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THE ROLE OF NORMS IN TEXT PRODUCTION:

**CASE STUDY OF A NINETEENTH-CENTURY NORWEGIAN FOLKTALE
COLLECTION AND ITS ROLE IN THE SHAPING OF NATIONAL IDENTITY**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D in Translation Studies
University of Warwick
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April 1996

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SUMMARY

The present thesis operates within the framework of a macro-structural and descriptive approach to Translation Studies, examining aspects of a type of literature that has traditionally been marginalized within the polysystem, namely oral narrative. The thesis investigates translation as one element in a larger, interactive system; it does not regard 'translation' only in its traditional function as a linguistic act between two different national languages, but one that includes a conception of translation between two variants of *one* language. The case study in question is a nineteenth-century collection of Norwegian folktales Norske Folkeeventyr, collected and retold by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, first published in 1841. This publication came to have a considerable linguistic and literary impact on the Norwegian polysystem. The thesis aims to show how macro-structural factors governed the creation of the corpus through 'translation' from oral to literary mode, and from diverse dialects to a standardized language, and how the resulting product had a significant impact on the standardization of the one of the emerging Norwegian language forms. The thesis seeks to describe in detail which historical, political, literary and linguistic factors, in the national as well as supra-national framework, have affected this process of translation and text-production as a whole. It further aims to demonstrate how this process took shape in the context of, and indeed how it was instrumental in the shaping of, an emerging Norwegian national identity after the country's independence from Denmark (1814) and Sweden (1905). The thesis thus illustrates, through detailed description, how a specific corpus of texts has been formed in a dialectic process with the readership and the target culture, both adapting to and influencing prevailing literary and linguistic norms.

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Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank my supervisor professor Susan Bassnett for her comments. In addition, I would like to thank the following people for taking the time to read various sections of the thesis and for their useful comments: professor Ann Helen Skjelbred, Dr. Heloisa Barbosa, Sabina Sharkey, professor Nora Ahlberg, Svein Erik Moløkken, and my father. I would also like to warmly thank the British Council in Oslo and *Lise og Arnfinn Hejes Fond*, Oslo for their invaluable financial support as well as Miss Margit Dahle for her much-appreciated and timely financial contributions. I am grateful to supervisors and students at the *FFSS* Summer School in Turku, 1993 (and for *FFSS* financial support), as well as participants and supervisors at the CERA Chair 1994 in Leuven, for helpful discussions and comments. I would also like to take the opportunity to thank two of my teachers from Oslo University for their support and encouragement before my leaving for England: professor Keith Brown and senior lecturer Patrick Chaffey. A warm thanks goes to library staff at the University Library in Oslo, especially to librarian Harald Hoff without whose kind help I would not have been able to compile the material for Appendix 2, and also to Anne-Cathrine Straume for her help with the translation from Dano-Norwegian in Appendix 1, in particular the Old Norse passages. Last of all I would also like to thank friends and family who put up with me and helped me with various practical matters in times of stress and need: in particular Inger whose help was truly invaluable but also the rest of my numerous sisters and brothers, as well as Sarah Goode, Martin Bjørlo, all my Italian friends without whose help with the translations I would not have been able to stay financially afloat, and to Marco who kept his part of the bargain and did all the house-work in the last (many) months.

Declaration of material presented elsewhere:

An embryonic version of parts of chapters 3, 4 and 5 was presented at the conference *Nordic Experiences: Exploration of Scandinavian Cultures* at Hofstra University, New York, 1993 under the title "The Role of Folk Literature in Nineteenth Century Norwegian Nationalism. The Case of Asbjørnsen and Moe" and at the *Folklore Fellows Summer School* in Turku in August 1993. A shortened version of Chapter 1 was presented orally at the 1994 CERA Chair in Leuven, Belgium. Appendix 2 has been deposited at the University Library in Oslo.

List of Abbreviations

<u>NF</u>	<u>Norske Folkeeventyr</u>
<u>KHM</u>	<u>Kinder und Hausmärchen</u>
TS	Translation Studies
TC	Target Culture
TL	Target Language
SC	Source Culture
SL	Source Language
PS	Polysystem Theory
ON	Old Norse (language only)

Note: All translations (from Norwegian, both *nynorsk* and *bokmål*, Old Norse and French) are my own where not otherwise specified.

References:

The reference system of the MHLA style book, third edition, has been followed. In addition:

"Ibid" has been used *only* when a reference is *identical* to the previous one (that is, volume, edition *and page number/s*). When a book or article is first cited, full publication details are given in a footnote; thereafter, only author, year of publication and page number are provided; the latter information is provided *in the text*, unless it is followed by a comment, or if 4 or more references are listed simultaneously, whereupon it will be placed in the respective footnote.

For the *bibliography* the following system has been used:

Author or editor: surname, first name

Any co-author(s) or -editors: first name, surname

Year of publication (if relevant, year of first publication)

If article in journal: "Title of article" in Name of journal (volume/number), page nos.;

If article in book: "Title of article" in Title of book Ed. Name of editor, publisher, place of publication, page nos.;

If the author of the article is identical to the author of the book: "Title of article" in Name of Author, Year of publication, Title of book, publisher, place of publication, page nos.;

If book: Title of book, *in the series x* (where applicable), publisher, place of publication

[] has been used in cases of any uncertain information, as recommended by the MHLA style book

INTRODUCTION

A BACKGROUND TO THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE NATIONAL-ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY NORWAY

The present thesis examines the formation of a collection of folktales, Norske Folkeeventyr ("Norwegian Folktales")¹, collected and retold by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe at the height of the National-Romantic period in Norway. The formation of this corpus was deeply inspired by cultural developments in Germany², not least by the personal acquaintance of the collectors with Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm with whom they corresponded over a number of years³.

Norske Folkeeventyr (NF) is by far the best-known and most extensive collection of Norwegian folktales, and signalled in Norway the culmination and consolidation of a national awakening, its impact on the nation of no less importance than that of the Grimm brothers' Kinder und Hausmärchen (KHM) in Germany⁴. A number of other folktale collections were compiled in Norway in the following years by collectors in various parts of the country⁵, but none of these met

¹Asbjørnsen and Moe's folktales were first published in a limited selection in 1841 as Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe, Johan Dahl, Christiania; the first enlarged volume was published in 1843-44 as (1843) Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Første Deel (part 1), Johan Dahl, Christiania, and (1844) Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved P. C. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. 2den Deels 1ste Hefte (part 2), Johan Dahl (bound in one volume), Christiania, followed by an enlarged joint (1843 and 1844) volume in 1852 as Norske Folkeeventyr samlede og fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Anden forøgede Udgave, Johan Dahls Forlag, Christiania. For publishing details on the early editions see Hodne, 1979:35ff in Ørnulf Hodne, 1979, Jørgen Moe og folkeeventyrene: En studie i nasjonalromantisk folkløstikk, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

²See eg. Knut Liestøl, 1979, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Mannen og Livsverket, J. G. Tanum, Oslo, and Liestøl, 1932:146 in Knut Liestøl, 1932, "Jørgen Moe som eventyrforteljar" in Syn og Segn (38), pp.145-156, and Borgen, 1978:11 in Johan Borgen, 1978, Introduction to P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, Samlede Eventyr, Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, pp.vii-xxiii.

³For the letters, in German, from Asbjørnsen and Moe to Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm see Ernst Schmidt (Ed.), 1885, Briefwechsel der Gebrüder Grimm mit Nordischen Gelerten, Ferd. Dümmlers verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin. The letters deal mainly with acknowledgments of each others' work and specific requests for information about individual tales and translations of the tales; they are often accompanying letters to collections of tales sent to the Grimms.

⁴See eg. Seip 1933:59 in Didrik Arup Seip, 1933, Fornorskningen av vårt språk og forutsetningene for den, Skandinavisk kulturforlag, Christiania.

⁵Among these can be mentioned Knut Loupedalen, Rikard Berge, Andris Eivindsson, Sigurd Nergård, Johannes Skar, Rasmus Løland, Peter Lunden, Torkell Mauland, Th. S. Haukenæs, Halldor O. Opedal, Knut Bjørgås, Olav Rekdal,

with the same success either in Norway or abroad⁶. Moreover, Asbjørnsen and Moe's work represented a radical departure in *motivation* from that of previous folklore collectors, Knut Liestøl and others argue, in that they were the first in the country to see the significance of folk literature in a context other than morally-didactic, which had been the prime motivation of oral narrative collectors such as Andreas Faye, for example⁷. Faye, a travelling pastor, had earlier undertaken a project to collect existing Norwegian folk tales, but did not possess the same literary and artistic skill that Asbjørnsen and Moe were to show, and his collection met with little success⁸. In 1853 another pastor, M. B. Landstad, collected what was to become the first important ballad and folksong collection Norske Folkeviser, an impressive piece of work of 868 pages and with a seventeen-page introduction (see Hodne, 1994:50-57). Although the work of collectors and folklorists such as Faye, Landstad and Moltke Moe also formed part of the nation-building process (see Hodne, 1994:50-55 and 70-85), they gained neither the popularity nor the prestige that the Asbjørnsen and Moe texts enjoyed, nor did they come to symbolically represent the emerging nation in the same way that the NF did. For these reasons, the focus of the present study will be restricted exclusively to the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus.

Nikki Vonen, Karl Braaseth, Ole Tobias Olsen, Knut Strompedal, Ragnvald Moe and Just Qvigstad. For more details on these collectors see Knut Liestøl, 1977, Introduction to Norsk Folkediktning: Eventyr 1, Det Norske Samlaget, Oslo, pp.7-47, Olav Bø, 1977, Preface to the 3rd edition of Norsk Folkediktning: Eventyr 1, Det Norske Samlaget, Oslo, pp.48-54, and also Hodne, 1979:18ff in Ørnulf Hodne, 1994, Det nasjonale hos norske folklorister på 1800-tallet, Norges forskningsråd, Oslo.

⁶See Liestøl, 1977:41, Hodne, 1994:5, and Liestøl, 1932:148.

⁷See eg Dahl 1981:110ff in Willy Dahl, 1981, Norges Litteratur: Tid og Tekst 1814-1884, Aschehoug, Oslo, Hodne, 1979:14 and Sigurd Hoel, 1948, Tanker fra mange tider, essay collection 1923-1946, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo. Dorson notes that Asbjørnsen in fact explicitly challenged Faye on the grounds that his work was too didactically orientated (see Dorson, 1964:vi in Richard M. Dorson, 1964, "Preface" in Folktales of Norway Ed. Reidar Th. Christiansen, University of Chicago Press, Chicago pp.v-xviii). Hageman too notes that Moe's writing for children also broke with the previously didactic tradition; Hagemann, 1963:73 in Sonja Hageman, 1963, Jørgen Moe. Barnas dikter, Aschehoug, Oslo.

⁸See eg. Jorgenson, 1933:214 in Theodore M. Jorgenson, 1933, History of Norwegian Literature, The Macmillan Company, New York.

I. THE COLLECTORS

Jørgen Moe (1813-1882) was the son of a landowner from Hole in the eastern county of Ringerike⁹. Moe's background was rural, his family being wealthy farmers, and his schooling was therefore not extensive, but he was nevertheless well-informed on matters of current interest (see eg. Hansen, 1932:38 or Jorgenson *ibid*). Although he was not a fervent nationalist and remained conservative, both politically and linguistically¹⁰, throughout his life, his life's work was to have a profound impact on the cultural and linguistic formation of the emerging nation-state and emerging national language, and came to be closely linked to the anti-union, pro-democracy movement in Norway from the 1840s onwards (see Jorgenson 1933:211 or Skard, 1973:52). Despite the many years spent in the capital Christiania, Moe was very attached to his home and had a great deal of contact with the rural population throughout his youth and adulthood; he was also well versed in the local dialect, and the constant close contact with the servants and farm hands kept him in touch with the life of the rural peasants (see eg. Hodne, 1979:24ff or see also Hansen 1932:38). At that time, in rural areas such as the farm on which Moe was raised, it was still common for people to tell folktales, and undoubtedly Moe heard many in his childhood¹¹; his sisters too were avid listeners and (re-)tellers of folktales (see eg. Liestøl, 1932:154, or Hansen, 1932:39). It was also during this period and in this area that the celebrated story-teller Singing-Hans who, legend has it, lived to the ripe age old of 116, travelled from farm to farm telling tales (Liestøl, 1979:37-38). Moe's contact with rural culture, language and literature from childhood on was to form his passion for folk literature, as he himself proclaims in the 1840 preface to the subscription invitation for the NF: his "intense love for the folktale from our childhood days" (quoted in Hodne, 1979:236; see also Liestøl 1932:147). Subject to bouts of serious psychological depression throughout much of his life, he returned periodically to his rural home from Christiania to recuperate his health (Liestøl 1979 *ibid*, Hodne, 1978:30 and Hageman, 1963:53), and Ørnulf Hodne suggests that it was during the first of

⁹For details on Moe's life see eg. Hans Hansen, 1932, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen: Biografi og karakteristik, Aschehoug, Oslo, Øyvind Ribsskog, 1966, Eventyrkongen og Romerike, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, Ørnulf Hodne, 1978, Jørgen Moe og folkeeventyrene: informanter og utgivelsesprinsipper, Studentsamskipnadens servicesentral, Oslo.

¹⁰See eg. Falnes, 1968:268ff in Oscar J. Falnes, 1968, National Romanticism in Norway, Columbia University, AMS Press, New York, Jorgenson *ibid*, or Foss, 1923:212 in Thorbjørg Foss, 1923, "Ordforrådet i Asbjørnsen og Moes første eventyrutgaver" in Maal og Minne (1923), pp.209-237.

¹¹See Liestøl, 1932:146 and Liestøl 1979; see also Hodne, 1979:24ff and Hansen *ibid*.

these breakdowns, in 1834-1836, that Moe's lifelong interest in and passion for folk literature was permanently established, the result of a deep longing for his rural home environment and for his childhood; it was presumably through the tales he had heard as a child he found psychological security and respite from his illness as well as continuity with his own past (Hodne, 1978:30).

As well as a collector of oral narrative, Moe was also a poet in his own right. One of his first poems was published in a picture-book for children, Nor. En Billedbog for den norske Ungdom ("A Picture Book for the Norwegian Youth") in 1837 which also contained narratives from the oral tradition by his collaborator P. Chr. Asbjørnsen¹². In 1840 he published a small volume entitled En samling folkesanger og stev fra det norske folkemaal ("A Collection of Songs and Folk Ballads from the Norwegian Country Dialects") which contained forty-six ballads (see Falnes, 1968:209, Jorgenson, 1933:218 and Skard, 1973:42). In addition to the 1837 poem in Nor, Moe also wrote specifically for children, and his "Beate and Viggo" story achieved great popular and literary success (see Hageman, 1963:83ff and Dahl, 1981:110)¹³.

Moe's academic prefaces and introductions to the various editions of the NF, as well as a few other short works (see Hodne, 1979:35) primarily concerning the origins and diffusion of folktales, constitute his academic contribution as a folklorist, and according to Liestøl, the introduction to the 1852 edition constitutes the major first scientific folkloristic dissertation in the country (Liestøl, 1953:294 and Hodne, 1979:35¹⁴). In fact, Moe became one of the founders of the discipline of folklore studies in Norway (see eg. Hodne, 1979:34-35 and 38) and was to hold the first position in the discipline of folkloristics *anywhere* (Liestøl 1953 *ibid*). It is a point of interest that when Moe communicated the news of the renewal of his appointment to the Grimms, their response was enthusiastic, and they spoke encouragingly of a new discipline, "*eine neue wissenschaft*" (see Liestøl, 1953:294-295, for the letter written to Jakob Grimm see Schmidt, 1885:269-271). Jørgen Moe's son, Moltke Moe (1859-1913) was to become a folk-narrative

¹²See Jorgenson, 1933:214, Hodne, 1979:24 and Appendix 2; 4 of the 11 narratives were NF legends/tales; see also Popp, 1977:15 in Daniel Popp, 1977, Asbjørnsen's Linguistic Reform, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

¹³Moe, Jørgen, 1851, "I brønden kjærnet" in Smaahistorier for børn 1851.

¹⁴In Asbjørnsen and Moe 1852; also printed in Jørgen Moe, 1914, Samlede Skrifter. Hundredearsudgaven (2 vols. in 1) Ed. Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania, pp.104-148. Hereafter all quotes from the Moe 1852 edition will be quoted from Moe 1914. The English translation is provided in Appendix 1.

collector in his own right and the first professor of Norwegian popular tradition and medieval literature at Christiania University, a Chair established in 1886 as "Norwegian Folk Language with the obligation to teach in Norwegian Folk Traditions" (see Hodne, 1979:38).

Peter Christian Asbjørnsen (1812-1885) was the son of a Christiania glazier and raised in the city¹⁵. As Liestøl points out, however, he probably heard folktales from a young age, and the house of a glazier would have been a busy meeting place, as well as offering accommodation for young apprentices and artisans from the countryside (Liestøl, 1979:36). He notes that Asbjørnsen must have heard many tales and legends from the urban environment too, from around Christiania, as these were some of the first texts he later included in his celebrated 1845 collection Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn ("Norwegian *Huldre*-Tales and Folk Legends")¹⁶. In 1834-1836 Asbjørnsen worked as a private tutor in Ringerike, in the countryside, which provided him with ample opportunity to hear and collect both tales and legends in the oral rural tradition (see Liestøl 1977:38-39 or Hansen 1932:74). Asbjørnsen, it seems, was inspired by Faye's 1833 Norske sagn ("Norwegian legends") (see Hodne 1994 and Dahl, 1981:123ff); in fact, in 1835 he had sent a small number of legends to Faye and by 1836 he had already laid plans to publish his own collection, a feat not accomplished until the publication of his legend collection in 1845 (Hodne 1979 *ibid*). Asbjørnsen's own publication later formed part of the collected editions of the NF; from 1911-1914 onwards the two collections (Asbjørnsen and Moe's joint collections and Asbjørnsen's separate collections) were included consistently in an enlarged, joint collection¹⁷. From 1837 till his death

¹⁵For details on Asbjørnsen's life and work see Liestøl 1979 and Liestøl 1953, Hansen 1932, or Hallvard Sand Bakken, 1935, "Omkring Asbjørnsen. Hvorledes P. Chr. Asbjørnsen begynte som sagnforteller - for egen regning" in Edda (32), pp. 463-488; for a study on his years in Romerike and descriptions of these informants see Ribsskog 1966.

¹⁶P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1845, Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Første Samling, first collection, (published at Asbjørnsen's own expense), Christiania. For further details on the publication of Asbjørnsen's legends see Popp, 1977:15ff, Liestøl, 1977:36-37, Harald and Edvard Beyer, 1978:151ff in Harald and Edvard Beyer, 1978, Norsk Litteraturhistorie, Aschehoug, Oslo, and Dorson, 1964:viii.

Although this is Asbjørnsen's own collection, it was later included in publications of the collected tales (from 1911; see Appendix 2), and is today known popularly through these publications rather than through Asbjørnsen's individual publications (1845-1848) (see eg. Henning Østberg, 1994, "Etterord" in Asbjørnsen og Moe. Norske Folkeeventyr, facsimile edition of NF 1843-1844, Damms Antikvariat, Oslo, pp.1-40). Since these legends have come to be known and function in the wider polysystem (see Popp 1977) as a part of the Asbjørnsen and Moe folktale collection, and since they functioned contemporaneously as instruments of innovations in the polysystem, they will be considered here in the same framework as the Asbjørnsen and Moe folktales 'proper'.

¹⁷1911 Norske Kunstneres Billedudgave. Folke og Huldreeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Efter Asbjørnsens egne udvalg. Hundredearsudgaven. I Bind, vol.1, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, and 1914, Norske Kunstneres Billedudgave. Folke og Huldreeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen

Asbjørnsen published a number of tales and legends in collections, single-tale publications, magazines, serial volumes, etc.¹⁸, but never contributed significantly to the theoretical debate on folklore scholarship or collecting.

Scholars debate as to who was the driving force behind the NF, which of the two collectors first came up with the idea to collect and rewrite oral narrative, and whose 'style' is dominant in the narratives. It was Asbjørnsen who came to be primarily associated with the tales, and gained the popular title of "the folktale king" (see eg. Ribsskog 1966)¹⁹, but many scholars have regarded Moe as the leading 'artist' and 'aesthete' (see eg. Liestøl, 1932:155); indeed, Asbjørnsen himself, in a letter to Jakob Grimm, states that during their first few years of work on the collection he regarded himself as Moe's 'apprentice' (see Schmidt, 1885:265), and Anders Krogvig believes that this is borne out by the inferiority of Asbjørnsen's individual work compared to his contribution to the collected tales²⁰. Although Moe is often also regarded as the leading scholar, Asbjørnsen was also well-read and familiar with German Romantics such as Tieck and Hoffman, as well as with Herder and the Grimms (see Hansen, 1932:55-57). Indeed, he remained in contact with the Grimms through correspondence (see Schmidt, 1885:265-274 and Hansen, 1932:232), even paying them a personal visit in Germany in 1856 (see Hansen, 1932:232ff). He also became increasingly occupied with the reception of the NF in other European countries and spent much time in travel and correspondence promoting translations and the general diffusion of his and Moe's tales in Germany, Denmark, France, Belgium and England²¹.

Moe. Efter Asbjørnsens egne udvalg. Hundredeaarsudgaven. II Bind, vol. 2, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen.

¹⁸See eg. Larsen, 1969:349 in Henning Larsen, 1969, "'R.B.'" and Asbjørnsen" in Humaniora. Essays in Literature and Folklore. Festschrift for Archer Taylor, pp.348-350. See Gustav Raabe, 1942, Asbjørnsen og Moes eventyr og sagn. Bibliografi, Cammermeyer, Oslo, for a bibliography of Asbjørnsen and Moe's works, joint and separate collections as well as single tales and limited selections.

¹⁹Liestøl explains this by the fact that it was Asbjørnsen's legends and tale collection which was first *illustrated* by well-known artists of the period; the importance of the illustrations for the popular success of the NF is undoubtedly vital (Liestøl 1932 *ibid*; see also Østberg 1994).

²⁰See eg. Krogvig, 1915:52-53 and 57 in Anders Krogvig, 1915, "Introduction" in Fra det nasjonale gjennombruds tid: breve fra Jørgen Moe til P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og andre Ed., Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania, pp. 10-60.

²¹See Hansen, 1932:343-379; see Raabe 1942 for a full bibliography of translations of the NF into English, French, German and other languages until 1940.

It was in the late spring of 1837 that Asbjørnsen and Moe first agreed to collaborate on the folktale project (see eg. Liestøl, 1932:147 or Hodne, 1979:31); the two had met at school in Ringerike where Asbjørnsen had been sent to study, and their close friendship was to become a lifelong partnership culminating in both of their life's work. Unlike the Grimms²², Asbjørnsen and Moe did a good deal of travelling and active field-work; during the first years they spent a considerable amount of time in Romerike and Ringerike, two areas considered to be particularly rich in oral narrative tradition (see Hansen 1932:58 and Hodne, 1979:39ff). The following years the two men worked closely together, as well as singly, and travelled all over the country collecting oral narrative, but mainly in the south-east of Norway, in Telemark and Agder on the west coast (see Hodne *ibid*, or Hansen, 1932:58), but also in other parts of the country such as the Hallingdal, Hardanger and Valdres valleys in mid-Norway²³; northern Norway, however, was on the whole excluded (see eg. Liestøl, 1977:40). Although they initially worked together on the project, both the field work (collecting tales) as well as the writing down and revision, Moe became increasingly occupied with his work as teacher, pastor, and eventually bishop, and Asbjørnsen gradually took over the bulk of the editing work. From 1852 onwards he had the main responsibility for the editing of the NF (see Hansen 1932:162 and also Ribsskog 1966), and during the last years of his life he worked intensively with Moltke Moe on the revisions, although he was primarily devoted to scientific studies as a zoologist and to journalism (see eg. Hansen, 1932:28 and 190ff). Asbjørnsen explicitly requested Moltke Moe to continue with the revisions of the NF after his death, in keeping with the changes in the Norwegian language and the (assumed) increasing use of folk expressions, a request to which Moltke Moe complied (see eg. Hansen, 1932:162-163, Liestøl, 1977:47 or Skard, 1973:53).

²²See John M. Ellis, 1983, One Fairy Story Too Many: The brothers Grimm and Their Tales, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.

²³See Hodne, 1979:39ff or 1994:5, or Liestøl, 1932:147. See also Flaten, 1975:426 in Hans Flaten and Ola Rudvin, 1975, Hemsedals Slegtshistorie. 1693-1975, Hemsedal Kommune, Hemsedal for the tale-cycle "*Fanitullen*" collected in this area.

II. NORWAY AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION

The present thesis discusses which linguistic and supra-linguistic factors in the cultural, historical and political environment of nineteenth-century Norway inspired and governed the creation of the NE, and how it developed into and came to function as a symbol of national identity. Since the question of national identity and its role as a text-production factor is crucial in this context, it is important, then, to go back in time and ascertain the (if any) cultural-national independence of the country in question *prior* to and during its 'colonization' period. The following discussions will attempt to establish the extent to which Norway had been an independent nation prior to independence, and a very brief historical background therefore follows in order to present an outline of the situation, which is to be discussed in much greater detail in chapter 5.

Ila. History

From 1397 until its dissolution in 1814, Norway had been part of a 400-year long 'union' with Denmark and Sweden, followed by a second union with Sweden from which Norway gained full independence in 1905²⁴. Although the Scandinavian countries were, before the union, fragmented and torn in strife between rival kings and dynasties and between Viking chiefs, Øyvind Østerud argues that "eleventh-century literature bears witness to the fact that the Norwegians had begun to feel they constituted a nationality"²⁵. It cannot be claimed, however, that Norway was in any way a fully-fledged nation, in the nineteenth-century sense of the word, at that time. What is important to keep in mind here, however, is that Norwegian National-Romantics conceptualized the country in this light; *they saw themselves* - and portrayed themselves - as having once been a nation, and upon their shoulders, then, lay the task of retrieving its lost nation-hood.

²⁴See eg. Koht, 1977:5ff in Halvdan Koht, 1977, Norsk Vilje, Noregs Boklag, Oslo.

²⁵Østerud, 1984:76 in Øyvind Østerud, 1984, Nasjonenes selvbestemmelsesrett: Demokrati og samfunnstyring, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo. See also Elviken, 1931:365 for a similar claim in Andreas Elviken, 1931, "The Genesis of Norwegian Nationalism" in The Journal of Modern History (III-3), pp.365-391.

