the people. They get everything wrong."* (Beagle 1968/1991, 60)

In Peter Beagle's 1968 classic, *The Last Unicorn*, the titular beast and her friend, the magician Schmendrick are caught by a merry band of outlaws led by Cully, who fancies himself a sort of Robin Hood. Beagle juxtaposes late medieval characters and settings with Francis Child (1825-1896), the great nineteenth-century ballad editor. Child's ballad collection remains the standard for English language ballad studies; Child himself never went into the field to collect ballads, instead, he depended on manuscripts and field-recordings by others to construct his collection. But in Cully's mind, Child has become a larger-than-life figure, one of epic or at least folkloric dimension. Child is one of the great men of folklore, one who stands tall and is better known than the singers of ballads – they are after all, the "Child" ballads. He has become legendary: the outlaw Cully wants to be collected and remembered by this great man. Cully wants to live via editions and variants. He holds an attitude somewhat similar to the collectors we have discussed in this study. The ordinary people, the folk, cannot be trusted with epic material – the scholar must be the one to interpret. Like the citation from Geijer's essay that opened this study, the story conflates past and present. While Geijer united past with the present to imagine the folk, Beagle unites present and an apparent past. However, as Geijer, Afzelius and others implicitly say via their editorial actions, Cully glorifies the

texts, the folksongs, as more authentic than what the folk themselves could produce – neither Cully nor the Swedish intellectuals felt that the folk could be trusted to get the (imagined) histories right.

With Geijer as with Cully (and really, Beagle), notions of folk and folksong are ideologically motivated. Geijer is motivated to imagine all Swedish people as the folk, and thereby makes himself a member of the folk. As a member of the folk, he grants himself agency and authority over the songs and texts in the collection that he and Afzelius published. Cully is also ideologically motivated to be remembered as something more than he is. He imagines himself not as the folk, but the hero about which the folk ought to sing songs. Folklorists today are also ideologically motivated. I am deeply invested in working class and labor history. A question that develops from our motivations is how our motives affect how, who, what, and when we represent? The past and history give us examples we can point to now, both good ones and bad. I have made value judgments of various intellectuals in this study and I am conscious of the truism that for folklore studies the history of the discipline is its methodology and theory. Like Geijer, folklorists often see themselves as the folk, identify with the folk, justly or unjustly (cf. Mullen 2008). I want to identify myself as working class. My family was and is. But my education has separated me; I have become elite. This change does not, however, lessen my desire to represent the class I grew up in.

What is good folklore research? For me, good research treats singers, tellers, craftspersons, etc. as active agents. It contextualizes, seeks to understand performers, their audiences, and their local contexts before trying to interpret their "texts." It seeks to allow the voice of the artist speak and check its interpretation against the artist's and an audience's understanding. Even today, with sophisticated recording equipment, folklorists textualize their subject (human, object, performance). However, good folklore scholars keep in mind their limitations and try to remain aware of their own frailties and biases. Good research seeks to weave a common cloth and not to work from the top down. It can be easy to reduce the relations between scholars and folk to one of appropriation,

subjugation, and assumption; that the agendas of scholars and nationalists destroy, erase, or obscure the authentic folk. But this study has shown that the "folk" have agendas as well – counter-narratives to tell. The folk were not as monolithic as the published editions would lead a reader to think. The singers were farm laborers, soldiers, sailors, seamstresses, ladies, and professor's wives. Singers gave their songs to collectors as gifts. And despite how scholars obscured gender and class, the personalities and perspectives of singers manage to come through in published texts, however dry and fossilized. Their songs are birds with wings, and we may hear the singers if we try.

The aim of this study has been to consider the history of ideas – how we got here philosophically. The study does so by examining history, the creation of an intellectual discipline, and the ways that intellectuals construct frameworks and ideologies that continue to affect how we think and make heritage today. Cultural studies have changed significantly in their approach to culture over time. Grand theories are less overarching, the local has become more visible, and counter-narratives and hybrid forms come to the fore. But even as the theoretical underpinnings change, intellectuals still find it easy to continue to ignore ordinary people's voices. To whom does a story, history, or song belong? Psychologists, historians, literary critics, and folklorists ought to consider questions of agency, authority, and representation when they examine and use cultural documentation. Anne Eriksen's (1993) questions come to mind: What was the purpose of a text? How is the text approached? What sort of reality does the presented text create? Whom does it serve? Agency is a notion I have returned to repeatedly in this study. This study has also sought to show that everyone has agency and acts; not only did singers act by and through singing songs that spoke to and of their world, they decided to collaborate with intellectuals, thereby advancing a personal or communal agenda.

This study aims to deconstruct intellectual ambitions and examine a part of folklore's history. Folklorists, ethnologists, ethnographers, and anthropologists still collect songs, narratives,

riddles, material objects, and customs today. As scholars, we need to be cognizant of our work, to have a theoretical standpoint to consider how we represent our informants. We continue to collect, select, textualize, order, classify, order, name, and interpret folklore. As long as we do folklore research, we cannot avoid these tendencies, but we must continue to consider our actions and our informants, as we approach "the singer and the song."

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