Prior to the union period, during the Viking era, Norway had been a leading Scandinavian power, a forefront figure in trade, culture, commerce, as well as aggressive expansion²⁶. When the Calmar union (as it was called) was first established in 1397, the three Scandinavian kingdoms were united under the same ruler, an event which represented the beginning of Norway's decline²⁷. There were no formal arrangements for the sharing of power and obligations, and although the three countries in theory enjoyed equal rank and recognition, this was not carried out in practice (see Haugen *ibid*, Østerud, 1984:55ff or Koht *ibid*). With the forced introduction of the Lutheran state church in 1537 Denmark became completely dominant; politically and culturally Denmark's domination was (eventually) absolute, followed by Sweden on the hierarchical power-ladder (see Haugen 1968). The Danish language too had slowly crept into use, predominantly in urban and administrative circles (*ibid*, see also Elviken, 1931:366). Resentment towards Denmark began to grow gradually, egged on by the fact that the Norwegian army was constantly dragged into wars against neighbours, a situation which, according to Andreas Elviken, served to fuel national patriotism (see eg. Elviken, 1931:365-366).

Although by 1814 the physical and political separation from Denmark was a fact, Norway in many ways functioned, and was regarded as, a provincial outpost of Denmark (see Elviken, 1931:365-366). It could be argued that during such a long period of cohabitation - over 400 years - and such close contact with so near a neighbour in political, linguistic and ethnic terms, and being, furthermore, the 'minor' party in a clearly hierarchical relationship, a nation may lose much of its claim to having developed independently and of having established and cultivated a 'national identity', in other words, not only of having maintained itself as a 'group', but grown as an autonomous entity during that time. In Norway this was a *conscious* anxiety expressed by the Norwegian intellectual environment from the mid-nineteenth century (1840-1850) onwards, the period that has been coined "*det nasjonale gjennombrudd*" (the 'national awakening' or 'breakthrough') (see eg. Hodne, 1994:5, Dahl, 1981:123 or Skard, 1973:39ff). Not only had Norway been culturally and politically dominated to the extent that it considered itself and was considered to

²⁶See Jorgenson, 1933:148ff, Haugen, 1968:21ff in Einar Haugen, 1968, Riksspråk og Folkemål: Norsk Språkpolitikk i det 20. århundre, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, or Koht, 1977:3-5; see also Jens Arup Seip, 1981, Utsikt over Norges historie, I, Gyldendal, Oslo.

²⁷See eg. Koht, 1977:6-10 or Karen Larsen, 1950, A History of Norway, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

be a 'province' of Denmark, but also to the extent that the Danish language as it was spoken by Norwegians was referred to as 'Norwegian' (see Koht, 1977:13ff or Elviken, 1931:385). Therefore, the anxiety that the cultural-linguistic proximity to Denmark in a hierarchical relationship had robbed it of any cultural independence was acute, explaining the almost obsessive need of the Norwegian National-Romantics to form ties between the present and the pre-union past, conceptualizing it *as an independent nation* through time, inherently separate from Denmark (Elviken, 1931:385ff and Falnes, 1968:268). It could be argued that the claim to an independent, strong and ancient past with strong cultural traditions can thus serve to bestow authority and validity on a nation in the process of creating an independent, modern identity: in other words, an independent past may serve to justify an independent present. This construction of a past is naturally enough deeply influenced by its function, ie. one constructs - from and *on* the past - *what one would like oneself to have been* and *what one would like oneself to be*.

Iib. Dissolution of the Norwegian language

The other important factor in this constellation is language. The national language of Norway at the time of independence from Denmark in 1814 had virtually disappeared: in all official (governmental, clerical, educational) and urban usage, to be replaced by a form of Danish orthography and grammar with, usually, Norwegian pronunciation; the end result of the Danish-language domination was that any form of what could be called distinctly 'Norwegian' existed only as various dialects (see Hodne, 1979:33ff, Haugen 1968:35 or Seip 1933, but also Christiansen, 1964:xl). Elements of the pre-union national language had survived in these dialects (mainly spoken) in the isolated rural areas which had maintained - to varying degrees depending on the geographical location - linguistic links with Old Norse (ON), the language spoken and written in Norway prior to unification with Denmark²⁸. One form in which the dialects were passed on was through oral narrative (see eg. Dorson, 1964:v or Alver 1989), and with the collection and publication of the folktales, then, this national language, or rather elements of various expressions

²⁸See eg. Haugen *ibid*, Koht, 1977:13ff, and Østerud, 1984:57; see also Dahl 1981 and Wilhelm Kielhau, 1931, Det Norske folks liv og historie gjennom tidene: Tidsrummet 1840 till omkring 1875, Aschehoug, Oslo.

of an assumed 'national language', was introduced to the Norwegian urban public (see eg. Dahl, 1981:101-102 and Østerud, 1984:57ff). For publication, the tales were heavily revised and standardized for the danicized bourgeoisie and the academic environment for the very practical reason that they had to be put into writing and to be published in a form *understood* (and accepted) by this readership (see Hovstad, 1933:290 or Haugen 1968). Asbjørnsen and Moe thus faced an enormous challenge in transferring this material to a form that was inherently alien to it; a compromise was required and the result was a split in form and content: a Norwegian content in Danish form, yet at the same time a subversion of that form through the introduction of new elements of vocabulary, syntax and style. Although this may seem more than a little disjointed, the result was 'successful' in that it was instrumental in laying the foundation for a new and viable, national language-form²⁹.

During this process - in the transition from oral to written form - grammar, vocabulary and syntax of the NE had undergone a large degree of 'danicization'. However, many new non-Danish ie. non-standard elements were introduced, including new words that had long since become redundant in the urban environments (see Foss, 1923:214ff). In rural dialects numerous words were in current use which had become obsolete in urban areas, mainly vocabulary related to agriculture, lifestyle, food, work tools, etc. A number of the dialect words that Asbjørnsen and Moe used in their collection slowly slid into the Dano-Norwegian language and clung to it with perseverance, while others were never absorbed into the new polysystem (see Foss, 1923:214ff). When such lexical elements re-entered the urban vocabulary, they took part in the formation of a new language. Moreover, such words by their very nature carried associations of Norwegian nature, and of original rural culture and dialect, and were in themselves a political 'statement' in the struggle for national identity. The new style represented the 'folk', the indigenous and 'natural', and in that manner supported the Romantic, nationalist rhetoric in which folk and nation were equated³⁰. One of the reasons that the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus received such national acclaim and consensus, it could be concluded, was because it embodied both the myth of a national identity and of a national

²⁹See eg. Skard, 1973:42ff or Didrik Arup Seip, 1914, Norskhet i sproget hos Wergeland og hans samtid, Christiania, Aschehoug; see also Seip 1933 and Haugen 1968.

³⁰See Dahl 1981:129 on the Romantic link between nation and folk.

language in a relatively conservative (ie. Danish) form, and therefore functioned as a compromise between an emerging national identity and the maintaining of an (elite) conservative linguistic and literary form.

In the course of the century and a half that has passed since the tales were first published, Asbjørnsen and Moe's folktale collection has been revised numerous times to comply to the current official linguistic requirements and policies (see especially Haugen 1968 chapters 4 and 5), a process which would no doubt have taken place in a continuing oral tradition, dynamic evolution and constant change being the hallmarks of an oral narrative mode³¹. In fact, Asbjørnsen himself expressly stated his desire for this active revision of the NF to continue after his death, presumably to reflect the nature of the oral tradition, but also to reflect the continuing development of the Norwegian language (see eg. Hansen, 1932:162-163).

From the mid-nineteenth century heated language debates raged in the country in the attempt to create a distinct Norwegian language, and the folktale collection - already having undergone the 'translation' from oral to written form as well as from dialect(s) to standardized form - had a significant linguistic and literary impact on the formation and reception of the new language (see eg. Skard, 1973:42ff) and developing literary polysystem, especially the 1850- and post-1850 generation of writers (see Skard, 1973:52). This was of course helped by the fact that the folktales were becoming a strong national symbol and thereby enjoyed high prestige - that is, they had become canonized and cultivated, and, not least, immortalized through the intensely popular illustrations by acclaimed national-Romantic artists³². Having gained a certain prominence in the prevailing literary and cultural institutions, the NF was thus in a position to influence linguistic and literary norms in the emerging polysystem and the Norwegian language (Dahl, 1981:123-129 and Popp 1977). Not only did the NF collection inspire and shape generations of writers and artists to

³¹See eg. Linda Dégh, 1978, "The Study of Ethnicity in Modern European Ethnology" in Folklore, Nationalism, and Politics, Felix J. Oinas (Ed.), Slavica Publishers, Ohio, pp.33-50, Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs, 1990, "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life" in Annual Review of Anthropology (19), pp.59-88, or Alan Dundes, 1989, Folklore Matters, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

³²See Snorre Evensberget, 1982, "Hvordan eventyrsamlingene ble til", Introduction to Samlede Eventyr (vol 2.), Den Norske Bokklubben, Oslo, pp.7-12; see also Christiansen, 1964:xlii in Reidar Th. Christiansen, 1964, "Introduction" in Folktales of Norway Ed. Reidar Th. Christiansen, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp.xix-xliv.

come (Dahl *ibid*), but it functioned as a symbolic link with the country's past and eventually as a potent national symbol. The adaptations that the transferral in mode (oral to literate) and environment (rural to urban) brought with them, were carried out, this study claims, principally to conform to emerging norms in the urban environment, the 'target culture', while at the same time introducing new elements from their 'home' environment, the rural language and literary tradition. During the subsequent revisional process, the development of the NF further *sustained* these emerging norms, and at the same time *mirrored* the extensive developments in language of a period witnessing intense cultural changes.

IIc. Text-production in perspective: Romanticism and the nation. Building on the past

Folklore studies show that in this type of situation, folklore - both the tradition itself and the research of these traditions - often flourishes and grows, and "the Past" and "the Folk", or some construction of these concepts, are often used as building blocks to (re-)construct an independent national 'character' and 'identity' as distinct from that of their former oppressors³³. When this coincided with the Romantic movement (as it did in Norway), an ideological basis for these conceptions was provided. Folkloric research has been carried out in similar situations in Finland, Greece, Turkey, Latvia and other countries, in particular, it seems, where a number of different ethnic or language groups cohabit (see Alver, 1989:18)³⁴. The interest in folk narrative during periods of intense nationalism is indeed not uncommon, often reaching a peak during periods of struggle for political and cultural autonomy in which the language and literature of the 'common people' find expression as a political symbol for the entire nation, as these two quotes from Bengt Holbek and Brynjulf Alver witness:

³³See eg. Brynjulf Alver, 1989, "Folklore and National Identity" in Nordic Folklore: Recent Studies Eds. Reimund Kvideland and Henning K. Sehmsdorf in collaboration with Elizabeth Simpson, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, pp.13-19, William Wilson, 1976, Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and London, or Bengt Holbek, 1987, Interpretation of Fairy Tales. Danish Folklore in a European Perspective, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki.

³⁴Alver 1989; see also M. Herzfeld, 1982, Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece, University of Texas, Austin, Ilhan Basgöz, 1978, "Folklore Studies and Nationalism in Turkey" in Folklore, Nationalism, and Politics Ed. Felix J. Oinas, Slavica Publishers, Ohio, pp.123-136 and Jānis Arvēds Trapāns, 1989, "Krisjānis Barons. His Life and Times" in Linguistics and Poetics of Latvian Folk Songs: Essays in Honour of the Sequicentennial of the Birth of Kr. Barons Ed. Vaira Vikis-Freibergs, McGill University Press, Montreal, pp.14-32.

The evidence of a national spiritual life found by Moe in Norwegian folktales has its counterparts in what numerous other collectors have found in the folklore of their respective nations, especially in periods of ardent nationalism. Europe passed through such a stage in the 19th century and many extra-European nations have done so in our time. (Holbek 1987:27)

and

The national desire for independence and the cultural response to that desire are related to the level of interest in folklore and folklore scholarship. It is no accident that Finland and Ireland, two countries that had to struggle for national and linguistic independence, boast the largest folklore archives anywhere, built from systematic collecting of national traditions in the vernacular. Young states needing to develop their national identity have tended to assign priority to folklore studies and research ... Old imperialist countries such as England, France, Spain and Portugal have, on the other hand, few folklore archives, their energies have been focused on distant lands rather than on everyday life. (Alver, 1989:18-19)

The case is further supported by Alan Dundes who argues that small countries suffering from a poor self-image, such as Finland, Hungary and Ireland, have been particularly active in folkloristic collecting and research, whilst other large and 'strong' countries, such as England and France ("suffering from superiority complexes vis-à-vis other nations"), have been much less interested in studying folklore³⁵. Lillian Fürst indirectly supports this hypothesis too when she asserts that one of the motivations, or functions of the German Romantic interest in the ancient past and its literature was to rehabilitate a poor self-image and to 'prove' itself among its European contemporaries³⁶. The link between the rise of interest in folklore and folk narrative and national sentiment has been clearly established, but Dundes goes even further in this regard and links the rise of interest in folklore to a 'national inferiority complex' (Dundes, 1985b:12). He states that

Fakelore apparently fills a national, psychic need: namely to assert one's national identity, especially in a time of crisis, and to instil pride in that identity ... Folklorists have long realized the connection between nationalism and folklore, but what has not been perceived is the possible relationship between feelings of national inferiority and the tendency to produce fakelore. (Dundes, 1985b:13)

The terms nation and national identity have been referred to several times already in this discussion, and it is therefore important at this early stage to clarify a crucial underlying premise in

³⁵Dundes, 1985b:14 in Dundes, Alan, 1985, "Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes and the Fabrication of Fakelore: A Reconsideration of Ossian, the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, the *Kalevala*, and Paul Bunyan" in *Journal of Folklore Research* (22:1), pp.5-18.

³⁶See Fürst, 1969:23 in Lillian Fürst, 1969, *Romanticism in Perspective*, Methuen, London.

regard to this term, namely that the concept of nation-hood is no 'natural' (in the modern sense of the word) state of being, no 'natural order'. Rather, the supposition that nation-hood is an active, conscious, creation, a political construction, as Benedict Anderson so convincingly argues³⁷, is a point of departure for the present thesis. A few preliminary remarks on this phenomenon in the context of nineteenth-century Europe and Norway, are therefore called for here.

Nineteenth-century Europe is frequently considered to be the cradle of nation-hood³⁸ and, despite the highly individualistic nature of much Romantic art and poetry, it is important to keep in mind that the 'creed' of Romantic Europe was that the individual was to be seen as a member of the 'race', as part of an organic unity underlying the emerging concept of nationality (see Jorgenson, 1933:207). The individual's place in and interaction with what was to become one of the most important forms of unity and group solidarity in nineteenth-century Europe (and indeed much of the next century) - that of 'nation' - was, the present thesis maintains, one of the main preoccupations of nineteenth-century Europe (see eg. Praver, 1970:11ff) and profoundly affecting Norway. After centuries of cultural and political domination by Denmark and Sweden, the need for a testimony of a living, independent Norwegian heritage was greatly felt (see eg. Koht, 1977:7ff or Østerud, 1984:54ff), Norway desperately needed to be seen as a nation, and to see herself as a nation. For this to happen, individuals had to begin to consider themselves as 'Norwegians' rather than 'from Telemark, or Valdres, or Finnmark'. To create this bond between individuals, the present study asserts, a 'Norwegian identity' needed to be established, an identity which was to be realized, in part, through the formation of the myth³⁹ of a literature, language and culture that somehow pertained to a 'Norwegian character' and that had remained unbroken (if hidden) since the Golden Age of the expansive Viking period, and perhaps before⁴⁰.

³⁷Benedict Anderson, 1983, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Verso, London.

³⁸See eg. Østerud, 1984:34-38; see also Elviken 1931, Hans Kohn 1946, The Idea of Nationalism, Macmillan, New York, and Ernest Gellner, 1964, Thought and Change, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.

³⁹'Myth' is used in the sense of a shared ideology, created and constructed, but not necessarily based on false premises. Furthermore, the term is not meant to indicate that each individual was necessarily ignorant of the artificial nature of this process; that may or may not be, but does not change the fact that it was important in itself as a 'production factor'.

⁴⁰See eg. Elviken, 1931:385, Holbek, 1987:27 and Bø, 1972:98 in Olav Bø, 1972, Utsyn over norsk folkediktning, Det Norske Samlaget, Oslo.

The interest in folk literature in nineteenth-century Norway was inspired by the general interest in folk narrative in Europe at the time, particularly in Germany where the Romantic movement was by nature nationalistic, emphasising the search for roots and origins, for a national 'essence' and language⁴¹. In Norway as in Germany, the Romantics tended to regard folk literature as an expression of a nation's 'intrinsic character'⁴², as Holbek says

the notion that fairy tales - as well as other kinds of folklore - somehow represent the genius of a nation, its inherited identity [was] vaguely present already in the prefaces to the first edition of *Kinder- und Haus Märchen* (1812 and 1815), but comes more strongly to the fore in the later writings of the Grimm brothers as well as in the folktale editions of subsequent collectors. An illustrative example is the famous Norwegian folktale collection by Asbjørnsen and Moe (1841-44). (Holbek 1984:27)

This cultural patrimony - the literature of the rural population - lying dormant during the union period, had been maintained, it was believed, unbeknown to the urban environment, among the peoples of the isolated rural areas through their language and folk art and literature, especially in the form of folk tales. The fact that folk tales were 'discovered' and became so popular during the Romantic period was, then, no accident. Folktales were seen as a link not only with an independent past, but a politically and culturally *strong* past. It was perceived to have a direct stylistic and narrative link with the saga literature of the Viking Golden Age (see Moe, 1914:146 or Elviken, 1931:385-386). This (mythical) bond, the continuity of past-present, thus found its 'purest' (and most accessible and 'manipulable', it could be argued) expression in folk literature⁴³. The concrete manifestation of the national Norwegian 'essence', in the Rousseauian model, was believed to be found in the Norwegian peasant, and thus the Norwegians could argue that there had existed a continuous 'Norwegianness' from the Viking Age till the present day, kept alive through the literature and language of the rural population (see Elviken *ibid* or Østerud, 1984:56ff). To consolidate this myth class politics came into play, the urban-intellectual elite, inspired by European Romanticism, promoted the concept of a national identity, bond, and 'character' where previously

⁴¹For details on the interest of folk narrative in Romantic Germany see Ronald Taylor, 1970, *The Romantic Tradition in Germany*, Methuen, London, Fürst 1969; for the influence of German Romanticism in Norway see Hodne, 1979:24; see also Kielhau 1931, Elviken 1931, Seip 1933, or Gunnar Eriksson, 1988, "Romanticism in Scandinavia" in *Romanticism in National Context* Ed. Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.173-189.

⁴²See eg. Fürst 1969, Siegbert Praver, 1970, "Introduction" in *The Romantic Period in Germany* Ed. Siegbert Praver, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, pp.1-16, or René Wellek, 1955, *The Romantic Age*, (II), Yale University Press, New Haven.

⁴³Moe 1914; see also Elviken, 1931:35ff, Hodne, 1994:5-6 or Falnes 1968.

there had been primarily class and regional identities (see Østerud, 1984:57). Ironically, at the beginning of the movement, many urban poets had no inkling of the resources actually present in the 'folk', undiscovered through centuries of geographical, social and in part linguistic isolation. As Alver writes: "the folk had preserved a rich cultural heritage, a heritage so completely hidden from the elite that even that most Norwegian of nationalists, Henrik Wergeland, had no idea that "folk poetry" even existed" (Alver, 1989:13). The consolidation of this pastoral myth of continuity between past, present and future found concrete expression already in the constitution of 1814 which explicitly built on the 'Old Norway', on its language, its literature and even its system of justice; indeed, the guiding principle underlying the constitution was that 'Norwegianness' (national identity) and democracy (independence from political domination), were two sides of the same coin (see especially Elviken 1931:378ff, Østerud, 1984:54ff or Koht, 1977:109). The premise of the link between ON and the rural dialects as well as between saga literature and nineteenth-century folk narrative tradition also found expression in the constitution through the emphasis on folk language (see Koht, 1977:100-103). Indeed, by 1885 the constitution was explicit about the use of 'Norwegian' in the developing nation (see Koht, 1977:219⁴⁴). Thus, the post-1814 generation could be said to represent the consolidation of the awareness of an independent national identity (see Hodne, 1994:5 or Koht, 1977:11).

⁴⁴See Haugen 1968:31 for a different interpretation of this clause of the constitution, where he argues that this was aimed at distinguishing the (Dano-)Norwegian language from *Swedish*, not rural-Norwegian from Dano-Norwegian.

CHAPTER 1

THE POLYSYSTEMIC APPROACH AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE ASBJØRNSEN AND MOE CORPUS

I. TRANSLATION STUDIES

An important development in literary studies in the last few decades, indeed in the humanities as a whole, has been the move *away from* the authoritative power of the 'original' and the aspiration towards 'objectivity' to a greater understanding of the processes that influence and shape the text and the reader's interpretation of the text. Developments within the discipline of Translation Studies have not been unaffected by this trend, and the last few decades have witnessed, in Translation Studies, a comparable move away from the authority and *a priori* dominance of the source text (ST), and from the emphasis on the source culture, to that of the target text (TT) and target culture (TC), and to a focus on the shaping, interpretation and function of the TT in its new setting. Earlier 'meaning-based' assumptions and dichotomies assumed to have axiomatic status, such as 'equivalence' and 'faithfulness/non-faithfulness' to the original, based on a belief in 'objectivity', have lost their monopoly, or at least they are no longer the *only* area of investigation¹.

Another consequence of this development is that the *wider* cultural, historical, political and ideological aspects and consequences of text production in general and translation in particular have been given serious attention, and today the extension in academic focus also includes those macro-structural aspects not only of the actual process of translation itself, but also the context and environment in which texts are selected, produced and shaped². Hans Vermeer, for example, describes translation as a *crosscultural* event, a "complex form of action" in which the *function* of

¹See eg. Anne Schjöldager, 1994, "Interpreting Research and the 'Manipulation School' of Translation Studies" in *Hermes. Journal of Linguistics* (12), pp.65-89 and Edwin Gentzler, 1993, Contemporary Translation Theories, Routledge, London.

²For example André Lefevere, 1992a, Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame, Routledge, London or Ria Vanderauwera, 1985b, Dutch Novels Translated into English: The Transformation of a Minority Literature, Rodopi BV, Amsterdam.

the TT is the dominating feature, and translation is thus always relative to the situation in which it is placed³. Discussing the relation between the translator and TC, Gideon Toury, for example, says:

it is not only naive, but also misleading, to assume that any single act within this type of activity is, as it were, a unique personal meeting between a text to be translated and a would-be translator, free from all previous burdens, where the translator is at complete liberty to define the translational problems in his own terms and to supply new, personal solutions to them.

Translation scholars such as André Lefevere, Ria Vanderauwera and Toury claim that supratextual factors all play a central role in the selection of literature for translation, in the way in which texts are translated, and in the way in which these texts are presented in the TC culture (see eg. Lefevere 1992a, Vanderauwera 1983 and Toury 1980). Furthermore, the emphasis is now often placed almost exclusively on the function of the *target text* and culture, and a common view is that not only the constraints of the ST and culture form the translated text, but that the target language and culture also places certain constraints and demands on the translator, on the way in which he or she translates, and on the way in which the translations fit into the canons or 'systems' of TC (see eg. Even-Zohar 1978 and Toury 1980).

The approach(es) to translation described here informs the present thesis. In this particular case study, ideological, political and cultural factors, playing a crucial and very concrete part in the text-production and translation process, will be examined in detail. Indeed, this case study illustrates particularly well how such supratextual elements direct, guide and shape not only the selection and presentation ('marketing') of the texts, but the transferral of the texts under investigation from oral to written form and the subsequent adaptations of the published editions. It will be argued that the very form of the language - elements such as grammar, syntax and lexis - are governed by cultural and political developments in TC. Although this is by no means the only theoretical framework whose premise is 'the interconnectedness of things', the present author would claim that among the possible alternatives it is the most suitable for the purposes of this thesis because of its specific application as a descriptive/historical/cultural approach within TS. It will

³See Snell-Hornby, 1988:82 in Mary Snell-Hornby, 1988, Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

⁴Toury, 1980:141 in Gideon Toury, 1980, In Search of a Theory of Translation, Porter Institute, Tel Aviv.

also be clear from the discussion as it develops in this chapter that the stress some polysystemists have placed on the 'tension' between the translator's adherence to ST and/or TT, is particularly appropriate to the present case study.

An important qualification, or specification, that must be made at this point is that the text-production process under investigation here is, strictly speaking, *intralingual* rather than *interlingual* translation. It must also be added that since there are not always absolute *fixed* boundaries between languages and cultures, as in Scandinavia⁵, the degree to which a language or culture is considered intra- or interlingual and intra- or inter-cultural is relative to its function in each particular case. *This* particular case study is a 'borderline case' for what concerns national languages, given that the boundaries between 'Norwegian' on the one hand and 'Danish' on the other (and between Norwegian dialects and standardized form) were not clearly defined in the period under study (see esp. Haugen 1968 chs. 1-2).

Recent developments in TS, particularly those emphasising the interdisciplinary and macrostructural aspects of the study of translation, show that many of those general principles and theories that are held to apply to interlingual translation are equally relevant and valid for (re-)writing processes in general⁶. Therefore the translation process (including its 'raw material' and the resulting 'products') will here be regarded as one 'institution' in an interactive polysystem. Rolf Klopfer argues that "(i)ntra- and inter-cultural translation are similar - especially in the European cultures - and that primary literature is already a form of "translation" ... [which] cannot be seen in isolation from other forms of assimilation"⁷, and Vladimir Ivirw states that :

This relativity of communication - any communication, and not just that involving translation - places the concept of equivalence in translation in a new perspective: equivalence holds between messages ... which change as little as possible and as much as necessary to ensure communication. *Thus true translation is by no means limited to communicative situations involving two languages.*"⁸

⁵Haugen, 1972d:496 in "Dialect, Language, Nation" in Studies by Einar Haugen Ed. E. Firchow et al., Mouton, The Hague, pp.496-509.

⁶See for example Lefevere on rewriting and anthologies in André Lefevere (Ed.), 1992b, Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook, Routledge, London and also Itamar Even-Zohar, 1981, "Translation Theory Today. *A Call for Transfer Theory*" in Poetics Today (2/4), pp.1-8.

⁷Klopfer, 1981:36 in Rolf Klopfer, 1981, "Intra- and Intercultural Translation" in Poetics Today (2/4), pp. 29-37.

⁸Ivir, 1981:53 in Vladimir Ivir, 1981, "Formal Correspondence vs. Translation Equivalence Revisited" in Poetics Today (2/4), pp.51-59; emphasis added.

Here Ivir is stressing that translation, and translational equivalence, is far from being solely a linear transference between two different national languages but involves other forms of communication and language transferral.

Ia. Theoretical premises for the present study. The polysystem theory

The need for a theoretical framework in which to study the functioning of the TT in its wider context was partly filled by the *polysystemic approach*, one of the main advocates for the 'descriptive' (non-prescriptive, non-normative) branch of the discipline which James S. Holmes had first proposed in the 1970s (see Holmes 1988), of which the 'Tel Aviv scholars', in particular Itamar Even-Zohar and Toury, are two of the main exponents. The case study presented here confirms the polysystemists' observation that the wider (target) context to a large degree influences writing-processes and -products which involve language transferral from a ST to a TT text⁹. It also confirms the polysystemist argument that the selection of texts to be 'translated' is governed principally by the cultural constraints and requirements of the TC (Even-Zohar, 1978:47). Not only is the formation of the TT governed by TC norms, but, the material indicates, the TT influences and shapes, in its turn, the target culture and polysystem.

A brief description of the most salient features of the polysystemic approach will therefore be necessary at this preliminary stage. The polysystemic approach is perhaps best described precisely through the word 'systems', as its main emphasis is on the interrelational, interdependent and dynamic dialectic between literary and cultural institutions and phenomena, and the dynamic interaction of the various literary genres present in a particular culture as interdependent parts of a greater literary system, including political and cultural systems (thence "**polysystem**"), in other words, a dialectic process between culture and text. In the words of Even-Zohar, its ideator:

⁹See eg. Itamar Even-Zohar, 1990, "Introduction" to *Polysystem Studies: Poetics Today* (11/1), pp.1-8.

Polysystem theory - under whatever formulation - eventually strives to account for larger complexes than literature ... Literature is thus conceived of not as an isolated activity in society, regulated by laws exclusively (and inherently) different from all the rest of human activities, but as an integral - often central and very powerful - factor among the latter. (Even-Zohar, 1990:2)

Translated texts are produced in such a way as to fit into one of these 'systems': that is, during the process of translation a ST is shaped in such a way as to conform to the literary polysystem of the target- language and culture which again is governed by other cultural processes at a 'higher' level, that is, further removed from the actual linguistic manifestations in the text-production process¹⁰. The resulting shifts may also imply transferring a text from one genre-category to another, if the status of the ST in the source language (SL) is somehow inappropriate or even non-existent in TL (ibid). Even-Zohar has examined these shifts of genre and status, for example from central to peripheral position or vice versa), how new genres arise, and how innovations are introduced into the target- culture and polysystem (Even-Zohar ibid). Since folk literature has historically been subject to 'status fluctuations' in its artistic value and appreciation, and in regard to its readership/audience (adult - folk vs. urban - or juvenile), the latter point seems particularly pertinent to this discussion. Furthermore, the polysystemists' principal, foundational tenet is that the norms and conventions of the *target system* govern text production, since translation is considered to be the outcome of the interaction between translator and TC, and that TC principles *govern the whole translational process*, including the process of selection:

It is clear that the very principles of selecting the works to be translated are determined by the situation governing the (home) polysystem: the texts are chosen according to their compatibility with the new approaches and the supposedly innovatory role they may assume within the target literature. (Even-Zohar, 1978:47)

Even-Zohar thus regarded translated literature "not only as an integral system within any literary polysystem, but as a most active system within it" (Even-Zohar, 1978:46).

¹⁰See Even-Zohar, 1978:46 in Itamar Even-Zohar, 1978, "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem" in Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies Eds. James S. Holmes, José Lambert and Raymond van den Broeck, Acco, Leuven, pp.29-47 and Toury, 1980:141ff.

Ib. Equivalence

At the heart of almost every discussion on translation has been, in some form or other, the concept of "equivalence"¹¹. "Equivalence" in the traditional source-oriented approach is an absolute, ideal and normative concept, a theoretical term which belongs, it could be argued, in prescriptive translation theory (as an abstract model) rather than in descriptive translation studies¹². Having moved from a normative approach based on a prescriptive equivalence model to a descriptive approach, does not mean, however, that the whole concept of equivalence should be disregarded or ignored in TS. Even-Zohar proposes, in the framework of descriptive studies, the following formulation:

The relevant question seems rather to be under what circumstances, and in what particular way, a target utterance/text *b* is relatable to a source utterance/text *a*. Thus, the hypothesis of "correspondence" is reverted to. We need no longer ask "why a certain feature *x* in ST *a* is given no correspondence in TT*b*," but "in what sense, and why, a feature *x*₁ in a TT *b* is relatable to feature *x* in ST *a*?. (Even-Zohar, 1981:4)

The position of the polysystemists in regard to the ubiquitous question of translational equivalence is precisely one that seeks to *describe* and identify the position of the TT both in relation to its wider context (its position in the 'system' or 'polysystem') and to the ST, rather than to propose rules and 'theories' to be followed. Already in 1975 Toury raised a number of objections to the earlier normative-source-text and equivalence-based theories and in the 1980 essay collection In Search of a Theory of Translation¹³ he advocated and formulated a fundamentally descriptive approach to equivalence. Considering that the thrust of academic focus in earlier TS was virtually exclusively aimed at a prescriptive, normative concept of 'equivalence', Toury's main achievement, Theo

¹¹For a useful discussion on the concept of "equivalence" in translation studies generally, see Raymond van den Broeck, 1978, "The Concept of Equivalence in Translation Theory: Some Critical Reflections" in Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies Eds. James S. Holmes, José Lambert and Raymond van den Broeck, Acco, Leuven, pp.29-47.

¹²As proposed in James Holmes' tripartite model in his now-famous essay 1988 "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies", in Translated! Literary Translation and Translation Studies Ed., Raymond van den Broeck, in the series *Approaches to Translation Studies, vol 7*, Rodopi, Amsterdam, pp.66-80 and "Describing Literary Translations: Models and Methods" in Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies Eds. James S. Holmes, José Lambert and Raymond van den Broeck, Acco, Leuven, pp.69-82.

¹³Papers ranging from 1975 to 1978 published collectively in 1980, Porter Institute, Tel Aviv.

Hermans writes, could be said to lie in having entirely overturned this paradigm¹⁴, (and therefore focus) which he recognized as futile and a-historical. Instead of attempting to define a prescriptive model or theory, he proposed that TS scholars should focus on the target- text and context and consider the target text not only as a derivative product of the ST and a product of the translator's subjective decisions, but as a product of the TC's socio-cultural framework (Toury, 1980:35ff or 79ff). Therefore, translation (and 'equivalence') was no longer to be considered in terms of acceptance/rejection, he maintained, or as a normative ideal, but rather translation should be considered *what the target culture defines as translation* and therefore 'equivalence' (see eg. Toury, 1980:73). In other words, a translation is what a particular group *chooses to define as a translation*, and the relationship of 'equivalence' is thereby given by what that particular group has defined as 'equivalence'.

It is important to realize that Toury does not view equivalence as a singular, idealized relationship between source and target text, but as *one of many possible relationships*; it is understood as a real, concrete, actual relationship which is *regarded* as "TT vs. ST". The scholar's role, then, according to Toury, is to establish *what type or degree of equivalence*, as an historical concept, is present¹⁵. He says:

[Every translation] does in fact stand in some equivalence relationship to the text or item serving (or regarded) as its source. In other words, one (or a combination of several) of the possible translational relationships actually serves to define TL texts as translations. What follows from such an assumption is that, in contradistinction to any other type of comparative or contrastive analysis, the basic question to be asked while carrying out research into actual translations should not be *whether* the texts or items in question are equivalent to other texts or items in another language/textual tradition; this fact is already given by their very definition as translations or translational phenomena (Toury, 1980:89-90)

If "equivalence" is to be discussed and defined in a descriptive framework, then it must, however, be considered *in context* and as a relational, functional parameter, not as an *a priori* concept or definition. A potential equivalence relationship is guided by all those TC norms guiding the

¹⁴See Hermans, 1991:157 in Theo Hermans, 1991, "Translational Norms and Correct Translations" in Translation Studies: The State of the Art. Proceedings from the First James S. Holmes Symposium on Translation Studies Eds. Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart and Ton Naaijkens, Amsterdam, Rodopi, pp.155-170.

¹⁵See also Lambert and van Gorp, 1985:46 for a similar claim in Lambert, José and Hendrik van Gorp, 1985, "On Describing Translations" in The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation Ed. Theo Hermans, Croom Helm, London, pp.42-53.

translational process (Toury, 1980:64), and the aim of a comparative analysis is then to describe these factors "What should be asked is, rather, *in what manner* this equivalence manifests itself" (Toury, 1980:90, emphasis in the original). Hermans also writes that, since this translational equivalence is described (and therefore defined) by the TC, to define 'translation' therefore means to identify, or 'reconstruct' those TC factors guiding the translation process:

The definition of translation operated by a given community or one of its socio-cultural subsystems can really only be reconstructed by identifying these 'enabling conditions' [compliance with a particular set of translational norms], which means reconstructing its dominant translational norms and models. (Hermans 1991:166)

The polysystemic treatment of the equivalence postulate as a descriptive rather than normative parameter, is a particularly appropriate working tool for the present study. The fact that the corpus is being examined in an historical and supratextual framework would exclude any attempt to discuss translational 'equivalence' in its traditional understanding or *only* in a textual-comparative contrastive analysis. What is far more interesting, I would contend (on the premise that ST and TT *are* regarded by the target readership as somehow 'equivalent'), is *to identify the nature of this equivalence and to describe the reasons - ideological/political/cultural - for which it was deemed equivalent* (see Toury, 1980:73). This thesis therefore seeks to reconstruct those factors that provided the basis for "equivalence", the 'enabling conditions', and will also show that, for politico-cultural reasons, it was crucial for the readership to identify and promote some form of equivalence.

lc. Norms. Initial, preliminary and operational norms. The 'tension' between adequacy and acceptability

In his 1980 study Toury introduced the concept of 'Norms', what was earlier spoken of in rather loose terms as 'conventions' or 'constraints'. Although this framework and terminology as well as the application (mainly to literary translation) is specific to the polysystemic school, it is

clear that such factors and general analytical approaches have been previously considered¹⁶. It was Toury, however, who came up with a detailed model of how to classify and organize these 'norms', and who applied the model to translation and to 'translational equivalence' (see eg. Hermans, 1991:161). 'Norms' are considered to be various degrees of regularized social conventions and organized behaviour models (to a varying degree of standardization) of macro-structural, socio-historical and ideological factors guiding and inhibiting a text-producer's strategies and choices; in short, the constraints and incentives governing social behaviour and guiding the translator (see Toury, 1980:141). The element of *consensus*, however, is central: only those factors which are *generally accepted* by a particular community are considered to be 'norms', and the 'success' of a translation in a particular TC hinges upon whether or not the translator has managed to conform to TC norms, to what has been judged as 'correct' by the members of a given community; in Hermans' words "the content of a norm is a socially shared notion of what is correct" (Hermans, 1991:163).

Toury further differentiates between *preliminary norms* and *operational norms*¹⁷. *Preliminary norms*, he says, guide the general approach of a translator and operate *before* the actual text analysis and formulation, they direct both translation "policy" (that is, the choice of works, authors, genres, schools, etc., in those cases where such choices are regular and systematic), and the "directness" of translations; that is, whether or not the use of an intermediate language is permitted (Toury, 1980:53 and 123). The second category of '*operational norms*' is defined as those norms directing "the actual decisions made during the translating process itself" (Toury, 1980:54). Toury includes a third category of norms, crucial to the present discussion, which he describes as the *initial norm*. This norm directs the *degree to which a translator gives priority to the source text or to the target text* (Toury, 1980:141ff). The polarity between source and target text is described in Even-Zohar's terms of "adequate" and "acceptable" translation policy, by which he means, respectively, a source-based approach and a target-based approach (see eg. Even-Zohar 1978; these terms should in no way be confused with the common usage meaning of the same words). Since the initial norm indicates the *level of adequacy-acceptability*, it has 'logical priority', and chronological

¹⁶See de Geest, 1992:37 in Dirk de Geest, 1992, "The Notion of 'System': Its Theoretical Importance and its Methodological Implications for a Functionalist Translation Theory" in *Histories, Systems, Literary Translations* Ed., Harald Kittel, Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin, pp.32-45.

¹⁷See for example "The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation" in Toury, 1980:41-62.

priority, over specific norms; indeed the initial norm determines the translator's underlying *a priori* approach (Toury, 1980:35ff or 141-142). However, that is not to say that this norm is always consistently followed in one and the same text. Toury states, repeatedly, that the axis adequacy-acceptability is one that inevitably implies *compromise and combination*. "It is well known", he writes that

translation involves and reflects a tension between two incomparable postulates: an *adequacy* postulate, dictating maximal representation of a preexisting text composed in another language, and an *acceptability* postulate, dictating the appropriate position of TT within the relevant target system(s) ... Thus, every actual translation occupies a certain position *between* these two postulated extremes. This position cannot be defined in advance because it is ever-changing, and its establishment forms an integral part of the study of translation performance. One thing is sure, however: *it never coincides with any of the two polar alternatives*. (Toury, 1980:75, emphasis added¹⁸)

Of course, the fact that norms are flexible and not static does not only apply to the initial norm, but to norms in general. Indeed, Hermans says that "It is also this interactive complexity, both within and between systems, that gives rise to competing norms and to norm conflicts, which are, moreover, acted out as part of a changing historical series. Given this context, it can safely be posited that no translation of any size or substance follows one norm only" (Hermans, 1991:167). This also applies, it could be argued, to the *position* of the text in the polysystem, which is subject to change and compromise in an inevitably dynamic, or at least ultimately changing and non-stable, polysystem.

Id. The position of TT

The tension between adequacy and acceptability is witnessed in the incompatibility between the two following requirements: the need for the TT to occupy a certain position in the TC and literature (acceptability), versus the need for a 'faithful' representation in the TC or literature of another text from a different (source) position and system (adequacy), and it is precisely this

¹⁸See also Toury, 1980:55 for the emphasis of the initial norm as a *compromise*.

incompatibility between 'acceptability' and 'adequacy' which is expressed in what Toury has defined as the initial norm (Toury, 1980:141). A primary ('high status') position of the ST, Toury claims, will imply 'adequacy' and innovation in the (target) polysystem by bringing in elements from a different (source) polysystem. A 'low-status' position will by the same token imply acceptability and conservatism (ibid). It is, then, the *position* of the text within the target polysystem which *determines* the initial norm: "the actual combination of, or compromise between, adequacy and acceptability" (Toury, 1980:141-142). It is often automatically assumed that translation holds a secondary role and therefore has a secondary (and conservative) function within a literary polysystem (Even-Zohar, 1978:46), but, as Even-Zohar affirms, this is by no means always the case, it rather depends on the individual circumstances and the individual polysystem (Even-Zohar ibid) and, as Toury notes above, on the position of the TT within it (Toury, 1980:141-142). Indeed, translation may have a crucial role in shaping the polysystem:

Whether the translated literature becomes central or peripheral, and whether this position is connected with innovatory ("primary") or conservatory ("secondary") repertoires, depends on the specific constellation of the polysystem under study ... To say that translated literature maintains a central position in the literary polysystem means that it participates actively in shaping the center of the polysystem. (Even-Zohar, 1978:46)

The degree to which a text is rendered adequate or acceptable is determined then by its position in the target polysystem, but it may also play a major role in the further development of the same target polysystem as a whole. A system, is, after all, never completely static (at least not permanently) but will inevitably be subject to changes as the society around it changes and forms it. Therefore, if the position of the TT within the literary polysystem is an outcome of the initial norm (and vice-versa), it also has consequences for the *effect* that the initial approach has *on the further development* of the target polysystem, as the present case study illustrates.

II. POLYSYSTEMIC NORMS APPLIED TO NORSKE FOLKEEVENTYR

With these parameters as a point of departure, the discussion in the second half of this chapter will attempt to identify which norms (preliminary, initial, operative) have guided the

formation of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus, the degree of compromise-combination and tension of adequacy-acceptability embodied in the initial norm governing the text-production process, and how TC norms guide and govern text production as a whole (including the *selection* of texts) in the light of preliminary norms (ie. choice of works, authors, genres etc. for ideological and political reasons). How the initial norm¹⁹ (and following 'tension') relates to the position of the text(s) in the target polysystem as an emerging genre, and subsequent *shifts* of genre, will also be touched upon. Following Toury, 'equivalence' will only be regarded as *the result of what has been considered a 'correct application' of literary-linguistic norms by the TC*. Indeed, the question of 'equivalent translational relationships' is implicit throughout the thesis, particularly in the discussion on adherence to the original 'text' and the discussion on 'authenticity', a *leitmotif* in the discussions on European National-Romanticism. The function of the textual (operational) norms as manifested in the texts themselves and how this is related to the question of 'equivalence', as well as the place of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus within the wider literary polysystem, is thus a consequence of the accepted TC view on 'translational equivalence'. The remaining chapters of the thesis will attempt to verify the claims made in the present one through a detailed discussion of the historical, cultural and linguistic environment in which the corpus came to urban life. The issue of how, if, which of, and to which extent, these norms were regularized and accepted by general consensus as 'correct, ie. when they were proved to be 'efficient', will also be addressed.

Ila. Norms in the nineteenth-century Norwegian polysystem

The preliminary norms, that is the choice of works, authors, genre, the selection of texts, etc., guiding the nineteenth-century Norwegian polysystem and the creation of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus could be said to be directly governed by the National-Romantic philosophy of nineteenth-century Norway. As a political, cultural and literary movement, it formed the attitude of Norwegian nineteenth-century academic-bourgeois intellectuals towards Art and literature, and

¹⁹Determining whether or not a mediating language (the other aspect of the initial norm; Toury, 1980:123) may be used is irrelevant in this particular discussion because the textual transformation of the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales was of an intralingual nature, that is from dialect to standard form; a third language does therefore not come into the picture at all.

particularly towards verbal folk art, and thus lay the foundation for Asbjørnsen and Moe's 'translation policy' (see Dahl, 1981:123-129 or Bø, 1972:24ff). This thesis further asserts that the need to find or create an independent cultural, literary (and linguistic) heritage to serve as a building block for an independent cultural modern unit ('the nation') was one of the major preoccupations of Norwegian National-Romanticism and was one of the most crucial factors in the formation, promotion and acceptance of the NF. On the basis of the material presented in the Introduction, it is therefore clear that the choice of establishing a new genre, the creation of a corpus of written folk tales, was a product of the desire for an independent Norwegian literature to authorize, justify, and legitimize an independent Norwegian culture.

It is difficult, however, to speak of consolidated norms in a society and polysystem in the process of creation and self-definition. The period under assessment, mid nineteenth-century Norway, was one of extreme socio-political change, serving to illustrate, furthermore, Even-Zohar's claim that translation plays a key role precisely in periods of historical and socio-political change because the polysystem is 'weak' (see Even-Zohar, 1978:48 and 124 and also de Geest 1992 and Hermans 1991). In this type of situation, translation may bring innovatory elements from the target system and thereby function as a channel for renewal. The gradual establishment of the literary-linguistic innovations introduced into the polysystem through the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales illustrate the polysystemic process described above of the regularization (in terms of their 'correctness' and efficiency as 'problem-solvers'; see Hermans, 1991:163) of conventions as norms which thus became established in the TC polysystem. (It should be added that not all the solutions of linguistic constellations found in the corpus were deemed effective, or they may have been in one publication and the next revised version, but then dwindled out of both NF and not maintained in the further development of the language²⁰.) One of the most acute problems of this process was the transferral of standard Dano-Norwegian into (what was to become) a national 'Norwegian' language. Asbjørnsen and Moe's introduction of new words, syntax, narrative techniques, etc. in a generally conservative Danish orthography provided solutions to this dilemma, and thus constitute elements

²⁰For example the use of the nominative 'han' for the accusative form 'ham' was introduced in the 1852 edition of NF, later lost currency although it is today becoming, if not grammatically correct, acceptable. See also Popp 1977 and Foss 1923:216ff for more examples of Asbjørnsen and Moe's linguistic innovations absorbed into the polysystem, and those that were rejected.

of literary-linguistic conventions that become accepted and systematized as effective as 'problem solvers' (although it should not be forgotten that some of these solutions were transitional and temporary)²¹. To the extent that this particular corpus was a highly influential factor in the wider polysystem, it supports Even-Zohar's claim above that translation can indeed act as a shaping force within the polysystem (Even-Zohar, 1978:46).

Iib. The 'tension' between acceptability and adequacy

Because of the unstable nature of the polysystem, of its place and function as a national literary institution, the need for regularization and stabilization of conventions to serve as a model of 'correctness' was crucial. It was precisely the establishment of such norms which both reflected the difference in underlying attitudes towards the place and function of the new nation and its polysystem, and the role and position of the individual text within it, which created the dynamic tension that characterized the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Norwegian cultural environment, a tension which was illustrated by the heated language debate between writers and academics of that period (see eg. Dahl, 1981:77 or Foss, 1923:209-210).

The maintaining of narrative techniques pertaining particularly to norms in the Norwegian *oral* tradition in the transition to written form illustrates the principle of "adequacy". The TT brought, from the ST (the oral narrative tradition), a number of literary-linguistic innovations to the target polysystem, however, but the texts were also subject to a large number of language-related changes before they could be accepted as 'literature', here illustrating the principle of *TC/TL* conventions guiding text production ("acceptability"). Although SC and TC norms were linguistically and poetically conflicting (in terms of orthography, grammar, syntax etc.; see Foss, 1923:124ff and Skard, 1973:42ff), the dominant literary (and in effect Danish) mode lay at a grammatically much more hierarchical level, at a more 'abstract' level, with a 'higher' register and 'tone', and a higher frequency of nominals and adjectives than rural spoken language (see Haugen

²¹See Foss, 1923:124ff for a detailed list of such lexical and linguistic features.

1968 or Skard, 1973:45ff). These competing norms served to complement each other in striving for a common goal; innovations in lexicography, for example, were only permitted because changing norms in the target system demanded this 'rural authenticity' in the search for a national identity. As noted, the oral tradition, the Norwegian folk tales, were seen as a truly Norwegian, cultural heritage, embodying the language and literary tradition of the Old Norse population and the saga literature (see Moe, 1914:128-133 and 146), and were thus not only acceptable, but desirable and functional in the literary canon. Given the dualistic nature of the process, it can be seen that there was an inherent paradox at play: the overriding function/skopos of the transition from non-standardized oral mode to literate-standardized mode was a form of nationalism in which the explicit purpose was to retrieve - in what was claimed to be an 'authentic' and 'untouched' form - the oral literary tradition of the rural peasant, the voice of the *folk*, through which a national identity was strengthened and promoted. On the other hand, this claimed 'authenticity' was inconsistent: rather than the tales being 'inherently Norwegian', or an expression of an assumed 'pure' Norwegian identity, they had to be adapted and re-created to conform to TC expectations. For these tales to a) become a truly *national* symbol (and diffused throughout the nation) and b) for them to be able to be understood and accepted by the decision-makers, by the people that 'really mattered', politically speaking, they had to be transmitted in a literary form and in the (quasi-)Danish language - precisely that language form from which Norway (with a few exceptions such as in the case of P. A. Munch or Welhaven, see eg. Dahl, 1981:110ff) was struggling to free herself. In other words, the folktale collection was *formed* to comply to TC norms whilst being hailed as an 'authentic' exponent of a rural SC tradition. This thesis states, then, that the fundamental prerequisite - authenticity - was false, and had it not been false (ie. bourgeois, not rural), the tales would not have gained acceptance as canonized literature. The 'solution' to these conflicting demands proved to be a viable combination or, it could even be argued, dialectic, between conservatism and innovation.

The following quote from de Geest could describe one aspect of the process by which a literary polysystem is renewed through translations:

In most cases, however, this supposedly closed autochthonous system will gradually but unavoidably open itself - or will be forced to open itself - to external influences which are received either as new but nevertheless valuable or in any case as interesting elements, or

else as the necessary affirmation of the norms prevailing in canonized literature. (de Geest 1992:40, emphasis added)

If this quote is applied to the process of literary and linguistic transformation described in the Asbjørnsen and Moe case study, it can be concluded that the "external influences" appropriated into the prevailing bourgeois (canonized) literary system, besides being considered valuable or 'interesting', were indeed a necessary affirmation of target polysystem values. This applies not only in literary/linguistic terms but also in political terms, as the affirmation of the National-Romantic creed through which the need for an independent cultural identity was expressed. What this new genre did, then, was to fulfil the needs of a polysystem in transformation and to affirm its most basic and pressing requirement at that moment in time - namely that of a distinct 'national identity'.

IIc. The position of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus

Through the Asbjørnsen and Moe collection a previously absent/non-existent text-type and genre, the written folktale, was introduced into a polysystem in the process of intense upheaval. Moreover, through 'translation', through the transferral from oral to written form, and through the adoption of TC norms, the corpus was subjected to a radical shift in status spurred on precisely by the tension, and the resolution of this tension, between adequacy and acceptability: From a peripheral, marginalized genre mainly unknown to the urban community (Dahl, 1981:100ff), this new genre became not only highly popular, but acquired a prestigious place in the canon as a national symbol²². The genre shift that took place did so through the acceptance of TC norms, I have claimed, and along with the acceptance of these norms came the privilege of sitting at the high table of canonized literature. If it is accepted that the position of TT in TC is a result of the initial norm, and therefore of the balance (or compromise-combination) between adequacy and acceptability, it can be concluded that the position of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus was a direct result of its claim to authenticity (adequacy) as a representation of the 'essence of the nation', and its

²²See eg. Sigurd Hoel's frequently quoted 1948 essay "Eventyrene våre" also published in 1963, *Essays i utvalg* Ed. Nils Lie, Gyldendal, Oslo, pp.100-110; for comments see Skard, 1973:52.

newly-gained position in the urban polysystem (through acceptability) from which it drew authority and prestige.

In terms of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus acting as an innovatory or conservative force, should it not be concluded that in its role as 'authentic' it functioned as a keeper of the literary and linguistic status quo? Clearly, this is not the case. The reason for this may be that its second function as an *acceptable* translation was given higher priority, or had a more immediate impact than it had (in practical terms) in virtue of its being 'authentic', borne out by the conclusion reached earlier regarding the contradiction (and complementarity, even symbiosis) of its implicit and explicit functions. It could be argued, consequently, that in its function as authentic (adequate), it embodied the Idea of the timelessness of the nation which *reified* and *upheld* a Romantic belief, but not an existing literary canon or prevailing linguistic norms. To what extent, then, was its 'high status' a result - or a promoter - of innovation, a function of its *position* (see Toury, 1980:141-142)? Here, the polysystemic equation *does* hold true. It was precisely the fact that the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus enjoyed - that is it came to enjoy - considerable prestige as a national symbol (therefore high status) that enabled it to act as a vehicle of linguistic and literary innovation through the impact of the first publication but also through subsequent revisions.

If the translational equivalence inherent in the text-production process was a result, as Toury suggests it is (Toury, 1980:73), of *its conceptualization of it as such* by TC, then it was also a result of its position on the adequacy-acceptability axis, the former being, logically, a direct result of the latter. If the Asbjørnsen and Moe texts were conceived of as 'authentic' exponents of the folk and as a symbolic representation of the essence of the nation (adequacy), *and were presented as such in a form acceptable to the TC* (acceptability), this was part and parcel of its being regarded as equivalent. Following the descriptive definition of translational equivalence, Toury has stated that the sentence "the equivalence revealed by translation X to its source is no equivalence" (see Toury, 1980:68) is not a paradox. This statement holds particularly true, I would contend, in discussions on literary folktales (ie. oral tales adapted to written norms) such as those of Asbjørnsen and Moe and, to an even more marked degree, of the Grimms. From the polysystemic point of view, then, it

is less relevant to what extent these tales were true to their original form (although this also will be addressed in following discussions) than *how and why they were regarded as equivalent by the TC*.

There is one final aspect regarding the position of the Asbjørnsen and Moe texts as TT that must be mentioned here, namely that in due course, and in part contemporaneously, the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus became canonized *also* as a 'children's classic' (see Dahl, 1981:109-110 and Hagemann 1963), and consequently the Asbjørnsen and Moe collection held, and holds, a twofold position in the Norwegian literary polysystem. With the publication of the main folktale collection, and in 1883 the children's version of NF²³, there was an inherent ambiguity regarding its position and status in the polysystem, perhaps influenced by the Grimms' KHM versions whose very titles ('Small and Big' editions) indicated their double function²⁴, and confirming de Geest's claim that:

particular texts or translations may form and integrate part of more than one (con)textual system at the same time, and as a result their specific systemic position (and their normative and evaluative prestige) may vary according to the set of norms and the types of systems that they actually belong to. Next to the global levels of the language system, the political (nationalist) system, the cultural system and the overall system, we must take into consideration a.o. the generic system, the poetic conventions and the discursive conventions as well. Only from this point of view can the controversial and highly multifunctional reception of certain texts be completely accounted for. (de Geest, 1992:44)

The *preliminary* norms underlying the text-production process are, it can be concluded, those expressed in the prevailing National-Romantic discourse where the (collector-)poet was regarded as a catalyst for a presumed national 'essence' or 'character'²⁵. The *operational* norms are those specific linguistic-literary norms guiding the transformation-production of the oral tales into literary works, as well as those innovations introduced through the acceptance of elements of oral narrative tradition into the (written) target polysystem (see Foss, 1923:216ff or Skard, 1973:42ff). The *initial* norm underlying the text-production process was, it has been argued above, profoundly characterized by a contradicting tension - as well as by a complementary relationship - between 'adequacy' and 'acceptance', both reflecting and influencing the development of the nineteenth-

²³P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1883, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. I, first collection, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag (F. Hegel & Søn), Copenhagen.

²⁴See Ward, 1988:100 in Donald Ward, 1988, "New Misconceptions about Old Folktales: The Brothers Grimm" in The Brothers Grimm and Folktale Ed. James McGlathery, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, pp.91-100.

²⁵See eg. Jorgenson, 1978:114 in Theodore Jorgenson, 1978, Norwegian Literature in Medieval and Early Modern Times, Greenwood Press, Connecticut, Koht, 1977:109 or Elviken, 1931:385ff.

century Norwegian literary and linguistic tradition. This claim supports what Toury has noted repeatedly, that a combination or compromise between conflicting norms is always involved in a translation process (eg. Toury, 1980:75 and 141-142). The system of norms interplaying as constraints and incentives in a dynamic polysystem is, also here, a flexible one which therefore requires a thorough investigation of as many as possible linguistic and extra-linguistic and synchronic as well as diachronic, factors.

CHAPTER 2

THE FOLKTALE: SEARCH FOR THE *URFORM*

I. FOLKTALE AND FAIRYTALE. WHAT IS 'FOLK'?

The distinction between the oral and the literary folk/fairy tale is not always clear; as the Russian structuralist folklorist Vladimir Propp notes, folklore *is* a literary phenomenon and the two partially overlap in their "poetic genres"¹. Indeed, folk tale, fairy tale, literary tale, *märchen*, wonder tale; these terms are often used interchangeably among scholars and laymen alike, occasionally creating confusion for outsiders with only a vague understanding or an intuitive feel for such concepts, and folklorists² too often speak broadly of 'the folktale' as an umbrella term for the fairy tale, the magic tale, the animal tale, anecdote, fable, legend, etc. The Romantics believed that the *literary* 'folktale', (*kunstmärchen*) differs from a 'true' folktale (*volksmärchen*), the latter belonging to an oral tradition and the former a product of a literate and literary culture and process and that *folktales* had evolved naturally and spontaneously from a form of collective consciousness, a belief which dominated folklore studies, and was first refuted in the mid-twentieth century by oral-history scholars (for details see Holbek, 1987:259-322). Post-Romantic scholarship stresses that folktales are formed through a process involving individual creation, and thus carry the 'stamp' of their originator (see eg. Lüthi 1984, and Holbek 1987); the tale is then re-created through its being re-told by other narrators who again leave their own artistic imprint and the stamp of their particular environment on the oral narrative tradition, a 'regeneration' to borrow from Theodore Jorgenson's (eloquent) quote: "Folk literature, moreover, is constantly new. It is regenerated as the

¹Propp, 1984:6 in Vladimir Propp, 1968, Morphology of the Folktale, University of Texas Press, Austin and London. and Vladimir Propp, 1984, Theory and History of the Folktale, Manchester University Press, Manchester. For an analysis of a selection of the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales in an actantial framework, see Engelstad, 1976:142-190 in Irene Engelstad, 1976, Fortellingens mønstre. En strukturell analyse av norske folkeeventyr, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

²Here, by 'folklorist' is meant 'a scholar of folklore', not (necessarily) a collector or (re-)teller. In the case of the Grimms or Asbjørnsen and Moe, the two vocations are combined; in fact, many Romantic poets were both critics and scholars as well as 'collectors' and creative writers.

flower of the field and as humanity itself. As the geologist finds layers in the crust of the earth, and as these layers indicate conditions of life and contents of ancient civilizations, so mankind itself, in the growth of mental culture, leaves one layer of symbols beneath another" (Jorgenson, 1933:114-115). Max Lüthi describes one view by which folk tales take shape, constantly influenced by new elements introduced in society:

Fairytale (Volksmärchen), told for hundreds of years to gatherings of adult listeners, were not created by the "folk". It is possible to demonstrate influences on them from written literature. Nonetheless, they are properly called "folktales" because they have been modified by popular tellers at times becoming shredded in the telling, spoiled, but at times being told better, polished, and further developed - by laymen and for laymen. The circle of listeners has played a role in the retention and shaping of these stories; narrators have always taken into consideration the needs and wishes, the inclinations and dislikes of their public³.

Feedback from and interaction with current society and audiences for whom the tale is being told has a profound impact on its development, it seems⁴. It is clear too that social, historical, religious and political events, transitions and upheavals, do not leave the oral tradition of a culture uninfluenced⁵. Different folklore scholars, in different eras and in different cultures seem to regard the criteria for 'defining' a 'true folktale' according to very different parameters. Holbek, for example, emphasizes the *medium of transfer* was emphasized rather than structure or content; he considered 'genuine fairy tales' only those tales that are not known "to have been re-told or tampered with by professional writers ... [The] material must be genuine records of traditional oral narratives" (Holbek, 1987:23) and he thus disregards the tales of Charles Perrault, H. C. Andersen and the Grimm brothers. Asbjørnsen and Moe would probably fall into this category too.

As well as the pointing to the usage of term 'folk/fairytale', a discussion on its qualifier, 'folk', is also relevant to the present discussion. What, exactly is meant by "*folk*"? Is it the folk of

³Lüthi, 1984:x in Max Lüthi, 1984, The Fairytale as Art Form and Portrait of Man, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

⁴See eg. Dennis Tedlock, 1975, "On the Translation of Style in Oral Narrative" in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore Eds. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman, University of Texas Press, Austin and London, pp.115-133.

⁵Jorgenson *ibid*, see also Jack Zipes, 1979, Breaking the Magic Spell. Radical theories of Folk and Fairy Tales, Heineman, London, Heinz Rölleke, 1988, "New Results of Research on Grimms' Fairy Tales" in The Brothers Grimm and Folktale Ed. James Mc. Glathery, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, pp.101-112, and Dundes 1985a (especially chapter 2 pp. 40-56): Alan Dundes, 1985a, Folklore Matters, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville. See also Christiansen, 1964:xxxviiiiff and George Webbe Dasent's 1969 introduction to his translation of the NF: Popular Tales from the Norse, The Bodley Head, London.

an ancient race to which various peoples trace their pasts, as the Germans of the Romantic movement attempted to do? Or is it the 'common folk', the traditionally non-literate and mainly uneducated rural population of nineteenth-century Europe whose oral narrative had not previously met (and later only met for reasons of self-interest, it will be argued), the standards of the bourgeois establishment?

The study of 'folk' tradition became established as a field of study and as a *discipline* in the nineteenth century⁶; the English word was coined in 1846, although it is true that Herder had previously used the term in *Volkslied* - "folksong", *Volksseele* - "folk soul" and *Volksglaube* - "folk belief"⁷. Inspired by the Romantic-Nationalist tide and the desire to establish a 'true national identity', a number of folklore societies were formed in Europe and America, and in nineteenth-century usage, the object of study, the 'folk' came to be understood as a group of people constituting the lower strata of society in contrast to the upper literate, elite, in contrast to 'civilization' but also in contrast to 'savage' or 'primitive' society (Dundes *ibid*). Slightly higher on the scale than this latter preliterate group, 'the folk' was classified as "illiterate in a literate society" (see Dundes, 1980:2) thereby underscoring both the contrast with and proximity to literate society, ie. the rural peasant vs. urban citizen dichotomy. Occupying this no-man's land between savage and civilized, the 'folk' was believed to hold the key to the origins of civilization and of the nation, having retained survivals of their past in their proximity to 'the savage' (*ibid*). In an article on the emergence of folklore (as a field of study and as an 'object') in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, Roger Abrahams supports the view of scholars cited earlier (such as Dahl 1981, Elviken 1931, or Alver 1989) concerning the link between 'the peasant' and 'the nation', when he claims that

Under aristocratic regimes, peasants were nostalgically depicted as gentle - if sharp-tongued - shepherds or rugged plowmen, and their speeches and songs were used to embody "native wisdom." Under bourgeois rule they were regarded as embodiments of popular sentiment and practice, purveyors of common sense, even carriers of local and national character⁸.

⁶As noted, Jørgen Moe was in fact the first person to hold a position in the discipline of folkloristics, see Liestøl, 1953:294.

⁷See Dundes, 1980:1 in Alan Dundes, 1980, Interpreting Folklore, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Hodne, 1979:26.

⁸Roger D. Abrahams, 1993, "Phantoms of Romantic Nationalism in Folkloristics" in Journal of American Folklore (106/419), pp.3-37.

Since 'folk', Dundes argues, is always defined in contrast to what is considered urban, literate and 'civilized', the pre-requisite for the understanding of 'folk' in a given society or nation is that there exists a literate, civilized strata in that particular society (Dundes *ibid*). In other words, 'folk' is always defined 'from the outside' and by virtue of its opposite; it is not self-defined (and therefore not self-reflexive, it could be argued). Closely linked to the discussion on the definition of 'folk' is the question of "identity", and in particular self-identification⁹. For Herder, for example, or at least the nineteenth-century German Romantic readings of Herder, 'identity' was an intrinsic element of a specific group's self-awareness, defined as 'nation', and for the German Romantics the group defined as the 'folk' were the true bearers of this particular group identity¹⁰. To what extent, then, can one speak of the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales as originating from a particular or specific group? According to Østerud (1984:56), and following Dundes' stance in the preceding quote, among the rural population in nineteenth-century Norway their identity as 'folk' was not self-defined, but one that was defined from the outside, by the urban culture. Østerud notes that it was only when people from the rural communities began to move into the urban areas that they began to regard themselves as a group, with a 'rural' identity, achieving both a group (class) identity and a national identity¹¹ (Østerud, 1984:56ff) confirming Anderson's emphasis on the artificial process of creating self-reflexivity as a group (Anderson, 1983:37ff).

For the present purposes, the relevance of the cultural environment in which the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus was formed, the term 'folk' will be used mainly in the nineteenth-century conceptual framework of 'the European peasant', not as a working *definition*, but more as a point of reference, referring to a common myth or construction rather than to a factual entity. It is also true that Asbjørnsen and Moe informants *were* from the rural population and as such reflected to a large degree the values and concerns of this social and professional 'group'¹² even though they were appropriated as the focus of Romantic and Nationalist ideology by the literate urban elite. In many

⁹For a discussion on identity and folklore see "Defining Identity through Folklore" in Dundes, 1989:1-39.

¹⁰See eg. Taylor, 1970:2ff or F. M. Barnard Ed., 1969, J. G. Herder on Social and Political Culture, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

¹¹See also Eriksen, 1993:102 for a similar affirmation in Thomas Hylland Eriksen, 1993, Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives, Pluto Press, London.

¹²See Bø, 1972:103, Bø, 1977:51, Foss, 1923:215 or Dahl 1981.

European countries in the nineteenth century, oral narrative was associated with the 'lower classes' (see Abrahams 1993 and Eriksen 1993) and in Norway it would be true to say that until the nineteenth century it was, sociologically, an art form belonging virtually exclusively to the non-dominant classes (see eg. Bø, 1972:103). This is reflected in the depiction of folktale characters: rural, poor, highly satirical of authority and higher social classes (especially of kings, priests and bailiffs), and contemptuous of the wealthy, the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats. The priest was often a figure of shame and ridicule while the devil was often "a relatively likeable chap" (see Borgen, 1978:xiv). Furthermore, as Moe himself points out, it was often the poorest of the rural environment, not rarely the blind, rather than the wealthy farmers who were actually the most well-known informants and story-tellers (see Moe, 1914:148ff; see also Bø, 1977:51-54).

II. FROM ORALITY TO LITERACY

Folktales were of course designed to be related orally, and therefore relied on the skill of the story-teller to 'bring them to life'. When collecting folktales to be written down for an audience that has become estranged from this tradition, the collector/folklorist is therefore challenged to provide new channels for these verbal techniques whilst being constrained by the rigidity of the written word. Cay Dollerup, Bengt Holbek, Iven Reventlow and Carsten Rosenberg Hansen describe how oral narrative changes when taken out of its original cultural and performative setting and how the development of the text is no longer a product of the interaction between performer and audience:

we lift one tale, told by a specific narrator, at one specific point in time and space, to one specific audience, out of this unique situation. The tale becomes independent of the physical presence of the narrator and his audience: there is no narrative contract, and the formative elements in the creation of the "ideal tale" [the specific storytelling event], e.g. instantaneous feedback, can no longer exert any influence.¹³

They continue to ask "But the basic problem remains: does an oral style produce the same effect when *read* as when it was originally heard? The answer is clearly 'no'" (Dollerup et al., 1984:261). Dollerup, Holbek, Reventlow and Rosenberg Hansen here focus on the *performative* event and the

¹³Dollerup et al., 1984:256 in Cay Dollerup, Bengt Holbek, Iven Reventlow and Carsten Rosenberg Hansen, 1984, "The Ontological Status, the Formative Elements, the "Filters" and Existence of Folktales" in *Fabula* (25-3/4), pp.241-265.

transition of the text from oral to written form. In so doing, they consider the *whole* storytelling context, coining the term 'ideal tale' as an abstract ideal conveyed from narrator to audience, which takes into account the whole narrative event (Dollerup et al 1984:241-265). This approach to the study of folktales is in keeping with more recent studies in the *performative* aspects of folk narrative, in a modern and often non-European framework, such as those conducted by Dan Ben-Amos, Kenneth Goldstein, Richard Bauman, Barbara Babcock and Dennis Tedlock¹⁴ where the entire story-telling context is considered as a formative part of the tale and its reception. The transition from oral to written form, both from a linguistically-oriented and from an ideological (ie. adaptation to the norms and modes of the dominant system) point of view is a key issue in the discussion on the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus. Indeed, much progress has been done in the field of literacy and orality since the ground-breaking work of Milman Parry who set out to prove the orality of the Homeric texts¹⁵ which, Parry showed, were expressed in such a way as to facilitate their oral transmission, with narrative 'tricks' (mnemonic devices) to help the narrator remember (Parry 1971); in David R. Olson's words "language is thus shaped or biased to fit the requirements of oral communication and auditory memory"¹⁶. Albert Lord, Parry's student who later worked with him on studies of the Yugoslavian epic (he published in 1960 what was to become a seminal folkloristic work, The Singer of Tales¹⁷), established along with Lord what came to be called the 'oral-formula theory' proposing that individual singers and narrators 'build', create, their songs or epics on the basis of certain culturally accepted literary formulas during performance, and on the basis of a given but flexible plot-scheme, a 'reservoir' of vocabulary and metre. The formula was thus considered 'collective property' whilst each single performance was individual (ibid). Willy Dahl characterizes this approach as an (approximate) return to Romantic notions of the *Urform* (Dahl, 1981:102), but

¹⁴Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (Eds.), 1975, Folklore Performance and Communication, Mouton, The Hague and Paris; Richard Bauman, 1977, "Verbal Art as Performance" in Verbal Art as Performance Ed. Richard Bauman, Waveland Press, Illinois, pp.3-59; Barbara Babcock, 1977, "The Story in the Story: Metanarration in Folk Narrative" in Verbal Art as Performance Ed. Richard Bauman, Waveland Press, Illinois, pp.61-80, and Dennis Tedlock, 1990, "From Voice and Ear to Hand and Eye" in Journal of American Folklore (103), pp.133-156; see also Laura Bohannan, 1966, "Shakespeare in the Bush" in Natural History (Aug-Sept.), pp.28-33 for an anthropological perspective.

¹⁵Milman Parry, 1971, The Making of Homeric Verse Ed. Adam Parry, Clarendon Press, Oxford. For a discussion on their findings see Goody, 1987:108ff in Jack Goody, 1987, The Interface Between the Written and the Oral, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

¹⁶Olson, 1977:263 in David R. Olson, 1977, "From Utterance to Text: The Bias of Language in Speech and Writing" in Harvard Educational Review (47/3), pp.257-281.

¹⁷Albert Bates Lord, 1960, The Singer of Tales, Harvard University Press.

the attention given to individuality and to change in the oral-formulaic theory belies the Romantic collective-hypothesis of a narrative being formed through a *homogenous* collective will and artistic process; besides, this approach has no trace of a national 'essence' or 'idea' or emphasis on a once-existing pure and collective pristine form which so deeply characterized the Romantic period.

A number of scholars have provided valuable new insights into the relationship between orality and literacy¹⁸. Some literacy scholars such as Jack Goody, Ian Watt or Olson have stressed the role that literacy (and the transition from oral to literate culture) has had in the development of logical thought (Plato's diatribes against writing and the post-Platonic development in philosophy is often taken as a point of departure¹⁹). It was not until the introduction of *symbolic* representation, in particular through the development of the Greek and Roman alphabets, that writing began to become established in its present-day form and as a medium available for the masses, Goody and Watt claim (Goody and Watt, 1968:35ff). They emphasize that in oral cultures (in the sense of cultures depending primarily on the transmission of culture through oral rather than written channels) there is a direct relationship between symbol and referent, a relationship which in literate cultures is *only* symbolic, ie. the 'phonetic' rather than 'representational' principle (see Goody and Watt, 1968:35). "Writing," they say, "establishes a different kind of relationship between the word and its referent, a relationship that is more general and more abstract, and *less closely connected with the particularities of person, place and time*, than obtains in oral communication" (Goody and Watt, 1968:44, emphasis added), suggesting the possibility of definable, autonomous truths in contradistinction to the 'relativity' of verbal usage (Goody and Watt, 1968:53). Bauman also describes oral narrative in its original setting and function as being essentially context-based (Baumann, 1977:27ff). Such observations may indicate that the context-based, referential element (ie. not purely symbolic and not immediately self-referential) is a feature of oral society and structure as well as of oral narrative in general. Goody and Watt's position is well worth quoting in full here:

¹⁸M. T. Clancy, 1979, From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London; Walter Ong, 1982, Orality & Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word, Routledge, London.

¹⁹See eg. Jack Goody and Ian Watt, 1968, "The Consequences of Literacy" in Literacy in Traditional Society Ed. Jack R. Goody, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.27-68.

In an oral culture or literary tradition, therefore, words cannot "accumulate the successive layers of historically validated meanings which they acquire in a literate culture ... Instead, the meaning of each word is ratified in a succession of concrete situations, accompanied by vocal inflections and physical gestures, all of which combine to particularize both its specific denotation and its accepted connotative usages. This process of direct semantic ratification, of course, operates cumulatively; and as a result the totality of symbol-referent relationships is more immediately experienced by the individual in an exclusively oral culture, and is thus more deeply socialized ... where common emphases and interests, whether material or otherwise, are not specifically involved, there is little verbal development. (Goody and Watt, 1968:29)

In this way, Goody and Watt stress the deeply *communal and consensual* nature of oral tradition. Primary features of language-based art in oral cultures are, it could be concluded, functionality, economy and contextualized signification.

Discussing the transition from oral-based to literate-based cultural and social organization, Anderson notes that the combination of increased access to printing and facilitated distribution and communication was catalytic in the formation of national identity as a self-reflexive and therefore group-defining feature (Anderson, 1983:27ff); in this case too, it could be argued, previous context-based group identities experienced a shift in form towards an identity based on identification and meaning (for the subject) inherent in the group itself as an entity, as a unified and limited group based on cultural rather than structural principles²⁰. These observations, emphasizing the tendency towards context-independent signification through increased literacy, that is cultures increasingly dependent on literate rather than oral transmission and communication, confirm Gellner's analysis of role-identification through the anthropological concepts of 'structure' and 'culture' where he argues that with increased modernization (in particular education and literacy), individuals tend to become increasingly less defined through their structural roles in society to culture-dependent, non-ascribable roles, where the role of language, communication and group identification as *conationals* constituted a new mode of (self-) signification (see Gellner, 1964:154ff).

These are interesting comments in the light of the formation of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus where the text corpus was formed as a 'national whole' on the basis of a corpus in which the various elements (tales) were in fact local traditions, variable in style and language (Østerud

²⁰See also Gellner, 1964:154 on the question of cultural versus structural group identity.

1984:56; see also Dahl 1981). The rural population gradually became aware of 'its own existence' as a group subsequent to the national awakening (not only through the urban cultural movements, but in large part through the figure of Ivar Aasen too, see Koht, 1977:120ff), and through this self-reflexive process and other identity-building factors, the rural population was eventually drawn into the nationalist process and the womb of the new nation. The creation of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus thus harmonized - as a unified symbol - variable elements which in fact were originally dependent on their local, performative (and historical) setting to provide 'meaning' to the listeners, it could be argued. Such literary and linguistic developments and transitions reflect the process described by Goody and Olson where texts are removed from a context-based situation (providing a particular 'meaning' to their audience precisely because of the contextual and local interaction), to a (literate) context where meaning is sought for 'in the text', static and auto-definitive and *can thus be reconstructed* through a static text. In the case of the Asbjørnsen and Moe collection, in the transition from oral to literate form, signification was (re-)constructed in this way through its symbol as a unified, national whole; that is, its wholeness as a corpus represented a continuation with the past, it represented an assumed national character, and therefore also the nation, *and this became its most crucial function*. This discussion on the transition from orality to literacy in general reflects, then, the shift in signification of oral narrative from a context-based performative situation in which oral narrative was presented locally, referring to *local* habits, customs, common experiences, language, etc., to an autonomous art-form, presented nationally (see Moe's emphasis on a homogenous national poetic tradition in Moe 1914, and Hodne, 1979:98) and imbued with 'meaning' precisely because of its autonomy as a 'national' institution expressing national sentiments and a national 'character'. Moreover, the nineteenth-century Romantic understanding of the folktales' origins as residing in a once-existent *Urform* reflects this transition to a text being inherently autonomous, as being imbued with 'meaning' 'in and by itself'. It could be argued that the same transition had, moreover, important consequences for its appropriation into the polysystem and the position and status it gained in the emerging national literary, cultural and political institutions.

The discussion relating to oral expression versus literacy is relevant to the present case study, but it is also important to remember, however, that the distinction between oral text and written form cannot be reduced only to differences resulting from an 'oral culture' or a 'literate' culture, indeed the latter two are not necessarily incompatible, or at least the distinction need not necessarily always be clear-cut. In the same way, an oral performance should not be treated as speech or other forms of 'casual' oral expression, indeed, it may in some aspects resemble text, or function as a 'spoken text' with very clear aesthetic rules of creation and performance (as Parry and Lord demonstrated clearly, epic poems were subject to stringent constraints and 'performance factors', both prohibitive and normative, not only in socio-cultural terms, but in terms of technical composition and performance.)

III. THE UR-FORM

Although folklore and oral narrative is in some form present in all societies, the interest in these traditions as 'an object' to be regarded and considered artistically, historically or politically, to be studied as a cultural artefact, or to be hailed as a national symbol, has varied immensely, from condemnation as 'old wives' tales' and superstition in the sagas (see Moe, 1914:146) to being hailed as the true 'essence' of a perceived national character (see eg. Taylor 1970 and Fürst 1969; see also Barnard, 1969:5). In Germany, the idea that folktales were the remainder of myths sunk down to the level of children and simple people, as the leading classes embraced new and higher religions, emerged as the dominant folkloristic theory (see eg. Holbek, 1987:32ff and 229ff). The German Romantics believed that folktales, once the property of the dominant classes, had, at some unidentifiable stage in history, been 'handed down', transferred to the 'common people', the 'folk' (see eg. Wellek, 1955:284-286). The folktales were considered to be prototypes (the 'mythical remains') of an ancient narrative tradition that had been passed down by word of mouth through the generations among the *Volk*. As Holbek states: "cultural products [which] were usually created in the higher classes from which they gradually "sunk down" to lower levels" (Holbek, 1987:32 and Dollerup et. al., 1984:247). This theory (which eventually came to be known as the *gesunkenes*

Kulturgut theory, coined by Jakob Naumann in 1922) became widely accepted (Holbek, 1987:32), and although Naumann coined this term over a century after the Grimms published the first version of the KHM, the general principle was the same, and the term is often used about the Grimms' folktale theory (ibid); as Linda Dégh says: "Tales, songs, and beliefs of German peasants were, for the Grimms, splintered remnants of the mythology of pagan ancestors suppressed by the medieval church" (see Dégh, 1979:85). The general tendency is perhaps best illustrated by the words of one of the German Romantics, here Achim von Arnim:

We are searching for something greater, for the Golden Fleece *which is the property of all and wealth of the whole people*, the art which is their own and deep within them, the fabric *woven by slow time and mighty forces*, the stuff of folk-belief and folk knowledge, which keeps them company in joy and death, their songs, legends, love, sayings, stories, prophecies and tunes... (L. A. von Arnim, 1805; quoted in Thorlby 1966:158, emphasis added)

Dollerup, Holbek, Reventlow and Rosenberg Hansen, quote the Danish collector Sven Grundtvig when they write:

although none of these fairy tales will be found in the oral tradition in the very form in which they appear here, yet every one of them will, wherever it is known, be recognized, accepted and appreciated as the same fairytale, often in a more complete and more pure form than it is now found at any specific locality: *a form which must, however, have existed prior to the often falsified and distorted forms in which it is now found*. (Dollerup et al., 1984:260, emphasis in the original quotation of Grundtvig)

Holbek's concept of 'sunk down' is an important concept here, since the implication is that folk literature once belonged to the *higher* echelons of an archaic society; it was thought that the 'folk' was incapable of creating or even understanding the "art of such exquisite beauty as the fairy tales" (Holbek, 1987:32), and this notion, in an era where the study of ancient German tradition, myth, language and folk literature was a key element in the development and consolidation of a national consciousness (see eg. Praver 1970:13ff), was pivotal to the development of nationalism in nineteenth-century Germany for class-related reasons too. In nineteenth-century Germany the fairy/folk tale represented more than simply an art form, but was the symbol of a continuity between past and present, the fairytale was envisioned as a kind of *superorganic* entity, as "a simple gigantic growth with its roots in a misty past and its branches covering large parts of the globe, if not all of

it" (Holbek, 1987:25) and inextricably tied to this superorganic vision of culture and literature was the belief that the tales somehow embodied a *national* 'essence', "the 'genius' of a nation, its inherited identity" (Holbek, 1987:27).

Nineteenth-century European folklorists and poets, obsessed with national issues, questions of origins and of their own past, believed that their own national folk literature could lead them to an understanding of the core of their own 'national character', but the discussion became more involved when studies showed that the major part of these tales were similar from country to country - from India to Finland - indeed that many were variations of the same tale (see Holbek, 1987:26ff). This led to much discussion about whether or not folktales had originated independently of each other in the different countries (which strengthened the thesis that they somehow represented 'human universals') or whether they had migrated from one - or several - major source(s), becoming through time and passage influenced by the particularities and narrative techniques of the countries by which they were absorbed (see Moe, 1914:104-121 where Moe traces the links between the Norwegian tales and those from other countries). Liestøl notes that when the post-Romantic evolutionary (rather than the above 'devolutionary'; see Holbek, 1987:242ff) principle in folklore research was eventually accepted, it accompanied the acknowledgement of the role of the individual creator, that narratives had been created not collectively by the 'folk' but by certain gifted individuals among the folk²¹. The difference between nature and art poetry for the post-Romantics, then, was not so much in origin as in diffusion and form (oral versus written). It also became clear that many presumed folk narrative elements stemmed from *written* sources, a true blow to the Romantic spirit and the notion of the collective, pre-literate and static *Urform*²². Liestøl follows Walter Anderson when he argues that the contemporary development of many different variants over time and across continents, due to local circumstances, nevertheless formed a kind of stylistic unity seeking back to some kind of 'ideal *form*', loosely speaking (not identical to any individual variant, but an abstract form of model, or 'ideal tale'; this is not the same as the Romantic notion of the *Urform*, it could be argued, but more of a *structural* model. If the narrators

²¹Liestøl, 1953:298ff in Knut Liestøl, 1953, "Fra romantik til realisme i tradisjonsgransking" in *Syn og Segn* (59), pp.294-306.

²²Liestøl *ibid*, see Moe, 1914:123 for a denial of significant literary influence on oral narrative.

deviated too far from the accepted norm, according to Liestøl, they regulated themselves through a form of auto-control or auto-correction by the narrator him/herself, the controlling devices being such factors as the comparison with (and therefore censure, approval/disapproval) of other narrators, and the literary expectations of the audience²³.

This chapter has attempted to give a brief overview of some central aspects of nineteenth-century folklore theory that relate to the discussion of the NF corpus, given that a central argument in this thesis is that in nineteenth-century Romantic Europe - the cultural environment of the Grimms and of Asbjørnsen and Moe - folklore and folklore collections were *constitutive* of the 'larger setting'; that is, they were 'discovered' by, but in their turn upheld the nation-building process. The macro-structural features, as well as the transition from orality to literacy of traditional narrative has affected the function of folktales, "decontextualizing" and "recontextualizing"²⁴, placing them in a new norm system and a new polysystem to which they must now conform, in function as well as in form. From an interactive, constantly changing, fluid mode of transmission unfamiliar and largely unknown to the social elite, they underwent a shift in form and function to become a static, canonized set of texts filling a central position in the emerging literary and literate polysystem. The performance of the tale in its original dynamic setting in which teller and audience interact directly, is substituted for a 'performance' in which the tale fulfils the needs of an emergent polysystem, in the case of nineteenth-century Germany and Scandinavia, one that had to uphold a new nation-state with independent cultural and literary institutions. With the creation of folktale collections in nineteenth-century Europe, a new tradition was constructed in which the element of tradition itself - in the sense of continuity - was essential. The role of the tales was thus highly functional-relational: the transportation from one mode to an entirely different one and the resultant significant shift in position and status in the polysystem, was carried out in order to uphold the needs of the target culture. The evanescent *Urform* that the Romantics so fervently held up as an ideal and so eagerly searched for was the model for all the folklorists and folklore

²³This idea of "the correcting influence of the group" was elaborated by Petr Bogatyrev and Roman Jakobsen in 1929; see Petr Bogatyrev and Roman Jakobsen, 1966, "Die Folklore als eine besondere Art des Schaffens" in Roman Jakobsen, Selected Writings (4), Mouton, The Hague, pp.1-15.

²⁴Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs, 1990, "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life" in Annual Review of Anthropology (19), pp.59-88.

collectors discussed in this thesis, from MacPherson and Lönnrot to the Grimms and Asbjørnsen and Moe, and conditioned not only their motivation for collecting, the way in which they collected, their theoretical research, but most importantly the way in which they retold the folktale editions and the way in which their public received them.

CHAPTER 3

NATION-BUILDING IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE AND THE ROLE OF FOLK LITERATURE

I. THE INVENTED TRADITION

The term 'nationalism' has appeared several times in this thesis in relation to the interest in and re-'discovery' of oral narrative, in particular in the context of the pan-European Romantic movement of the nineteenth century. At this point it should therefore be noted that 'nationalism' is, in this thesis, in no sense meant to be understood as a homogenous concept, or one denoting a specific political tendency; rather, 'nationalism' and 'national identity' are simply meant as one - or several - of the very different forms of a wide-reaching, historically and geographically, phenomenon (see eg. Grew, 1986:31). Thomas Hylland Eriksen, for example, writes that "Although it may be correct to talk of *a* general theory of nationalism ... nationalisms on the ground are quite different" (Eriksen, 1993:116), and Østerud states that "Nationalism as such is neither liberal nor authoritarian, neither left- nor right-wing. These are political categories drawn from other types of political conflicts than those that nationalism draws nourishment from. Varying historical circumstances are decisive regarding which other socio-political forces the nationalistic goals coincide with" (Østerud, 1984:39)¹. No value-judgement is thus being attributed to this phenomenon, the various excesses and extreme forms in which nationalism has been witnessed are more suited for discussion in a political analysis. Furthermore, the Norwegian word "*Nasjonaltanke*" (eg. Koht 1977 or Østerud 1984), 'national concept' or '-idea', a word used frequently in discussions on nationalism cited in this thesis (eg. Koht 1977 or Østerud 1984), lacks the connotation of extremism that the English word has taken on in common usage. In pursuing the relationship between folk literature and nationalism, a more detailed clarification of the terms

¹For a discussion on the 'neutrality' of the term nationalism, see During, 1990:138-139 in Simon During, 1990, "Literature - nationalism's other? The case for revision" in Nation and Narration Ed. Homi K. Bhabha, Routledge, London, pp.138-153.

'nationalism' and 'national identity' will be presented in this chapter drawing on leading scholars in the field.

Contrary to what many Romantic thinkers believed, modern scholars note², nation-hood is not a phenomenon that has sprung naturally from the roots of God-given, racial/linguistic divisions that were in place before the beginning of time, waiting only to be "fulfilled". Indeed, as early as 1882 Ernest Renan drew attention to the artificiality of the nation-building process, as the following statement shows:

Forgetting, I would even go so far as to say historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation, which is why progress in historical studies often constitutes a danger for [the principle of] nationality. (Ernest Renan in an 1882 lecture at the Sorbonne³)

For the post-Herder Romantics, the 'naturalness' and perpetuity, the organicity of this order - the new nation - was a given, but modern scholars argue that it is rather a *constructed* entity⁴, not the 'natural' evolution and development of each nation as a pre-existing unity, but the culmination of decades of political, cultural and linguistic processes; groups from extremely diverse ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious backgrounds are brought together by often seemingly random processes to become a modern 'nation', that is, the nation is an act of creative will (see eg. Østerud, 1984:24-29). According to these scholars, then, nations were and are consciously constructed entities, *imagined* and *invented*. The examples are numerous (and often eloquent) and worth quoting: Ernst Gellner, for example, writes that "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness, it *invents* nations where they do not exist" (Gellner, 1964:164, emphasis added), Peter Alter writes that "Put simply, nations are not creatures of 'God's hand', as post-Herder prophets of nationalism often claimed; instead they are synthetic - they have to be created in a complicated educational process" (Alter, 1989:21), Hans Kohn stresses the illusory nature of this

²See for example Elie Kedourie, 1960, Nationalism, Hutchinson & Co., London, Kohn 1946, Alter 1989, Østerud, 1984:25-33 and E. J. Hobsbawm, 1990, Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

³Ernest Renan, 1882 (1990:8), "What is a nation" in Nation and Narration Ed. Homi K. Bhabha, Routledge, London, pp.8-22.

⁴See eg. Anderson 1983:15, Gellner 1964:164ff or Alter 1989:21 in Peter Alter, 1989, Nationalism, Edward Arnold, London.

order: "Nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness, which since the French revolution has become more and more common to mankind" (Kohn, 1946:10-11), whilst Anderson stresses its self-generating tendency "it is nationalism which engenders nations and not the other way around" (Anderson, 1983:55) and Raymond Grew similarly writes that "Around the world, national liberation movements have shown that the sentiment of identity can *create* nations" (Grew, 1986:33, emphasis added). Erik J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger use the term "invented traditions"⁵, Homi K. Bhabha speaks of "the nation as a *symbolic* force"⁶ and Anderson uses the term *imagined communities* to describe the deliberate formation, for political and cultural purposes, of a distinctly separate, geographically demarcated group or unit, defined as a group by virtue of perceived common linguistic and cultural factors (Anderson, 1983:15). He also emphasises that such units, demarcated as 'nations', were not necessarily homogeneous or uniform groups of people with intrinsic cultural similarities or even shared languages - nor even necessarily a feeling of common racial or ethnic identity (ibid). Indeed, both Gellner and Anderson note that the notion of identification with people beyond an individual's own small community (village or town, and, it could be added, especially tribe, which in many countries of the world today still rivals national identity), the shared identity with groups of people of other social or economic classes than one's own, is a novel one (Anderson ibid; see also Gellner 1964:150ff). The conclusions that can be drawn from quotes such as these, then, are that nation-hood, in particular in European nineteenth-century tradition, is an act of creative will, a constructed entity which places together groups that may have no intrinsic bond. Another, no less important, conclusion that can be drawn from these statements is that this is a recent phenomenon *which imagines itself to be ancient*. Anderson, commenting on Hobsbawm's statement that "The basic characteristic of the modern nation and everything connected with it is its modernity" (Hobsbawm, 1990:14)⁷, says that the actual modernity of a state is "strangely at odds" with the state's citizens' own perceived notion of antiquity (Anderson 1983:67ff), that is, the citizens' own understanding of themselves as a nation through

⁵Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Eds.), 1983, The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

⁶Bhabha, 1990a:1 in Homi K. Bhabha, 1990a, "Introduction: Narrating the nation" in Nation and Narration Ed. Homi K. Bhabha, Routledge, London, pp.1-7.

⁷On the modernity/anti-modernity of nationalist movements in the context of the Romantic period, see Joshua A. Fishman, 1975, Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays, Newbury House Publishers, Rowley, Massachusetts as well as Abrahams 1993 and Eriksen 1993.

time seems not to take into account its newness, indeed it seems that national movements both use the past as an instrument to *achieve modernity* (as in the case of Kr. Barons in Latvia; see Trapàns 1989), or as Abrahams argues (Abrahams 1993) to dwell nostalgically on, and *return to the past*. The discussion again confirms the claim made earlier that nationalism is far from being a homogenous concept, but embraces temporally and qualitatively very diverse movements with very different needs and aims, and it also places the discussion on the Norwegian (and German) Romantic cultivation of 'the Past' and its literature in a politico-theoretical framework.

Ia. The role of the French Revolution in the political formation of the nation-state in Europe and the transition from cultural to political nation-hood

The nation-state, the political, geographical entity that constitutes a 'nation' as it has been known in the twentieth century, is often said to be a product of the nineteenth-century Romantic movement in Europe (see eg. Østerud, 1984:25ff or Grew, 1986:36)⁸; indeed, the role of Romantic Germany in the formation of the nation-state is a fundamental parameter for the present discussion. However, the key role of the French Revolution as a model and inspiration must not be neglected either (see eg. Østerud *ibid* or Grew, 1986:36). The new order inspired by the French Revolution, Elie Kedourie states, was based

on the principle advocated by the revolutionaries, the title of all governments then existing was put in question; since they did not derive their sovereignty from the nation, they were usurpers with whom no agreement need be binding, and to whom subjects owed no allegiance ... What the new principle did was to introduce a new style of politics in which the expression of will overrode treaties and compacts, dissolved allegiance, and, by mere declaration, made lawful any act whatever. (Kedourie, 1960:15-16, emphasis added)

Theoretically speaking, then, if a number of individuals decided that they wanted to form their own government and constitute a new nation, they would, since sovereignty belonged to the

⁸Simon During also points to the existence of other forms of national sentiment in a discussion on the concept of 'patriotism' in early eighteenth century Europe, a forerunner to and integral element in what later became 'nationalism', he believes (see During 1990). Kohn also notes that what could be described a 'national sentiment' is also to be found among the ancient Hebrews and Greeks (Kohn, 1965:11; see also Thom, 1990:26 for evidence of national sentiment in pre-Romantic Europe).

people/nation, be free to do so. The new form of group identity and legitimation of leadership, nation-hood, was based on these changes in the source of authority. As Østerud says,

The nation became a bond between citizens without a monarch, the new symbol of fellowship, where the nation-state rose as a constitutional order over the conflicts in civilized society. State power had to be justified through support from a sovereign people ... The French Revolution's liberal patriotism indicated that state power should be given legitimacy by the people, but the people were not necessarily culturally uniform. (Østerud, 1984:25)

Like many other European countries, Norway became strongly influenced by French political thought, especially by the ideas of Montesquieu and Rousseau, in particular the concepts of harmony between state and nation, and "*the organic development of a nation through the will of individuals*" (Elviken, 1931:370-371, emphasis added). Many scholars argue that where emerging cultural nations such as Norway and Finland saw in France a *political* example to follow in the building of nation-hood, they found in Romantic Germany the *cultural and spiritual* content to fill the theoretical framework of their emerging nation-states. Østerud, for example, writes that "The liberal patriotism here affirmed a constitutional principle, while Romantic Nationalism gave the principle a cultural content" (Østerud, 1984:26; see also Grew, 1986:36 and Fürst 1969).

Having touched upon the different political and cultural roles of Germany and France as models of nation-hood for Norway, it could be useful, at this stage, to differentiate between *cultural and political nation-hood* (many scholars make this distinction; see for example Alter 1989:14ff). Loosely speaking, the latter refers to the individual and collective determination to form a self-legislating entity where the free will of the individual is juxtaposed with their subjective commitment to the nation in a balance regulated by government legislature and authorized by the sum of individuals in a (democratic) process (Anderson 1983 or Alter *ibid*). A cultural nation, on the other hand, need not (yet) be formed as a self-governing group, but is nevertheless united by seemingly objective criteria such as common heritage, language, religion, customs and history; a group within a demarcated area of settlement. A cultural nation has a consciousness of unity and a sense of belonging which in time may further its development as an independent, political nation (see Alter 1989:14ff). One could also speak of *phases* of development in the transition from

cultural nation-hood to a political confirmation of the former as an existing fact (a political nation, a nation-state).

The territorial and cultural aspects of nation-hood represent what Østerud considers to be the twin roots of European nationalism: on the one hand the principles of democracy, national sovereignty, constitutional rule and the struggle against traditional hierarchies, and on the other hand the nation as an interaction between the naturally and culturally given, as identity and expression (see Østerud, 1984:36-37 and Koht, 1977:109). Of these two 'twin roots', Østerud says,

the one is founded on the nation as a legal-geographical unit - the territorial nationalism with clear roots in the French Revolution. The other's point of departure is in the nation as a social group - the demographical-cultural nationalism with important roots in continental Romanticism. These different currents can appear as conflicts in a single nationalist movement. (Østerud, 1984:33)

In Norway, the 'tension' between or 'combination' of national sentiment and democracy prevailed from the beginning of the national awakening (*ibid*), and its early phase as a bourgeois reconstruction serving middle-class needs was in time taken over, or perhaps it is more correct to say amalgamated, by other social classes, resulting in an increased emphasis on democratic principles (and concrete needs), and culminating in a situation where nationalist sentiment and democracy were inextricably linked and equally emphasized (see Koht 1977:120).

Ib. The nineteenth-century nation-state. Constructions of the past

It was no accident, then, that it was precisely the Romantic movement in Germany which so deeply affected the emergence of the nation-state. One of the links between Romanticism and Nationalism was the former's tendency of *looking to the past for inspiration and identity*, of seeing in the past an ideal model from which to further and on the basis of which to emulate a projected future (see for example Elviken, 1931:380; see also Anderson 1983 and Gellner 1964).

According to Anderson, the tendency of Romantic thinkers to emphasize the past was motivated by several forces, one of which was a change in the concept of time as "the simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present" (ie. cause and effect resulting in present reality) which replaced the notion of time as prefigurement and fulfilment (Anderson, 1983:29). Coupled with Hegel's theories of pre-history, exemplified by statements such as the "true fulfilment of a people [can be realized] only through the nation-state", "peoples could only find their true destiny in nation-states, until then there was only pre-history" or "World History takes account only of those nations which have formed themselves into states" (Alter, quoting Hegel 1989:95; see also Anderson, 1983:20ff). This change in thinking gave importance to the past as a building-block, the past became not only an integral element of the nation's identity, but a model for the future, and as a result of these changes in attitude the new concept of 'nation' became one of a permanent entity that would 'last forever', Anderson states (ibid). Anderson claims that the need to move away from the ideas of contingency, chance and rational fatalism that followed in the wake of the Enlightenment activated a need for continuity that would provide a sense of meaning and destiny and of a limitless future (Anderson, 1983:19, see also Østerud 1984) and the nation, in its perceived permanence, represented precisely this limitless future. Citizenship is accidental, as it were, but the nation is eternal (Anderson ibid and Gellner, 1964:150). Gellner, similarly, argues that when religious belief began to lose some of its potency during the Enlightenment's emphasis on rationalism, nineteenth-century Europe craved a substitute to fill the gap created by this religious decline and to compensate for the strong feeling of spiritual and cultural fatalism and helplessness that ensued (Gellner, 1964:150ff and Østerud, 1984:34). With this need for a (new) past and future, what was once 'chance', was now transformed into 'destiny', the argue. Although the individual's nationality through birth could never be more than accidental, the nation was thought to be "eternal", in Gellner's words (Gellner ibid). Given that the nation-state sought back to antiquity and claimed for itself such an antiquity, it was also perceived as a stable forward-looking unit that would 'last forever', a permanent spiritual/cultural entity. The nineteenth-century European nation-state thus became a political expression of the concern for antiquity, for an unbroken linear tradition, and at the same time for a limitless future. The case study in the present thesis illustrates just how strong this desire was in Norway, how efficiently it was realized through National-Romantic rhetoric, and

how visibly it was manifested in National-Romantic art and literature, not least in Asbjørnsen and Moe 's folktale collection as well as the whole discourse surrounding it.

In line with what has been said about the construction of the nation itself, the claim to a link with the past was often a result of an act of more or less deliberate will. The notion of antiquity is important in that it bestows status on the nation: to have been a sovereign community from ancient times is desirable, antiquity lends validity and justification to its *identity as a group*, which, simply by virtue of being a newly formed nation it could not otherwise claim. Therefore, as Alter also notes, historical antiquity was in some cases *contrived* to bestow greater status on and lend historical confidence to a nation: "Historians designed pictures of the past which reflected and explicitly served the political aims of the national movement ... Memories of heroic eras were constantly being rekindled to bolster national consciousness" (Alter, 1989:63). Such claims are illustrated by the specific case of Romantic Germany where the emphasis on the past and on ancient literature which embraced theories of Teutonic origins and mythology, and of a shared, heroic common past of the Germanic people (see eg. Holbek, 1987:220ff), gave the new nation the stamp of authenticity, not only the authenticity of centuries of tradition, but of being an ancient, national unit with its own inherent (and presumed superior) cultural, linguistic and mythological identity. It is equally well illustrated by the here-described case of nineteenth-century Norway where, this thesis asserts, the confirmation-construction and glorification of an ancient past was a fundamental element in the building of nation-hood and in forming an independent national identity. It could thus be argued that for a nation to be able to claim continuity, and thereby justify its 'natural' right to existence, it needs *both* a past and a future. A real or perceived antiquity lends authorization to the nation precisely as a stable, permanent unit and spiritual-cultural entity, as Eriksen also notes in a discussion on the symbols of nationalism and the creative use of the past as authentication for a unified group, when he states that: "When such practises are reified as symbols and transferred to a nationalist discourse, their meaning changes ... Nationalism reifies culture in the sense that it enables people to talk about their culture *as though it were a constant*" (Eriksen, 1993:103, emphasis added, see also Anderson, 1983:19). Supporting Anderson's claims, he further states that "An important aim of nationalist ideology is thus to recreate a sentiment of the wholeness and

continuity with the past; to transcend that alienation or rupture between individual and society that modernity has brought about" (Eriksen, 1993:105). Such views are supported by Joshua Fishman, too, when he writes that

The past is being mined, ideologized, and *symbolically elaborated* in order to provide determination, even more than direction, with respect to current and future challenges ... *Nationalist movements stress authenticity in order to legitimize their demand for goal-oriented unity, a unity that is purportedly also authentic.* (Fishman, 1975:9, emphasis added)

In the desire to *form* a nation, then, the emphasis on the past, from which a projected future could be fashioned, was of paramount importance because it gave a stamp of authenticity and authorization to a new national identity. The degree to which the projected representation of the past was 'correct' or 'true', does not detract from its effectiveness, or, potentially, its lack of effectiveness. This type of construction of the past is illustrated by the cases of Scotland and Ireland, Finland and Germany with figures such as James MacPherson, Elias Lönnrot, and the Grimms, where the urgent need for continuity led the *creation* of a sense of national - often literary - history; in other words, a process of historical and national mythmaking: the creation of a unique, national past through an historical and literary myth, a myth which in turn could authorize the creation of a national future (see also Dundes, 1985:6)⁹. In the context of Ireland, for example, Seamus Deane speaks of the return to - and active creation of - a literary past¹⁰. In the process of forming national identity or 'national character' through a cultural and literary past, a 'patent' is sometimes taken out, so to speak, on the creation of a literary heritage perceived to be unique and different, perceived as traditional, but being in actual fact a quite recent creation (see Deane, 1990:10). In Norway, this 'patent' took the form of the narrative link between the Asbjørnsen and Moe folktales and the saga literature, representing the Old Norse language and culture, it was believed, and therefore 'true Norwegian', character (see Moe, 1914:146). Furthermore, it took the form of excluding, philologically and historically, the Danes and the Swedes from what was earlier believed to be a common ancient Norse heritage (Falnes, 1968:269). In practice, again illustrated by the situation in Germany and in

⁹See David Greene, 1975, *Makers and Forgers*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff and Wilson 1976.

¹⁰See Seamus Deane on the recreation of a 'mythological past' in Ireland where, he says, the historic past had often been effectively destroyed by colonialist expansion, in Seamus Deane, 1990, "Introduction" in *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature: Essays by Terry Eagleton, Fredrick Jameson and Edward Said* Ed. Seamus Deane, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Scandinavia, Romantic nationalism often cultivated the 'characteristic' or 'unique' that *wasn't* an expression of a common, living, culture, but a (*re-*)construction of an assumed past culture, or local elements of an imagined national culture. In doing so, the nationalist self-image cultivated folklore and the culture of the folk as national characteristics, but, as Østerud also argues, these aspects were only given attention once they had become 'artificial' and passé, no longer an expression of *contemporary* culture (see Østerud, 1984:36-37).

1c. Language and nation-hood

*One of nationalism's abiding myths is the identification of nationality with language.*¹¹

A common assumption in the rise of nineteenth-century European nationalist movements was indeed the concept of a shared language, as A. D. Smith states in this quote, that is, that linguistic uniformity, a 'national language', was a pre-condition for the formation of the nation-state. Linguistic frontiers were considered to be natural frontiers of states and the language criterion, one of the 'awakeners' of nationalist sentiment', in Norway in particular, became increasingly significant, in line with Herder's emphasis on the intrinsic value of each language, and the need to distinguish this emerging Norwegian language from that of their previous 'colonizers' became, therefore, ever-more pressing¹². In Herder's identification of language groups with nations and of nationalism with a linguistic movement (see Kohn 1946, Barnard 1969 and Taylor 1970), language was a primary social bond and the sole means of communication and association between individuals, expressing "the collective experience of the group" (Smith, 1981:45). Indeed, language became a primary focal point for nationalist struggles, and Norway was no exception. As Alter remarks "In many European states the crystallization of nations was accompanied by battles over language: over the relationships between official and popular languages" (Alter, 1989:61). It is generally recognized that the role of a national language, not only for purposes of communication but as a national symbol, is a crucial political statement for a new nation. Nevertheless, whether or not language may in some cases be a *requirement* for the sense of unity that engendered national identity in the

¹¹Smith, 1981:45-47 in Anthony P. Smith, 1981, *The Ethnic Revival*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

¹²See eg. Fredrik Paasche, 1910, "Herder og den Nørøne Digting" in *Maal og Minne* (1910), pp.116-138.

first place, and for the process which brought together a particular group *as* a nation, a national language (or the desire for a national language) frequently *became* a symbol of unity (Gellner, 1964:161ff), and a crucial means of communication among a group increasingly less dependent upon structural role-definition and increasingly more dependent upon cultural and verbal communication, and subsequently increasingly dependent on the emerging group identity as co-nationals (Gellner, 1964:161ff).

Both Anderson (1983:74ff) and Gellner (1964:152ff), believe that the development of a shared national language is not only a symbol of a national existence or independence (as in the case of Norway), but a pre-cursor to and to some extent a requirement for, nationalism. However, it was only through the process of linguistic standardization and common literacy, provided by extended education (as in the case of Norway, nationalism often follows increased education for the rural population; see eg. Jorgenson 1933:200ff) and by "print capitalism", that language became instrumental as a practical political tool (see Anderson, 1983:49). Anderson claims that printing was one of the crucial technological developments instrumental to the creation of nation-hood in that it allowed people to *think* about themselves and *relate themselves to others* (Anderson, 1983:47). Furthermore, with the standardization of language and accessibility to the printed word, the status of vernaculars was greatly increased, and when the vernacular of the masses was 'elevated' through print, "bestowing glory on their humble speech" (Anderson, 1983:75ff), it became increasingly easy to arouse popular support for the nationalist movement from other social classes, primarily the rural population and in time the industrial working classes. As Tom Nairn writes in an oft-quoted phrase, "The new middle-class intelligentsia of nationalism had to invite the masses into history; and the invitation-card had to be written in a language they understood" (Nairn, 1981:340).

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CHAPTER 4

FOLK LITERATURE AND THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY NATIONAL-ROMANTIC MOVEMENT: THE SHAPING OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

I. THE EUROPEAN TRADITION: GERMANY AS LEADING FIGURE

Although the first section of this chapter has been entitled 'The European Tradition', it should be noted that there were not necessarily any *intrinsic* theoretical links between the Romantic movements in the various European countries¹. This is, however, an issue on which there is disagreement among scholars. Roughly speaking, on the one hand, there are those critics who believe that the various Romantic movements shared essential common factors, such as many of the American critics, for example René Wellek or Harold Bloom. Wellek argues that literary periods are identifiable whole entities dominated by "a set of norms which in the case of romanticism are provided sufficiently by similar or analogous concepts of the imagination, nature, symbol and myth"². On the other hand, there are those critics who regard Romanticism as an historical process with few common factors, primarily the English-based tradition with F. R. Leavis and I. A. Richards at the helm³. Moreover, when speaking of 'Romanticism in Europe' scholars often seem to refer exclusively, but also generally, to France, England and what was to become Germany, although the political circumstances and cultural-philosophical traditions were far from homogenous in these countries and led to very different expressions of 'Romanticism', as noted by Dietrich von Engelhardt when he writes that "What is understood by Romanticism also differs from

¹For a discussion on scholars' views and definitions - Romantic and contemporary - on Romanticism as a movement see Fürst 1969, chapter 1.

²Wellek, 1949:147 in René Wellek, 1949, "The Concept of 'Romanticism' in Literary History" in Comparative Literature I (2), pp.1-308.

³See for example David Simpson, 1993, "Romanticism, criticism and theory" in The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism Ed. Stuart Curran, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.1-24.

country to country"⁴, and by Gunnar Eriksson when he speaks of Romanticism as "a matter of degree" (Eriksson, 1988:172). Furthermore, in a discussion on 'National-Romanticism', it should not be forgotten that although nationalism is often considered to be a characteristic trait of Romanticism, Romanticism also has 'a life of its own' outside any nationalistic ideology, as does, reciprocally, 'nationalism', as Mihály Szegedy-Maszák notes when he says that it cannot be assumed that "the cult of national character was confined to Central Europe, in the same way as it would be incorrect to say that it appeared simultaneously with Romanticism"⁵.

Although it is in effect impossible, and misleading, to regard the Romantic movement as being an entirely separate or distinct temporal unit that started and ended at precise moments, for the purposes of this thesis and in order to provide a background for the discussion of divergent trends and developments to be pursued in the following chapters, with the above qualifications in mind, continental European 'Romanticism' will be defined primarily as the literary-cultural-political movement which dominated Europe between ca. 1770⁶ and 1830. Norway, however, being on the periphery of continental Europe, felt the full impact of Romanticism later than the major European countries, and even then primarily only through Denmark (see eg. Eriksson, 1988:170ff or Seip 1914). In Norway, too, as Hans Hansen says (Hansen, 1932:132), it is in effect impossible to provide any exact year for the beginning or the end of Romanticism⁷. Eriksson identifies the precise arrival of Romanticism in Scandinavia with the ideas of the young Henrik Steffens as early as 1802 (Eriksson, 1988:175; see also Harald and Edvard Beyer, 1978:121). Denmark's contacts with continental Europe were much closer than those of Norway, and Norway tended to receive cultural and intellectual impulses from Germany through Copenhagen (see Eriksson *ibid*)⁸. The

⁴Engelhardt, 1988:109 in Dietrich von Engelhardt, 1988, "Romanticism in Germany" in Romanticism in National Context Eds. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.109-133.

⁵Szegedy-Maszák, 1986:47 in Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, 1986, "The Idea of National Character: A Romantic Heritage" in Concepts of National Identity. An Interdisciplinary Dialogue Ed. Peter Boerner, Namos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, pp.45-62.

⁶Prawer considers German Romanticism 'proper' to begin in 1796-1797 (Prawer, 1970:1).

⁷Burgun considers Romanticism in Norway to have lasted till the 1850s (Burgun, 1919:139 in Achille Burgun, 1919, Le développement linguistique en Norvège depuis 1814 vol.1, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania). See also Olav Bø 1968:545 in "Eilert Sundt, romantikken og det folkelige" in Syn og Segn (10), pp.544-553.

⁸For details on the strong links between Germany and Denmark, and also between the brothers Grimm and the Danish academic environment, see Cay Dollerup, 1993, "The Grimm Tales in 19th Century Denmark" in Target (5:2), pp.191-214, and Cay Dollerup, 1995, "Translation as a Creative Force in Literature: The Birth of the European Bourgeois Fairy-Tale" in The Modern Language Review (90/1), pp.94-102; see also Elviken, 1931:376ff.

close links that had existed between Germany and the Scandinavian countries and their (presumed) shared Germanic origins may also have played a role in the position of German Romanticism in Norway⁹; the Grimms in particular had a high regard for Scandinavian culture and language. Ironically it was precisely the thrust of this movement *from Denmark* which gave Norway the motivation it needed to completely free itself culturally and psychologically from the former.

A central stance in the present discussion is precisely the influence that Romantic Germany had on Scandinavia, and Norway in particular (see eg. Elviken, 1931:369 or Paasche 1910), and the aim of this chapter is to describe how the Romantic movement in Norway developed and furthered ideas originating from German Romanticism, especially the emphasis on 'the Past' and on the '*Volk*'. In addition to the '*Volk*' and 'the Past', the third feature, and arguably most important, that strengthened the position of German Romanticism in Norway was its emphasis on the nation: Given the political position in Norway after the collapse of the union with Denmark and eventually Sweden, the nationalist emphasis and rhetoric was understandably particularly attractive although the dramatic political developments in *France* which radically marked the whole of Europe, should, in the context of nation-building, not be neglected either; as Elviken points out the French Revolution was an important political role model and national symbol for Norway as for other European countries (see Elviken, 1931:370).

Ia. The individual and the nation. Germany and nation-hood: The Herderian vision

"Were I to confine everything to the individual and deny the chain that connects one to the other and to the whole, I should equally fail to come to grips with the nature of man and his actual history. For no one of us became man by himself alone." (Johann Gottfried von Herder, quoted in Barnard, 1969:22.)

"The individual was to be interpreted not as a member of an artificially constructed social order but as vitally connected with a growing organism, the race and the nation." (Jorgenson, 1933:207)

⁹This bond was temporarily threatened by the configuration of alliances during the Napoleonic wars, and relations became sorely strained between the Grimms and the Danish academic environment when the latter "voted for a resumption of the hostilities [in the Slesvig-Holstein War (1848-1851)] against Denmark ... It was clear that Jacob Grimm was no uncritical friend to Denmark, and the wounds took long to heal. ... No longer did the Danes feel any need to be reminded of a past they had in common with the Germans", Dollerup 1993:208.

In their focus on the organic unity of the nation and the individual, such statements illustrate 'the Romantic creed' as it was expressed in Germany and in also Scandinavia. Highly individualistic, deeply marked by the cult of the genius-poet-sage, the individual was placed in a temporal continuity within 'the race' that became 'the nation'. The authority invested in the individual, it has been argued, stemmed from his or her membership in a seemingly organic unity, marked by a growing awareness of history as an organic *continuity*¹⁰. The nationalist ideas of Herder and the German Romantics, in particular, came to mark the development of the individual's role and place in the new social order. European Romanticism thus had strong elements of both individualism and collectivism, and although this may at first sight seem contradictory, Siegbert Praver suggests that the two concepts co-existed and complemented each other:

It has become customary to speak of Romantic 'individualism' and 'subjectivity', and it is not difficult to find, in the writings of the German Romantics, passages that parallel the advice Fichte habitually gave to beginners in philosophy: 'Avert your gaze from everything that is around you and turn it within yourself' ... Yet [the work of Friedrich Schlegel] ... shows how deeply the Romantic writers of his generation felt the need to join themselves to kindred spirits ... One such community, as we have seen, might be Christendom; another which presented itself with increasing urgency was that of the state or nation. (Praver, 1970:11)

Many have stated that the concept of nation-hood as a form of group identity was a key feature in the rise of German Romanticism. Peter Thorslev, for example, regards nationalism as one of the important factors leading up to and culminating in Romantic ideologies: "If one were pressed to find a socio-political determinant for organicist historicism, surely it is to the rising tide of nationalism that one should look" (Thorslev 1993:89) and Praver writes that the issue which "presented itself with increasing urgency was that of the state or nation. The great contribution that Novalis, Friedrich Schlegel, Schleiermacher" (Praver, 1970:13). In Germany, Romantic ideology became fused with the need to rebuild a weakening state. Fürst argues that nationalist rhetoric helped rebuild Germany's broken pride and national self-confidence: it was Germany's need to "prove itself" as a nation at the same level as the other European nations, Fürst argues, that led to her embracing the Romantic movement whose ideology provided precisely that glorious ancestor

¹⁰On the organic world-view of the European Romantics, see for example Wellek, 1955:281, Fürst, 1969:32, Elviken 1931:370, and Anderson 1983.

they needed to (re)gain full credibility (see Fürst, 1969:23). Herder had already spoken glowingly and proudly of the Germanic race (see eg. Paasche 1910) and of the Teutonic culture and language and literature and the nationalist rhetoric of Mme. de Staël (1766-1817), in which the essence of Romanticism was precisely to be sought in the discovery of the medieval past also clearly had an impact on the subsequent cultural developments (see Wellek, 1955:224ff).

One of the forerunners of the Romantic movement in Europe as a whole had been Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778 who stressed the ideal of 'return to nature' and 'the Past' (see eg. Elviken, 1931:368). For him, the past was associated with rural life, with the peasant, the folk and pastoral idyll, and imbued in this nostalgic idealization, Rousseau believed, was the true key to each nation's 'character' (see for example Elviken *ibid*; see also Fürst, 1969:34). Yet it was undoubtedly Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) who had come to influence the development of German culture more, perhaps, than any other thinker of his time. Herder, an "enthusiastic disciple" of Rousseau (Fürst, 1969:31), elaborated on Rousseau's ideas; emphasizing Germany's 'essence' and 'national character' and the assumed intrinsic bond between a nation and its language (*ibid*). Not infrequently did scholars claim that it was he who laid the foundation for the coming generations of Romantic writers, poets and philosophers (eg. Paasche, 1910:118, Wellek, 1955:279, Dégh, 1979:87 or Fürst 1969). Herder's main thesis was that each nation was somehow a separate 'God-given' or 'natural' (in the modern sense of the word) entity with its own particular 'essence' and identity, and that it was the task of poets, philosophers and politicians to identify and achieve, to preserve and to encourage this national 'essence' (see eg. Taylor, 1970:1). For Herder, the constant emphasis on the past, on antiquity, and the positive light in which the past was seen, provided Germany with a sense of continuity as a nation and offered a justification for national pride (*ibid*). Herder's emphasis on the nation as the true foundation of collective political identity through the sharing of a common culture was arguably a reaction to a superimposed system of dynastic realms. For Herder, the nation was rather the expression of an inner consciousness; each individual was recognized as part of a common whole to which he applied the term 'nation' or *Volk*: As F. M. Barnard writes

A social and political whole resulting from organization from outside, therefore, whilst it may qualify for recognition as a 'body politic', is nonetheless an artificial whole as compared to a community bound together by the inner consciousness of sharing a common cultural heritage. Neither iron nor blood nor political fiat and administrative manipulation can engender such an inner consciousness. A state can perish, but the *Volk* remains intact provided it retains the consciousness of its distinctive cultural tradition. (Barnard, 1969:30)

The individual was considered to be an interconnected element of the whole, dependent upon and ultimately formed by the whole. It would be wrong, nevertheless, to interpret Herder's sometimes organicist terminology as entirely non-cultural or non-relativistic, as many of the Romanticists 'proper' after him had a tendency to do (see eg. Barnard 1969 or Fürst 1969). Barnard shows that behind the concept of a nation's 'essence' was the understanding that this essence is constructed through time and cultural circumstances (Barnard, 1969:31ff). It would be reasonable to assume, then, that Herder understood national 'character' to be in part a cultural and historical attribute *and* the result of circumstances, as his words witness, here in a discussion on the merits of the German people:

This cause must not be sought in the nation's character alone; the course of their achievements grew out of their position, both physical and political, and the combination of a host of circumstances unparalleled in any other northern people¹¹.

Fredrik Paasche also stresses that Herder's ideas, although nationalist, were deeply marked by a cosmopolitan world view (Paasche, 1910:124) and the Romantic view of the individual as an interconnected element of a larger whole as described above in a more general framework runs parallel to its interpretation of nation-hood within the parameters of a cosmopolitan world-view: "in contrast to the Romanticists, [Herder] seems to have recognized this point by upholding the notions of both *Volk* and *Humanität* as equally relevant value considerations" (Barnard, 1969:57; see also Taylor, 1970:2). Herder was not solely a nationalist, then, the *humanitätsideal* was paramount for him. It was not without some irony that it can be observed that although Herder's scope had not been limited to an exclusive emphasis on national ideas, the Romantic movement channelled his ideas into specific fields - literature, philosophy, history, politics and ethnography - and in an almost

¹¹Quoted in Kohn, 1965:105 in "Herder: Germans and Slavs" in a collection of extracts from German Romantic essays in Hans Kohn, 1965, Nationalism. Its Meaning and History, D. Van Nostrand, New York and London, pp.103-110.

exclusively national context (see eg. Fürst, 1969:7). Herder's studies were thus put to use in the Romantics' agenda in their struggle for political and cultural (self-) recognition.

According to Ronald Taylor it was also Herder who laid the foundation for the Romantic cultivation of the 'creative poet-genius', not as an *object*, but as a "personified concept" interacting with the role of the individual which was to be found and expressed, so the Romantics believed, among other things in 'folk'- and medieval literature and culture (Taylor, 1970:1). Thus, one of the carriers of the 'essence' or identity of a nation was oral literature, and in particular the folk-fairy tale (see eg. Fürst, 1969:7ff or Wellek, 1955:279ff). Holbek argues that Herder was inspired in his nationalist-'folk' programme by MacPherson's Ossian whose German translation he had read in 1771 and for which he was apparently full of praise, and by Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, lamenting that no one had attempted a similar enterprise in Germany¹².

In Herder's ideas, then, are the beginnings of what was to become the dominant trait of National-Romantic ideology, in Germany as well as in Scandinavia: the fusion of Romantic concepts of 'the Past' and of a perceived ancient heritage transmitted through folk literature, with the specific national-political needs of an emerging nation and the subsequent need to identify the 'essence' of a national identity or character. However, Wellek states that it was only with the Younger Romantics¹³ that the idea of 'returning to the origins' found full expression, and it was this group that spawned both Achim von Arnim's (1781-1831) and Clemens Brentano's (1778-1842) collection of German folk songs, as well as the Grimm brothers' KHM (Wellek, 1955:279).

¹²See Holbek, 1991:173 in Bengt Holbek, 1991, "Opfindelsen af folket" in Norveg (34), pp.171-184. According to Holbek, Herder was not aware of the criticism raised against the two (re-)writers, and argues that even if he had known, it would not have made much difference, given that his main tenet was that these epic poems were anyway imbued with the 'folk character', they were *Naturpoesie* (Holbek, 1991:174ff).

¹³For an account of the various phases of German Romanticism, see Fürst, 1969:24ff, and for a criticism of Fürst's classification, see Brown 1993:30. See also Praver, 1970 1-3 for a brief but detailed chronological survey of German Romanticism.

Ib. Romantic nostalgia in Germany. Language and literature of the past

To foster this patriotic spirit many of the later Romantics conceived it their duty to make Germans aware of the cultural glories of their national past. Men like the brothers Grimm, Savigny, Arnim, Brentano, the brothers Boisserée and Ludwig Uhland sought out, studied and interpreted German folktales and folksongs, monuments of the history of the German language and of German law, the medieval lyrics and epics, and the visual arts of the Middle Ages and the Dürer period. (Praver, 1970:13)

As this quote from Praver so clearly illustrates, 'the Past', history and historical continuity gained paramount importance for the German Romantics¹⁴, or as Engelhardt says:

Romanticism brought a renewed interest in history. Attention was paid to all periods of the past, whose unity was central; it was only the context which allowed the essence of history, its universal sense, to become manifest. In the end, one returns to the beginning; the origin is reflected in the realized whole. (Engelhardt, 1988:116, emphasis added)

The Romantic interest in the German past coincided with a new interest in languages of the past, as witnessed for example by Friedrich Schlegel who studied Sanskrit and its relations to Greek and Latin, and the Grimms' interest in ancient German mythology, literature and language which culminated in their philological treatises on Germanic languages and interrelations between Indo-European languages¹⁵. As the study of philology aimed to identify an (assumed) once-existing Indo-European language prototype, the Grimms and other European Romantics searched for the missing links in the reconstruction of an (assumed) original form resulting in the attempt to chart the origins of folklore and their migratory routes, a characteristic of the "historico-geographical school" (see eg. Holbek, 1987:32-33)¹⁶. According to Oscar J. Falnes, The Norwegian Romantic historians, too, regarded the discipline of philology "as a most reliable means, when history "deserted" them, of tracing early tribal and national genealogies" (Falnes, 1968:190). The Grimms' study was inspired in part by the Danish linguist Rasmus Rask's (1787-1832) 1811 volume on the Indo-European languages and on Old Norse, Vejledning til det Islandske eller gamle Nordiske Sprog ("Guide to the Icelandic or Old Norse Language"). This work, which the Grimms read in the

¹⁴This, however, did not necessarily mean that the Romantics always had an entirely uncritical view of history, as Engelhardt notes; see Engelhardt, 1988:116.

¹⁵See Salmon, 1970:237 in Paul Salmon, 1970, "Romanticism and the German Language" in The Romantic Period in Germany Ed. Siegbert Praver, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, pp.235-254.

¹⁶The classification of folktale 'types' culminated in the famous work of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, 1928, The Types of the Folktale, Academia Scientarium Fennica, Helsinki.

original Danish, was to prove inspirational to their study of Germanic philology¹⁷. They regarded folktales, Dollerup writes, as

the few surviving fragments which the folk had reverently preserved from the glorious continuum of Old Indo-European mythology. Thus, just as Rask studied the (Norse) Icelandic language, Wilhelm Grimm dipped deep into the ancient Icelandic (Norse) mythology to prove this point in a forty-page introduction to the 1819 German edition of the *Tales*. (Dollerup, 1993:195)

The study of language as a national and collective symbol, as a creative instrument and object for analysis for the Romantic artist, was devoted much attention in Romantic Germany, particularly in its equation with the concept of nation-hood. As Barnard says "The principle source of both [nationalism's] emergence and perpetuation is language" (Barnard, 1969:7), and Fürst points out that the analytical interest in language began already with Herder's combination of language/national-essence/national literature in a humanistic-collective framework (see Fürst, 1969:6). She notes, for example, that Herder's first essay was, tellingly, a discussion on Ossianic poetry (ibid). The main theories of Romanticism and the study of language were closely connected in the ideas and the work of the Grimm brothers and in their study of German philology (see Ward, 1988:100, Wellek, 1955:279 or Holbek, 1987:200-229), and their views on folktales were no doubt nourished and complemented by Herder's work on the relations between the Indo-European languages transferred to folktale research (see Holbek, 1984:220-229). The emphasis on 'literature' - and in particular folk literature - was therefore by no means random; rather, it was precisely the theoretical concern with the nature of language that had led to the emphasis on literature in which the roots of national cultures were thought to be embedded.

The link between *language* and *the nation* was to be found, for the German Romantics, precisely in its link to the past, and in particular to the *literature of the past* and of the '*Volk*' (see also Dégh, 1979:85).

¹⁷See Ward, 1988:88 in Donald Ward, 1988, "New Misconceptions about Old Folktales: The Brothers Grimm" in The Brothers Grimm and Folktale Ed. James McGlathery, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, pp.91-100.

It could be argued, therefore, that the study of folk literature in Romantic Germany had three main functions: to recuperate the ancient 'master' literature that contained the 'true national character' of the German people as a foundation for the nation-(re-)building process, to elevate the role of the folk as the tradition-bearers of the true German cultural heritage and thereby include the rural population (or at least elements of their culture) with the bourgeoisie in the new *national* unity, and to form a picture of the German nation as a united (and enclosed), unbroken (and continuous) entity through time.

Ic. German Romantic aesthetics. Art versus nature

For the German Romantics, Art held an intensely privileged position as an expression of human 'genius' and 'beauty', not least through the influence of poet-critics such as F. W. Schelling (1775-1854; see Wellek, 1955:74-75) and 'Novalis' (Friedrich von Hardenburg, 1772-1801; see Wellek, 1955:82). As Praver writes "The man whom the German Romantics tend to credit with deepest insight into the heart of the world's mystery is not so much the scientist or philosopher as the creative artist" (Praver, 1970:6). This aesthetic philosophy laid the foundation for the role of the Romantic poet as a visionary, sage, genius and 'caretaker-cum-editor' of their ancient literary heritage; it was the basis for an aesthetic approach to folk narrative as a collective art form expressing both an 'essence' of the nation and a 'genius' of mankind (see eg. Holbek, 1987:220ff). Coupled with the Herderian nationalist spirit and rhetoric and emerging nationalist needs, the role of the folk, folk literature, the fairytale, *and the fairytale collector/rewriter*, thus gained an important position in the cultural debate. The resulting collectivist approach to poetry as the expression of history can be witnessed in Jakob Grimm's eulogy of the poet as "*the voice of the people*", as one who "expresses, as it were incarnates, *the full nature of the nation*" (Jakob Grimm, quoted in Wellek, 1955:286, emphasis added).

According to Fürst, the early Romantics had learned to prize the ideal of spontaneity through the revival of interest in folk poetry and the discussion that followed (see Fürst, 1969:262). The

Volkslied which was considered 'spontaneous song', she argues, became an idealized model of 'naturalness' and 'simplicity', contrasting directly with modern art poetry, *Kunstlied*; in other words, the presumed unconscious and 'spontaneous' art found in oral literature was contraposed to the conscious formation of art (ibid and Dégh, 1979:84). All newer, 'modern' writing, was considered to be a product of reflection (ie. not 'spontaneous' and 'instinctive') and was therefore considered inferior to the folk literature of the ancient bards (ibid, see also Wellek, 1955:284-288). The distinction between nature and art poetry was one that the Grimm brothers too, particularly Jakob, made much of (ibid), and one which became a matter of intense discussion among the German Romantics (see for example Jorgenson, 1978:111ff).

When Jakob (1785-1836) and Wilhelm (1786-1859) Grimm collected and published their oral narratives at the peak of the National-Romantic movement, their collection too was a reflection and product of the desire to return to 'the roots', to 'Nature' and 'humanity', seeking back to the language and roots of the common people, the presumably 'truly German' (see esp. Wellek, 1955:279ff or Holbek ibid). One of the main tenets of the Grimms' approach was that folktales had been created communally rather than by single individuals. As Dégh writes "Like the fellow romanticists of the post-Herder era, they recognized the superiority of *Naturpoesie* [nature poetry], "made by itself" through divine inspiration and uttered by the ignorant folk, over the *Kunstpoesie* [art poetry] constructed by poets. Their interest turned specifically toward the national poetry of the folk"¹⁸. Jakob Grimm (traditionally considered to be the greater scholar of the two brothers) supported the view of natural poetry as composing itself, unconsciously, "far in the dim past" (Wellek, 1955:283). He thought of natural poetry as universal, although he ascribed to the Teutonic nations a greater prominence in its production and preservation (see Wellek, 1955:284). For Jakob Grimm

poetry is what comes pure out of the mind into the word ... Folk poetry arises from the mind of the whole; what I mean by art poetry arises from that of the individual. That is why ancient poetry cannot call its poets by name: it has not been made by one or two or three, but is the sum of the whole ... It seems to me unthinkable that there should have been a Homer or an author of the *Niebelungen*. (Quoted in Wellek, 1955:284)

¹⁸Dégh, 1979:85 in Linda Dégh, 1979, "Grimm's Household Tales and Its Place in the Household: The Social Relevance of a Controversial Classic" in *Western Folklore* (38), pp.83-103.

Wilhelm Grimm (traditionally considered the more 'artistic' of the two brothers) shared his brother's view that history and poetry were originally the same, and that the two together made the epic, but was prepared to admit that even "contemporary poets can and should achieve "nature"" (see Wellek, 1955:283). Some, however, were sceptical of this polarization, among them von Arnim who held that "every song and tale must have had its origin in the creative genius of a single individual", a view which opposed the main thrust of Romantic folklore theory (Wellek, 1955:290). "His view", Wellek writes, "was that a slow evolution took place from the communal to the individual, and that there was a conscious, not always perfect, art in old poetry" (Wellek, 1955:290; see also Dollerup, Holbek, Reventlow and Rosenberg Hansen, 1984:247 and Holbek, 1987:30). Liestøl notes that Schlegel too criticized the Grimmian view of folktales being created collectively by the 'folk' but argued, and in this he as Arnim was ahead of his time, for the role of the individual creator¹⁹.

The Grimms' interest in folk literature was motivated by their academic studies as philologists and historians as well as by national and Romantic interests (see eg. Dégh, 1979:87, Dollerup 1993:193-194 and Holbek, 1987:32ff), and the combination of scholarly examination and popular-literary focus imbued in the creation of their KHM was perhaps an important element in its enormous success. Perhaps the real key to their success, however, was that the academic treatise (the *gesunkenes Kulturgut* theory) supported the nationalist-Romantic rhetoric of the day and presented the bourgeois reading public with tangible 'proof' of their own nationalist needs and desires.

It could be asked whether the focus on the personal, creative genius of the Romantic artist bears any relevance to the significant adaptations of the Grimms' folktale collection. If so, it follows that they considered themselves *artists* rather than folk narrative *scholars* and *tellers*. Rather than simply 'retrieving' the 'genius' of the original, their role - indeed, their exclusive right and duty, as poets - would have been to *extract, to bring out* this 'genius', or 'essence' of the tales (as *Naturpoesie*) and to (re)present this presumed 'national essence' of the German 'race' embodied in

¹⁹See Liestøl, 1916:394 in Knut Liestøl, 1916, "Brørne Grimm og folkeminni" in *Syn og Segn* (22), pp.385-398.

the *volkspoesie* in its presumed original *Urform*; a task which only they - as poets, as 'sages' and 'visionaries' - were considered worthy and capable of (see Holbek, 1987:220ff). This too, it will be argued in the second half of this chapter, was precisely what the Norwegian folktale collectors Asbjørnsen and Moe perceived as their own role in relation to the narrative tradition of the folk. The conflict between the 'pure' and the 'artificial', and the rendering of these sources in written form informs, thus, the literary and linguistic adaptations of both the Grimms' and Asbjørnsen and Moe's tales.

II. TEXTUAL AMENDMENTS IN THE LIGHT OF NATIONALISM. THE FUNCTION OF "FAKELORE"

The present study maintains that the symbolic creation and use of the past and of the nation was a key element of the Romantic period. Folklore, as an expression of the folk or folk character was an ideal tool to claim and re-appropriate a literary past, and was widely used as such throughout much of Europe. Access to folk literature proved, however, to be no easy task since the oral narrative tradition was, at least in western Europe, already dying out (see Holbek 1987 or Dundes 1985). Not only was the newly formed discipline compelled to act quickly to record the last remaining fragments of oral tradition, but where this was not forthcoming to a satisfactory degree, or where scholars were simply not in touch with the 'common' people, the existing fragments had to be embroidered upon, or even created, on the basis of these splinters (see Deane 1990 and Greene 1975); in some cases, this thesis argues, manipulated (consciously or unconsciously) for national-political ends, although it is no less true that these ends did often not lack noble motives, such as the cultural independence of colonized and suppressed nations, or attempts to include the literature of the masses in a literary canon. In 1950 Richard Dorson coined a term for this type of folkloristic 'myth-making': "fakelore", which he defined as "the presentation of spurious and synthetic writings under the claim that they are genuine folklore. These productions are not collected in the field but are rewritten from earlier literary and journalistic sources"²⁰. Dundes later examined this process in

²⁰Richard M. Dorson, 1971, "Fakelore" in *American Folklore and the Historian*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp.3-14. (The term was first coined in Richard M. Dorson, 1950, "Folklore and Fake Lore" in *American Mercury* (70), pp. 335-343. It is also quoted in Dundes, 1985b:5).

the context of the folklore collections such as KHM, the *Kalevala*, *Paul Bunyan*, and *Ossian* (Dundes, 1985b:5-18).

At this point it would be opportune, however, to take a closer look at exactly what these amendments implied, in textual terms.

The Grimms' folktale collecting, as well as their acute interest in Germanic philology was an attempt to establish and confirm, through literature, the sense of nation as a community through time and expression of the nation's character. The Grimms had therefore presented the KHM to their public as the unadulterated voice of 'the German *Volk*', the pure expression of the Teutonic peoples. In the preface to the first published edition of the KHM in 1812, the Brothers claimed to have remained unflinchingly faithful to the original text, neither 'elaborating nor improving' on these tales of 'pure' German descent (see Dégh, 1979:85). Their claims are illustrated in the following quotes:

*We have taken pains to record these fairy tales as pure as possible ... No detail has been elaborated or embellished or changed.*²¹

"Faithfully, true to the letter, including the so-called nonsensical speech dialect, mannerisms, turns of events, even if they seem grammatically incorrect. (Quoted in Dégh, 1979:85)

All my work will turn to the patria and shall suck its strength from its home soil. (Quoted in Liestøl 1916:385)

One should, above all, be concerned with conceiving the items faithfully and correctly from the mouth of the narrators, without make-up and addition, where possible in their proper words. (Quoted in Dundes, 1985b:8)

The use of such words has determined the general image of the tales to this day; it is often, after all, still the received image outside academic folkloric circles.

²¹Here quoted in Dollerup et al., 1986:14 in Cay Dollerup, Iven Reventlow and Carsten Rosenberg Hansen, 1986, "A Case Study of Editorial Filters in Folktales" in *Fabula* (27-1/2).

The transition of each individual tale from 'the voice of the people' to written literature was not unproblematic, however, and the changes from the 1812-1815 to the 1819 and subsequent editions were significant, seriously putting in doubt their claim to having rendered the tales literally. It has long been recognized by folklore scholars that the Grimm texts were in fact not what they were purported to be, ie. 'from the mouth of the folk'. Dundes, for example, says:

Although the Grimms insisted that they may have tinkered with the letter but had never tampered with the spirit of the tales, just as they had repeatedly asserted that the essential contours of each folktale plot remained intact, comparisons of successive versions of the Nursery and Household Tales suggest that the Grimms were either disingenuous, dishonest, or engaging in self-deception when they made such declarations. (Dundes, 1985b:6)

Contributors were not generally named, Heinz Rölleke notes, and information on sources was vague, the Grimms would write: "orally in Hessa", "from the area of the Main river", "from Westphalia", etc., and in so doing, Rölleke argues "they were alluding to the anonymous spirit of the folk to which they attributed the invention and transmission of the tales" (Rölleke, 1988:102). John M. Ellis devoted a detailed account to the 'misleading' claims of the brothers Grimm to their audience, precipitating a number of indignant scholarly works on the issue in defence of the Grimms, but also opening up an extensive debate²².

Ila. Changes in style and content

Substantial editorial amendments to the texts have been disclosed by comparative studies of manuscripts and the published texts²³, and a number of scholars have argued that these changes served the purpose of supporting a nationalist myth (see Dundes, 1985b:9ff, Fürst 1969, or Dégh, 1979:84-85). Ellis goes even further when he argues that the Grimms *deliberately deceived* their readers in their claim that the tales were 'pure and untouched', and came straight from the 'mouth of the folk', in order to support with 'firm evidence' the Romantic-Nationalist creed of returning 'back

²²Ellis 1983. For reactions, see especially James McGlathery (Ed.), 1988, The Brothers Grimm and Folktale, University of Illinois Press, Chicago.

²³Especially through the work of the German folklorist and Grimm scholar Heinz Rölleke (see Bottigheimer, 1988:194 in Ruth Bottigheimer, 1988, "From Gold to Guilt: The Forces which Reshaped Grimms' Tales" in The Brothers Grimm and Folktale Ed. James M. McGlathery, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, pp.192-204).

to the roots', to the glorified Teutonic origins that were supposedly present and virtually intact, amongst the '*volk*' (Ellis, 1983:35). He severely rebukes traditional Grimm scholars for failing to acknowledge data, or for not acknowledging the consequences of such data, which, he claims, points to such a deliberate deception on the part of the Grimms in their claim to 'authenticity' (ibid). The revised manuscripts were available for the perusal of scholars from the mid-nineteenth century onwards and were published in four different editions, the latest by Rölleke in 1975 (see Rölleke, 1988:102), but most scholars, according to Ellis and he cites a long list, have brushed this information under the carpet either, he claims, by ignoring it, or more recently by emphasizing the necessity of - in a more unthreatening turn of phrase - "stylistic changes" (Dégh, 1979:89). Unfortunately, most of the first, unrevised manuscripts are not available. Most of the original manuscripts were accidentally burned and the only those were salvaged that had been sent on request to Clemens Brentano for his own literary tales (Rölleke, 1988:102). Only a small proportion of the original manuscripts are therefore available to contemporary scholars to evaluate the degree of adherence to the narratives in the form that they were first received and recorded.

Ellis claims that when comparing the published editions to the extant manuscripts, however, they show dramatic changes in 'content', reflected, for example in the radical extension of certain tales, often more than a doubling in length²⁴. Ellis points to cases where known folkloristic effects, such as the use of the number 3 - events repeated 3 times, 3 brothers, 3 tools (gifts from donors), etc., were added where they did not appear in the original text (Ellis, 1983:98). Uniformity of style and language, motifs, symmetry and repetition, and developments were imported from one story to another creating a coherent but synthetic voice, a voice that reflected the Grimms' own literary values, not Germanic tradition to correspond to traditional tale structure and the (assumed) distinctive characteristics of the genre, Ellis argues (Ellis, 1983:105). The result is a minimum of stylistic difference among the stories, creating an artificial uniformity and coherence for the genre as a whole which was alien to oral tradition (ibid).

²⁴See Tatar, 1988:27 in Maria Tatar, 1987, The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

An example of more substantial textual amendments is the substitution of family roles - a *stepmother* for a mother, for instance (Ellis *ibid*, see also Tatar, 1987:36-37). Stark intrafamilial violence is thus substituted for the harmless fairytale cliché of a prince rescuing a princess. In yet another example, the final version of the well-known European tale *The Girl Without Hands*, suggestions of incest are suppressed (see also Dollerup, Reventlow and Rosenberg Hansen, 1986; see also Dundes 1989:112ff for a wider discussion of this tale). In the purged texts the psychological challenge that psychoanalysts such as Bruno Bettelheim see as one of the crucial functions of fairytales is removed²⁵. The opportunity for the juvenile reader to become acquainted with, and thereby neutralize, the threat of the 'evil side' of a parent - or as some psycho-analytical theories hold, as another aspect of the individual's own person - is no longer present (Ellis, 1983:90ff). From a pragmatic story-line in which cruelty plays a central part, Ellis argues, the tale is transformed to an ideal of riches and happiness - a 'happy ever after' tale: "because they have in so doing helped significantly to give the word "fairy tale" its unambiguously positive meaning - for example, a "fairy-tale marriage" is one of unproblematic happiness. The world of the KHM sources was by no means so consistently benevolent and sunny" (Ellis, 1983:92).

Not only were the published editions significantly changed in respect to the manuscripts, but the revisions of the subsequent published editions saw many amendments too. The amendments to the tales carry strong ideological implications concerning the development in social and sexual hierarchies. One such change, noted in Dollerup, Reventlow and Rosenberg Hansen et al.'s discussion on the *Allerleirauh* tale (they list others too), is that the figure of the father-king presented in the 1812 edition as more lenient, his authority is limited, and even questioned by his subjects, he is not particularly 'polished' in his culinary tastes and other behaviour. This character is transformed into an authoritative, regal, 'refined' king figure in the 1857 edition, in keeping with court habits and perhaps bourgeois expectations of such habits (Dollerup et. al., 1986:26). There is also another conclusion, however, that can be drawn from this particular instance of editorial revision. The king-figures in the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales too are no more than heads of

²⁵Bruno Bettelheim, 1976, The Uses of Enchantment, Knopf, New York.

households or wealthy farmers²⁶, and this is not unexpected given that the degree of contact with the bourgeois and aristocratic urban culture was highly limited, and the rural population's own everyday source of authority and social hierarchy would be drawn from their relationship with the *local* community. Therefore, it could be argued that these editorial revisions in the HKM constitute, in effect, a change from a *realistic* and *local* to a national representation in narrative form; that it is the form of poetic representation has undergone a change and, possibly, some form of abstraction.

Donald Ward argues that the Grimms significantly edited the second and subsequent publications of the KHM, but between the first (1812) and second (1819) edition the brothers had carried out extensive research, and that the second edition was therefore "a brand-new work" (Ward, 1988:94) and therefore *demanding* a certain amount of editing. In the intervening years 32 folktales had been deleted, 45 new tales added, and 18 had undergone extensive revision as a result of newly-found variants. The reason, he claims (as other scholars have pointed out) that the word *Deutsch* was not included in the title (of the second edition) is precisely because the Grimms became increasingly aware, as a result of further research, that not all the tales could be of pure German origin (Ward, 1988:98)²⁷. Indeed, the Grimms had revised some of their most ambitious claims to 'textual purity' with the publication of the second edition, writing that: "the expression [of the tales] largely originates with us" (2nd edition) and that they were responsible for "the expression and the execution of the individual tales" (2nd edition; see Ward, 1988:94). In the 1819 revision, where Wilhelm writes in the Preface:

the first volume has been almost totally changed; what was incomplete has been made complete. much has been told in a more simple and pure way, and you will find that most pieces have a better form [...] As for the way in which we have collected it, we have primarily emphasized authenticity and truth. We have added nothing of our own contrivance, and not embellished the old tale with any detail or feature, but passed on its content the way we received it ... *in the main, we are responsible for the expression and the presentation of the individual tale.* (Quoted in Dollerup, Reventlow and Rosenberg Hansen, 1986:16, emphasis added)

²⁶See for example Bo, 1972:93 Borgen 1978; this is borne out in many of the *illustrations* to the Asbjørnsen and Moe collections too, see eg. Evensberget 1982.

²⁷Several critics (eg. Bottigheimer 1988 and Tatar 1987) have noted, incidentally, the lack of the word *Deutsch* in the title of the later editions - which was common in other folktale collections of the period. This exclusion may signal that the Grimms were indeed aware of the substantial amendments in process (Bottigheimer, 1988:192).

However, the ambiguity in their approach is nevertheless striking. Despite the claim to 'authenticity', it seems that they had become conscious of their role as adaptators and acknowledged this indirectly through the revisions. Despite the claim to 'authenticity', it seems that they had become conscious of their role as adaptators and acknowledged this indirectly through the revisions. Rölleke notes that they "could no longer ignore [the possible non-Germanic origins] publicly ... At the same time, they never made directly false statements about this matter that they found so delicate (the subject was a ticklish one in view of the collection's intent and its supposed testimony to the existence of "purely primeval German myth")" (Rölleke, 1988:104).

These 'admissions' are, according to Ward "nothing less than an honest admission that the brothers, or at least Wilhelm Grimm had abandoned the original plan of not 'augmenting' the tales in any way as stated in the prologue to the first volume" (ibid). Ward's most convincing argument, however, is easy to oversee in that it is mentioned in no more than a passing sentence in an oblique reference, where he praises Rölleke's "thorough familiarity *with the thinking of the Grimms on this issue*" (Ward, 1988:97, emphasis added). By this he seems to be referring to the prevalent Romantic ideology and subsequently how the Grimms' collection and publication of tales from the oral tradition was influenced by the nationalist sentiments of the period and by Romantic literary views on poetry, that their adaptations were a deliberate attempt to recreate the original (and indeed that they believed it was their task to do so). Dollerup, Reventlow and Rosenberg Hansen confirm that the Grimms adapted their tales to conform to prevailing bourgeois literary norms:

the claim that the brothers gave back to the German nation its own treasured and almost forgotten tales rests on sand: Wilhelm Grimm adapted some folk material to middle-class norms at a time when the middle classes were rising and assuming positions of power all over Europe in spiritual and social life, L. Dégh is right in assuming that the collection was popular because it reinforced middle-class norms. (Dollerup, Reventlow and Rosenberg Hansen, 1986:28)

Ilb. The sources

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of this problem is the status of the informants as 'folk'. It was generally assumed that the Grimm brothers travelled in rural areas, collecting tales directly from the peasantry who were assumed to have a direct link with the past by virtue of their isolation from urban and foreign influences. This was in fact not the case. Gonthier-Louis Fink notes that 80-90% of the total number of tales were related by women, the majority of whom were young and middle- or upper-class²⁸, only a small number were in fact contributed by representatives of the rural population, the 'folk', in fact one of the few real 'folk' informants was a soldier by name of sergeant Krause who supplied no more than two or possibly three tales, Fink maintains²⁹. The Grimms did not travel around to collect their material, but would rather have people come to their home and relate tales, they left their own home rarely. Furthermore, many of the informants turned out to be close friends and relatives of the Grimm household, "amusing themselves by telling stories from both written and oral sources" (Dollerup, 1995:95). Herman Grimm, Wilhelm's son, confirmed the Grimms' attribution of the most important tales to the Wild family's German housekeeper who went by the name of "die Alte Marie" and who the Grimms claimed had always lived in Kassel and spoke no French (and was therefore an "impeccable candidate"; see eg. Rölleke, 1988:104 and Bottigheimer 1988). This 'old Marie', as it turned out, was in actual fact none other than the daughter of the Hassenpflug family, a close friend of the Grimms who was later to become related by marriage. She was, moreover, of Huguenot stock, French speaking and well versed in French literature, which may explain, perhaps, the striking similarities between some of the Grimms' tales and Perrault's tales (especially "Little Red Cap", "Little Thorn Rose", and "Puss in Boots", see Rölleke, 1988:106)³⁰. (Rölleke, however, warns against drawing Ellis's conclusion that

²⁸Rölleke estimates that 1/3 of the entire corpus derives from the aristocratic Westphalian Haxthausen family; see Rölleke, 1988:104.

²⁹See Fink, 1988:147 in Gonthier-Louise Fink, 1988, "The Fairy Tales of the Grimms' Sergeant of Dragoons J. F. Krause: Reflecting the Needs and Wishes of the Common People" in *The Brothers Grimm and Folktale* Ed. James M. McGlathery, University of Illinois Press, Urbana pp.146-163.

³⁰As H. V. Velten also writes: "The children [who heard tales from French governesses or tutors], in turn, may have told them to the German servants of the household, so that the tales may have spread even among the common people early in the [eighteenth] century. At all events the [Perrault] stories were popular in Germany for approximately a hundred years before the first genuine fairy tales appeared in literature. A close investigation of the traces which the *contes* left in German folklore will show to how considerable an extent Perrault influenced German popular tradition" (Velten, 1930:5) in H. V. Velten, 1930, "The Influence of Charles Perrault's *Contes de Ma Me're L'Oie* on German Folklore" in *Germanic Review* (5), pp.4-18.

the entire repertoire of the Hassenflug family - two other sisters also contributed stories - derived from French sources and he claims that many of the Hassenflug tales were remembered not from their childhood on the Maine river where the French influence would have been considerable, but from Hessian Kassel, the town to which they later moved; Ellis, 1983:29-32.) Neither she, then, nor Dorothea Viehmann, the second of the Grimms' major informants of the supposedly prototypically German tales, were what the Grimms claimed - namely, members of a class known as the 'folk', ie. the rural peasantry (see Rölleke, 1988:104 and Ward, 1988:91).

It is clear, then, that there exists a certain amount of disagreement among scholars regarding the extent of the Grimms' editing and the motivation behind it³¹, but it has been established beyond reasonable doubt that a substantial amount of editing *did* take place and that the major part of the Grimms' informants were not, without qualification, of the 'folk'.

Dollerup, Reventlow, and Rosenberg Hansen state that the Grimms' adaptations must be seen in the context of Romantic ideology. They conclude that the Grimms did not deliberately mislead their audience, but that to them it made little difference whether or not they received the tales one or two or more steps removed from its 'home environment' - the folk:

It is, however, doubtful that "the Grimms deliberately deceived their public by concealing or actually misstating facts [that their immediate informants were literate middle-class friends], in order to give an impression of ancient German folk origin for their material which they knew was utterly false" [Ellis]: for in the Grimm ideology of *Naturpoesie* individual narrators are arbitrary, and the only repository of a tale is the whole nation. Wilhelm Grimm sought, and thought he approached original, artistic, and uncorrupted *Urforms* over the years ... to Wilhelm Grimm there was no discrepancy between the forewords of 1812 and 1819: for both programmatic statements are compatible with the *Naturpoesie* ideology - however unsound it may appear to us. (Dollerup, Reventlow, and Rosenberg Hansen, 1986:28-29)

However, given that the Grimms were leading scholars in the field, and well acquainted with previous folklore scholarship, and given their explicit disdain for the 'overly-edited' literary folk/fairy tales of Brentano and Hoffmann, it still seems puzzling that they, in many statements, so explicitly state that the tales came 'straight from the mouth of the *Volk*', '*unadpated*', etc. and the

³¹Such disagreements naturally reflect these scholars' own ideological and academic backgrounds (Bottigheimer, for example summarily dismisses academic opponents as 'Marxists' (Bottigheimer, 1988:196), and these leanings will of course be reflected in the attitude they take towards scholarship in general and the Grimm discussion in particular.

muddle in regard to the informants. Nevertheless, their statement is crucial to the discussion in the present thesis as it reverts to the idea of the original, the *Urform*, underlying folklore collecting and folklore studies in all the cases here analysed.

The KHM and the NE were revised according to the needs and expectations of the audience and their norm system, or in other words, illustrating the polysystemic thesis that target culture norms shape a text and take priority (far *higher* priority in the cases discussed in this thesis) than source-culture considerations or source-culture norms. In the case of the Grimms and Asbjørnsen and Moe, the prevailing cultural climate was shaped by Romantic ideology, and the text production not only fit into the mould of the prevailing cultural sentiment, but was to an extent formative of it, strengthening and building up under Romantic poetics and an emerging national sentiment. Both in the case of Asbjørnsen and Moe and the Grimms, the 'source' culture norms were not, ultimately, considered to be important *in themselves*, it could be argued, but were simply a point of departure for the re-appropriation of a presumed national poetic tradition. Only insofar as the 'source' culture norms upheld the target culture's (urban Romantic-Nationalist) needs and rhetoric, were they presented as 'authentic' or as pertaining to the source culture, and then only temporarily because they held the vision of a once-existing, higher, aristocratic (ie. non-rural) original form having prevailed in earlier times.

It has been argued repeatedly in this thesis, that it is the *function* of a text which is its most important feature, whether or not it successfully fills the role it aims for in the polysystem and *affirms* the needs of the target culture (in de Geest's terms, de Geest 1992:40), rather than whether or not it is what is *claims* to be and it is clear that the KHM and the NE functioned to boost national sentiment, as one of the most important contributions to an emerging genre, and thereby attained and maintained a central position in the polysystem. For example, although Dorson, from a scientific-academic point of view, condemns 'fakelore', Dundes adds that it nonetheless often has an important function (here illustrated by the case of MacPherson's *Ossian*):

Yet it is also true that this fakelore proved to have enormous influence. Regardless of whether *Ossian* was fakelore or folklore, it simulated interest in the poetry of the common man throughout Europe. Eighteenth century neo-classicism had pointed exclusively towards

the classical models of ancient Greece and Rome. The possibility of eliciting oral poetry from the Scottish Highlands meant that epic poetry could come not just from the ancients, but also from the modern, untutored peasants. The glorification of the noble savage sprang from the same source. And so came the beginnings of a curious combination of romanticism, primitivism, and nationalism which were to prevail in the nineteenth century and which were to accompany if not provide the important impetus for the rise of folkloristics as a serious, academic pursuit. (Dundes, 1985b:8)

David Greene also notes that its *function*, is perhaps even more important than the assumed 'purity' of the actual text: "The myth whereby a people achieves consciousness of its national identity and purpose," he says, "*is to be judged by its results rather than by its origins*" (Greene, 1975:15; emphasis added).

CHAPTER 5

NORWAY.

THE SHAPING OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

I. THE INFLUENCE OF GERMAN ROMANTICISM ON CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SCANDINAVIA

The present thesis takes the position that the cultural and intellectual developments in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Germany significantly inspired Scandinavian poets and intellectuals, and eventually came to have an enormous impact on literature, language and art in the Scandinavian countries¹. Although Romanticism had a significant impact on cultural life in general in Norway, it came to be distinguished most of all by its emphasis on national issues particularly through the focus on the past, and in Norway as in Germany one of the expressions of this emphasis on the past, combined with the Herderian vision of the nation and a nation's 'essence', was a renewed interest in and 'rediscovery' of folk traditions and ancient mythology, particularly in the form of oral narrative, in which it was believed that a nation's essence could be found and identified (see eg. Hodne 1994:5 and Bø, 1972:98 and Dahl, 1981:101 Eriksson, 1988:187). These developments mirrored the tendency in Scandinavia as a whole. Nineteenth-century Sweden too experienced a surge of interest in folk poetry in an attempt to revive the ancient Nordic 'roots'², and in Denmark, the increasingly popular study of antiquity was linked to the collection of folk tradition, mainly ballads, but also legends and tales³. In Iceland too the study of antiquity and folk literature encouraged the collection of tales, legends, riddles and other folk traditions⁴.

¹See Elviken, 1931:365ff, Hodne, 1979:24 and Dahl, 1981:100 for confirmation of the influence of German Romantic and the Grimms in particular on Asbjørnsen and Moe.

²The collections of Erik Gustaf Gejer and Arvid August Afzelius can be mentioned, as well as names such as Adolf Iwar Arwidsson, Richard Dybeck and Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius (Hodne, 1979:19-22).

³Scholars and collectors such as Just Mathias Thiele, Martin Hammerich and Mathias Winthers can be mentioned (Hodne *ibid*). See Jorgenson, 1978:118-123 for a discussion on the ballad tradition in Norway.

⁴Jon Arnason, Magnus Grimsson and Olafur Davidsson, for example, collected oral narrative during this period (Hodne *ibid*).

In Finland, the role of folk literature in the nation-building process was crucial (see Wilson 1976). Finland (and Russia) had long been under the domination of Sweden, and the Romantic movement became one of the channels through which the Finns managed to raise a national consciousness and to culturally free themselves from Swedish political, cultural and linguistic domination by drawing attention to their own folk culture and showing the Finns the value this literary-cultural heritage represented. Elias Lönnrot's (1802-1884) *Kalevala*, a collection of oral folk poetry in epic form and written in the Finnish language was an important source of cultural identity and a psychological tool in the drive towards independence (see Wilson, 1976:30ff). Ironically parallel to what was happening in Norway through Denmark, the first encouragement to look to the ancient past as a source of national inspiration came from Swedish Romantic intellectuals⁵. Lönnrot claimed to have simply 're-told' in unadulterated form oral narrative as recounted to him by informants. In actual fact, he pieced together various fragments that he had collected from a large number of different informants throughout the country, in particular in Finnish and Russian Karelia, and, like MacPherson, shaped out of these fragments a consolidated epic poem. In doing this he created a misleading chronological unity which gave the false impression of a unified epic whole. The *Kalevala* was hailed as an epic poem, its fragmented and constructed nature entirely disregarded, believed by a willing public to have existed since ancient times; Lönnrot, it was assumed, had only restored the fragments to their original form (see Wilson, 1976:38); although Lönnrot never actually claimed this position himself (Wilson, 1976:40). The *Kalevala* soon became *the* nationalist symbol for generations of Finns to come and although eventually it turned out not to be the 'original', 'pure', folk poetry that people had at first assumed, and the links to an imagined 'authentic' literature of the past proved to be extremely tenuous, it nevertheless served the purpose of raising national awareness and confidence, and also of encouraging the use of literature in the Finnish language⁶. That this collection proved to be less

⁵Honko, 1980b:34 in Lauri Honko, 1980b, "Upptäcken av folkdiktning och nationell identitet i Finland" in *Tradisjon* (10), pp.33-51.

⁶See O' Giolláin, 1990:30ff in Diarmuid O'Giolláin, 1990, "Folklore: The Nation and the State" in *Suomen Antropologi* (4), pp.29-38; see also Wilson, 1976:34, Eriksson, 1988:175 and Haugen, 1980:197 in Einar Haugen, 1980, "Language Fragmentation in Scandinavia: Revolt of the Minorities" in *Minority Languages Today. A Selection from the Papers Read at the First International Conference on Minority Languages at Glasgow University from 8 to 13 September 1980* Eds. Einar Haugen, J. Derrick MacClure and Derick Thomson, pp.100-115.

pristine than Lönnrot claimed, is therefore in retrospect secondary to its function as a nationalistic driving force (see eg. Dundes, 1985b:10).

Legends, folktales and other forms of oral narrative were zealously collected by scholars⁷ and other generally interested parties (often priests or other civil servants⁸ who had contact with the rural population). Although the interest in folk literature was a pan-Scandinavian trend, it was in Norway and Finland that the study and collecting of folk narrative tradition had the most wide-ranging consequences, and given the political configuration in the Nordic countries at the time, this is quite understandable. Alver notes that Sweden and Denmark, precisely because they were powerful and expanding nations, did not share the same need for nation-building symbols as did Finland and Norway: Denmark and Sweden had no need to prove their worth and shake off the yoke of cultural, political and linguistic oppression (see Alver, 1989:19). For the Norwegian Romantics, the true source for the future struggle for national identity and independence lay in the bond of the rural population to the past, and their place in Norwegian history as a continuous link between the ancient past and the future. As Halvdan Koht says:

What sparked the glow of national sentiment, what awoke the burning desire and the struggle around it, what made them into much more than practical life-goals: to leading issues and symbols for a folk-will, was *history*. The national past which in the sixteenth century had been mourned and wept for, had wakened to life in the nineteenth century and was a weapon in the struggle for progress. (Koht, 1977:10, emphasis in the original)

The Romantic emphasis on a golden past and on continuity linked up with the Herderian idea of a nation's 'essence' and in this way the concept and construction of the nation could be justified. As Falnes says:

This thought [historical continuity] could be applied to individual nationalities to give them the dignity of a long historical tradition ... Romanticism tended to center attention upon the most brilliant period of a nation's past; it might seem that at such a time the Idea of the nationality had attained its most adequate expression. Then we note also that the premise of

⁷Witness the collections of Andreas Faye (1833), P. T. Malling and Olea Crøger (1850), M. B. Landstad (1853), and L. M. Lindeman (1853-1867) (see Hodne, 1979:17-18 or Hodne 1994).

⁸The Norwegian term *embetsmenn* is translated in Norwegian-English dictionaries as 'civil servant'. However, 'civil servant' does not include the clergy, professional groups and the academia/intelligentsia more generally, as *embetsmann* does. Furthermore, in Norwegian this term is frequently used in opposition to *bonde* ("peasant/ farmer"), and members of this group were often considered by the rural population uniformly as administrators or bureaucrats (see Falnes, 1968:33). In the present discussion, following Falnes, the term 'bureaucrats' will therefore be used.

the Idea supplied a profound intellectual justification for nationalism. For nationality, like any other thing, had its Idea, its norm, whose perfection it strove to fulfil, and that perfection required, of course, the status of freedom. How comforting, then, especially in the case of suppressed nationalities, to know that their struggles for freedom were part of the Great Plan contemplated by the all-embracing Idea. (Falnes, 1968:47, see also Alver 1989:13-14).

Hansen argues that Moe was probably the only Norwegian to be so directly and so profoundly influenced by the German Romantics⁹; to the extent that the other writers of the period in Norway shared their views, he claims that this was due more to the affinity of all European Romantics during the period in question, whilst Asbjørnsen and Moe's *explicit philosophy* had already been elaborated by the Germans and found, then, expression in their own work (see Moe 1914 in its entirety), and for what concerns the interest in *folk tradition*, Hansen says, the influence of the German Romantics, not *only* in narrative art but in painting, music and other art forms, was crucial (Hansen, 1932:136-137, see also Dahl, 1981:123-129). Achille Burgun shows how the nationalist poet Henrik Wergeland identified language with the essence of a nation (Burgun 1919:109), and I would argue that Wergeland's ideas in particular, on the nation's destiny and 'holy task' expressed through national language (see Burgun *ibid*), are a clear and direct legacy of Herder's nation-language-essence vision (a claim which finds support in Elviken, 1931:385). There is no doubt too that Asbjørnsen and Moe as well as members of the wider cultural environment were intensely conscious of their debt to German Romanticism, they were especially enthusiastic of Herder's ideas (see eg. Bø, 1968:542 and also Dorson, 1964:xi), and personally entered into correspondence with the Grimm brothers¹⁰, proclaiming fidelity to the latter's creed of *Treue und Wahrheit* (see Schmidt 1885), and in their heartfelt dedication to the Grimms in the 1868 edition¹¹. In the final analysis, there can be no doubt that the influence of Romantic Germany in Scandinavia was profound (see Elviken, 1931:365ff; see also Dahl, 1981:100). In Denmark the KHM, translated into Danish, had achieved a certain amount of popularity, not least because the Grimms had shown a great interest in

⁹The exclusive role of German Romanticism in the sudden intense interest in oral narrative in Norway has been challenged by Alver who says that "the interest in the ballad antedated the National-Romantic vogue, and Vedel's ballad edition from 1591, and Syv's from 1695, had a much greater effect on the 'folk' than those that appeared in the nineteenth century" (Alver, 1989:13). On this point, then, Alver seems to disagree with the general view that European Romanticism had a direct, catalytic impact on folk narrative collecting and research in Norway.

¹⁰Andreas Faye too was in correspondence with the Grimms regarding his legend collection and had been inspired by the Grimms' Deutsche Sagen of 1816 (Hodne, 1979:30) and Asbjørnsen and Moe were in their turn familiar with and influenced by Faye. For further comments on the correspondence between Asbjørnsen and Moe and the Grimms (see Dorson, 1964:vii).

¹¹P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1868 (postdated from 1867), Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Fjerde Udgave, fourth edition, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania.

Denmark and in Norse philology and mythology more generally. The mutual affection was not constant, and complicated by the conflicting interests (see Dollerup, 1993:191), but a connection had been permanently established between the Grimm brothers and the Danish academic elite. This of course extended also to Norway since the Norwegian intelligentsia was still very much a part of, and dependent on, the Danish academic environment (see eg. Østerud, 1984:56). Thus, not only was there an academic and cultural link which served as a channel for the diffusion of a continental Romantic politics and poetics, but an interest in folktales had emerged through and was strengthened by the personal interest of the Grimm brothers for the Nordic countries. From then on, however, Norway and Denmark reacted quite differently to the further development of the folktale genre. In Denmark, the Grimms' collection was eventually canonized and internalized as a central part of their own (home) literary polysystem (Dollerup *ibid*). In Norway, however, the need to create and strengthen an independent national literature had first priority, and the Grimms' collection took second place to their own folk narrative tradition.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. BECOMING A NATION

The previous discussions so far in this thesis indicate that in the transition from 'Danish province' to Swedish rule and later towards complete independence, Romanticism and Nationalism became, in Norway, intrinsically bound. It has been argued that the Romantic conception of 'a national essence-identity-character' embodied in culture, language and literature proposed by Rousseau, Herder and others, provided a cultural and linguistic basis for full political *and cultural* independence from Denmark and Sweden. The emphasis on and pride in 'the Past', the Rousseauian idealization of the peasant, the Romantic interest in folktales, and the scholarly interest in the Norwegian language as it was expressed in rural dialects, formed a strong basis for the creation of an independent national spirit, in its turn fundamental for the creation of a culturally and politically independent nation-state and cultural institutions (see eg. Jorgenson, 1978:114ff, Koht, 1977:109, Elviken, 1931:385 or Hodne 1979). In order to discuss the formation of national identity during the Romantic period and to be able to relate this to the Asbjørnsen and Moe text production as it was

influenced and shaped by, and as it formed the cultural and literary norms and the wider polysystem, however, it will be necessary to first present some of those aspects of Norwegian history and political development which led up to its 'national awakening'. For these purposes, those historical factors which contributed to the sense of national unity and of Norway as a 'nation' must be identified.

The name *Noreg*, *Norveg* ("the way/road to the North") turns up around the year 900; its geographical borders were clearly defined in relation to Sweden, with the big forests in the East, but much less so with Denmark who ruled much of what is now South-East Norway (see Koht, 1977:2 and Haugen, 1968:11). Until the end of the first millenium there was little commercial unity and each village, even each farm, had lived a relatively independent existence (ibid; see also Haugen 1968 chapters 1 and 2). The Norse population, composed of small chieftainships centred around 'Things' (*Ting*) (democratic ruling bodies of elders of each clan) and pagan temples, had also been united in their religious beliefs and judicial practices, and this constituted, according to Koht, the first expression of national sentiment which could in any way be defined as *political*, based on fidelity to king and to kingdom. Koht argues that it was the culmination of centuries of territorial battles - a succession of territorial conflict and conquest from the Iron Age onwards - and finally Harald the Fairhaired's conquest (AD 997), which led to a real sense of unity, of belonging to a group (Koht, 1977:5).

In 1397 the three Scandinavian countries - Denmark, Norway and Sweden - were brought together under the Danish Queen Margaret in what was known as the 'Union of Calmar' (see eg. Haugen, 1968:100ff or Jorgenson, 1933:100ff) While Sweden had the strength to revolt and gain independence from Denmark in 1523, Norway remained part of a 'United Kingdom of Denmark and Norway' until its independence in 1814; during the next 400 years, the so-called 'Dark Years', Norway fell increasingly under the cultural and political dominance of Denmark and eventually came to be considered more or less a province (of Denmark) with very little national autonomy (see Koht, 1977:10-11, Østerud, 1984:55, Elviken, 1931:366; see also Falnes 1968 and Larsen 1968). This applied not only to military and political autonomy, but educational, clerical and linguistic

policies which were also established in Denmark; university education, for example was available only in Denmark (see eg. Østerud, 1984:55). In 1536 Norway was proclaimed as an integral part of Denmark, no longer a separate nation, and the kingdom was thereafter referred to as 'the Kingdom of Denmark and Norway' (see eg. Koht, 1977:5). Meanwhilst, the Norwegian aristocracy, much diminished during the years of economic decline, had established contacts with the Swedish aristocracy, continuing their pre-union tendency towards increasingly non-national identification (see Koht, 1977:6, Eriksen, 1993:102 and Jorgenson, 1978:113)

Gradually, a new bourgeois class began to take shape, raising their own demands - as a class - for a Norwegian court and university and bank, for national institutions and economic independence (see eg. Østerud 1984:55, Koht, 1977:6-9 and Jorgenson, 1978:113ff). During the following centuries foreign investors, in particular linked to the Hanseatic League, began to gain control over the economy, primarily in Bergen on the West-coast (see eg. Larsen, 1950:258). Trading and the subsequent settlement of large non-Norwegian colonies on the west coast (mainly Hanseatic merchants) discouraged the strengthening of a potential national sentiment (see eg. Jorgenson, 1978:113ff), even discouraging the use of Scandinavian languages in place of which Low German began to become increasingly used both in Denmark and in commercial environments in Norway (see Haugen, 1980:104). Although this new class consciousness eventually began to emerge among the professional-bureaucratic groups, the rural population had not yet formed any such group identity, their faith having traditionally been placed in the king as the natural spokesman for the old system of justice (see eg. Haugen, 1980:105). The formation of a bourgeois class had created what would become a long-standing and unbridgeable rift in Norwegian society - namely that between town and city (see Koht, 1977:108ff and Dahl, 1981:52). Despite these developments, Koht asserts, a Norwegian national sentiment nevertheless gradually began to take shape and continued to grow, especially through the opposition to both Denmark and Sweden (see eg. Koht, 1977:4 and 16).

During the Napoleonic Wars, Denmark-Norway was obliged to offer its support to France and the Allies (see eg. Eriksson, 1988:174 and Elviken, 1931:376). (It should not be forgotten that

in the political arena Norway's relations to France took effect not according to her own political will or choice, but was subject to Denmark's foreign policy decisions; see Elviken *ibid*, Eriksen 1993 or Bø 1968). Subsequent to Napoleon's defeat, the Danish king Fredrik VI was forced to sign a peace treaty, handing Norway over to Sweden as part of Napoleon's war debt as laid down in the conditions negotiated at the Congress of Vienna in 1812 (see eg. Haugen 1968:23, Østerud, 1984:55 or Dollerup 1993:194), in Eriksson's words a forced alliance "of no impact upon the cultural developments of the respective countries except insofar as it nourished Norwegian patriotism" (Eriksson, 1988:175). The terms on which Norway was submitted to Sweden granted her an internal self-government and prospects of complete freedom (Østerud *ibid*). Paradoxically, Østerud remarks, the Norwegian state did not gain its first step towards political independence (from Denmark) as the result of nationalist struggle, but as a result of old dynastic principles (see Haugen *ibid*): it was handed over to Sweden as the spoils of war and granted, not full independence, but limited autonomy as a separate nation with national representatives and a constitution.

After the handing over of power in 1814, the establishment of a Norwegian national constituent assembly was proposed, and on April 10 an assembly was duly elected by indirect method (one third from the peasantry and the rest from professional and upper middle classes; see eg. Elviken, 1931:379); the constitution was codified on May 17 1814. The assembly was held at Eidsvoll, which had been the seat of the Viking "Things" and was thus a place associated with the independent era of the nation's history (see Koht, 1977:98ff). In a country which had had no form of self-government for centuries, which had only very poor means of communication, and which had until recently been at war with its neighbour Sweden, such a national gathering was an enormous achievement and, Koht says, for the future independence of the nation, an essential one (see Koht *ibid*). As a result of the Eidsvoll Assembly and subsequent events, negotiations began with the Swedes which led to Norway accepting the sovereignty of the Swedish king Karl Johan and Sweden accepting the Norwegian constitution (see eg. Elviken *ibid*). Finally, negotiations for full independence were successfully concluded with Sweden, and Norway invited the Danish prince Carl (son-in-law of King Edward VII of England) to become king of Norway (Elviken, 1931:382). Subsequent to another referendum, at the request of prince Carl and in recognition of the wish of the

Norwegian people for a monarchy, he took the title of King Haakon VII of Norway (Haugen, 1968:30ff).

Koht argues that it was the conflict between Norway and *Sweden*, in the aftermath of the 1814 separation from Denmark and throughout the next century, which really - finally - cemented a Norwegian independence and national consciousness: the wars with Sweden and the resulting tension were a politically unambiguous, 'external' affair on which there was a general consensus in the country, whilst the 'Danish question' had been an *internal* affair on which there was some disagreement (see Kielhau 1931, Seip 1933, Østerud, 1984:56), particularly over language (see Koht, 1977:21-22 and Seip 1978). Østerud too notes that before 1814 the rising national sentiment did not include the demand for an independent state; "Norwegian nationalism," he concludes, was therefore "not a prelude to 1814, but more a *result* of 1814" (Østerud, 1984:55, emphasis added); and he describes Norway as the programmatic conception of a political and intellectual elite, an historical and literary 'idea' which was first conceived in Copenhagen on Danish territory and formulated in the Danish language and presented as 'essentially Norwegian'" (ibid).

The degree to which independence from Denmark was a *result* or a culmination of a growing independence movement, or whether Norwegian national identity was solely a result of the independence of 1814 is a matter of some disagreement between scholars of nationalism in Norway. Traditionally, Norwegian scholars have agreed that an emerging Norwegian national sentiment had begun to take shape during the eighteenth century (and indeed that it had existed prior to the union), but this view has more recently been challenged by scholars who claim that national unity and identity was no more than a result of the country's territorial-political independence¹². Anton Fjeldstad, for example, argues that Norwegian national identity was more a result of Norway, finding herself an independent state (disregarding the weaker Swedish bond), 'setting about' creating herself as a nation¹³. To support the argument that a sense of Norwegian identity (and nationalism rather than patriotism) existed *prior to* 1814, however, it is sufficient to turn to the work of the historian Didrik Arup Seip who in 1933 clearly demonstrated that during the 1700s, particularly

¹²See Anton Fjeldstad, 1990, "Nasjon og nasjon, fru Winsnes" in *Syn og Segn* (96), pp.150-164.

¹³See Anton Fjeldstad, 1992, "Nasjon og nasjon, nok en gang" in *Syn og Segn* (98), pp.82-89.

towards the latter part of the century, there were many explicit expressions of national sentiment, primarily linked to the desire for a national language (Seip 1933). Furthermore, it seems artificial to present the argument in such polarized terms as Fjeldstad seems to do. A fluid interaction and transition between an emerging national sentiment for political and social reasons, a dynamic dialectic between various forms of group solidarity, class divisions and changing loyalties (eg. should the Norwegian urban community identify itself with Denmark or the rural population), and a felicitous coincidence of broader historical and political events seems to be a more appropriate interpretation of such complex and dynamic circumstances.

The entire question of Norway's identity as an independent nation, as a *continuous* independent nation, informs this debate. If Norway was seen simply as a *result* of political circumstances and trading between other (dominant) nations, its claim to a unique cultural identity is undermined, as well as its claim to having struggled for this aim and achieved its goal through the will of the people. The debate predates contemporary scholarship (Didrik Arup Seip discusses the issue in the first decades of this century, see Seip 1933) and the question was also implicitly present in academic discourse during the first years after independence from Denmark (see eg. Østerud, 1984:55 or Seip 1933). In the prevailing Romantic spirit, with the need to claim and demonstrate a national 'essence' (in Herderian terms), that had existed from Viking times and was still present, though dormant, a great deal was at stake. The need to affirm the status of the cultural entity "Norway" as an independent political unit was expressed in and realized through the constitution.

This very brief outline describing, in an historical perspective, the emergence and consolidation of national sentiment in Norway, has attempted to indicate how the conditions for an independent national identity were present, implicitly if not explicitly, prior to the union with Denmark and Sweden, and despite the duration of the union and the degree of Danish dominance, was tentatively revived prior to 1814. Once the consequences of an independent national constitution was understood and put into effect, and the full potential of the dissolution of the union was realized, Norwegian national sentiment was fully consolidated. Whether or not Norwegian nationalism was a *result* or a *cause* of 1814 mattered little, one might assume, to its perpetrators.

For the post-1814 generation, in particular, the fact that national independence had become a political reality and the awareness, or belief, in an unbroken cultural nationness, was crucial to the consolidation of this national sentiment in Norway and of a fully independent cultural and political nation. It was also crucial to the link between national sentiment and folk literature insofar as the latter was, reiterated through the historical facts and their interpretations presented in the following discussion, a conceptual interpretation and *creation* of geographical, linguistic and cultural links with the past.

Ila. Nationalism and democracy. The constitution

It could be argued, as Østerud does, that Norwegian national sentiment had, fundamentally, two roots: on the one hand patriotic liberalism, and on the other National-Romanticism (see Østerud 1984:36-37). These (paradoxical) twin roots were manifested in the apparent opposition between the principle of democracy which advocated the equality of all citizens regardless of origin and cultural traits, and the notion of cultural nationalism which emphasized a unique and homogenous population (Østerud *ibid.*, see also Koht, 1977:109). Østerud thus draws attention to one of the anomalies of the Norwegian situation, where nationalism and 'egalitarian' politics have largely gone hand in hand: "The peasant uprising and class struggle became a pre-requisite for a national Norwegian democracy, and this democracy could only be realized through a break with the union. National identity and home rule become preconditions for each other" (Østerud, 1984:63; see also Koht, 1977:108ff and Dahl, 1981:52 on the peasant uprising). This (paradoxical) attitude reflects the collectors' attitude to folk literature in general, it could be added. On the one hand they hailed and revered the assumed *Urform* as the expression of a powerful, elitist tradition, emphasizing the strength of the Viking culture, mythology and literature, as did the Grimms in relation to their own Teutonic past (see Wellek, 1955:283 or Holbek, 1987:220). On the other hand they revered the 'folk' as the carriers, the bearers, of this tradition and of the 'nationness', or perhaps it is more correct to say they *used* the folk for this purpose, the rural population itself being extraneous to the whole phenomenon (Østerud, 1984:56 or Eriksen 1993). In other words a form of democratic

'folkish' rhetoric was used to uphold the needs and ideals of an urban elite. This is not unusual or surprising, however, as Dundes says, on the one hand there was the embarrassment of the bourgeoisie of the vulgarity of the folk ("the folk is rude"), and on the other need for "the glorified, romanticized remnants of a national patrimony ... Intellectuals were embarrassed by and proud of their folk and folklore. Inferiority breeds superiority!" (Dundes, 1985a:12).

Again, it is the functionality of a phenomenon, rather than the phenomenon itself which may contain seemingly incompatible elements (as earlier described through the 'tension' between SC and TC norms), which determines its outcome: in this case, it is the *consciousness*, or *awareness* of a national identity and the use to which it is put that is crucial to this process, the validity of the premises on which this sentiment is based is, in context, less important; as Østerud says:

The national element was, however, an artificial product - created, defined and delineated on the basis of mythical conceptions and ambiguous ethnographic material. State-unity, political nationalism, was the frame and the point of departure. Nationalism would fill this frame with soul and spirit and a unique identity ... *On a pragmatic basis, the nation-state can be justified even though nationalism is built on non-durable premises.* (Østerud, 1984:76, emphasis added).

The obsessive interest in nation-building in nineteenth-century Norway is clearly a result of the factors discussed by Østerud here and by other scholars, but it also seems to be a self-generating process. As Raymond Grew says: "When, as often happens, a sense of national identity exists with no state to foster it, that absent state is likely to become the focus of identity - a dream of a nationalist movement"¹⁴. Diarmuid O'Giollàin also describes the self-generating nature of national identity and nation-hood and how, despite being a 'creation', it sets itself up as a model: "When a nation-state develops it creates a "self-description" of itself that acts as a sort of prescriptive grammar for its citizens: it establishes the "correct" national history (which culminates in its own narration)" (O'Giollàin, 1990:36).

The emerging national sentiment found voice and satisfaction in the constitution, which also explicitly cultivated 'the Past' and national uniqueness as a nation-building factor, although it was

¹⁴Grew, 1986:35 in Raymond Grew, 1986, "The Construction of National Identity" in Concepts of National Identity. An Interdisciplinary Dialogue Ed. Peter Boerner, Namos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, pp.31-44.

only with the post-1814 generation was this to find full expression (see Seip 1978). The constitution, Østerud argues, was explicitly meant to realize a unique Norwegian character (Østerud, 1984:56). In a typical statement illustrating the spirit of the times Nikolai Wergeland, father of the celebrated poet Henrik Wergeland, declared that the assembly "is national and Norwegian ... All personal loyalty, all personal feelings must be replaced by a patriotism which willingly brings any sacrifice. We are the nation and the fatherland as long as we remain under this roof"¹⁵. As a guiding principle, the 'founding fathers' had emphasised the old rather than the new, and seemed to envision the constitution as resurrection or "a vindication of an old Norway" (Østerud, 1984:56, Koht, 1977:98, Elviken, 1931:380ff). The constitution, Elviken says, "was not regarded as an innovation and a new experiment in government, but the claims to a national and popular sovereignty fell together with the inclination to resuscitate the Norway of history" (Elviken, 1931:380; see also Koht, 1977:98-103). The constitution as a collective symbol along with the unquestioned opposition to Sweden were instrumental, then, in the formation of a strong national movement which was to become realized, not only as a separate cultural nation, as the struggle had been with Denmark, but as an independent state and *political nation*. The explicit link in the constitution between democracy and nationalism (indeed, as Østerud points out, during the internal consolidation of Norway as a national entity, 'nation-building' was *defined* as a democratic process; Østerud, 1984:61) has been mentioned earlier, and this was supported by the emphasis on the link between antiquity and present time in which (seemingly) democratic elements of ancient tradition were emphasized, such as the '*Ting*' gathering of free men during the Viking period, a weak aristocracy, and a more egalitarian social structure than in the neighbouring countries (see Elviken *ibid* and Koht *ibid*). In this way, it could be said, the link between democracy and nationalism was given historical justification.

¹⁵From Nikolai Wergeland's speech to the constitutive assembly "En politisk tale til det norske folk", Christiania, 1814; quoted in Elviken, 1931:379.

Iib. Idealization of the peasant¹⁶. History as a link

Because of the geographically isolated mountain and coastal terrain, the rural population had maintained a certain amount of cultural continuity with the old order; folk traditions, folk literature and in particular the language (in dialect form) were much less influenced by Danish than it was in the urban areas (see Haugen, 1968:30ff). With the lack of outside 'interference' and foreign influences, and with the free development of oral literature in dialect form, folk tradition and rural dialects flourished right up till the nineteenth century (see Hovstad, 1933:289 and also Jorgenson 1933). Having passed through the transition from an expansive Viking Golden Age to political and cultural decline (and with the emigration of the skalds the loss of much artistic talent to Iceland; see Eriksson 1983), from pagan to Christian, from an Old Norse language common to the whole country to language-standardization (Dano-Norwegian and Latin), the folk art of the rural population contained traces of various different traditions and language forms (see Jorgenson, 1933:112 and Jorgenson, 1978:112 and 124), but more importantly, it was seen as a direct link with the ancient past (see Hodne, 1994:5, Koht, 1977:109 and Dahl, 1981:101).

The interest in folklore and fairy tales in nineteenth-century Norway was not primarily instigated by the rural population itself, however. Jorgenson, for example, notes that "What [the farmers] actually possessed of cultural values had to be discovered by outsiders and given back to them in the official written language of the country" (Jorgenson, 1933:161). In effect, the 'return to the past' movement which put the peasant culture in focus and which legitimated its cultural value, was primarily bourgeois in origin and character¹⁷. As Eriksen notes:

Early Norwegian nationalism mainly derived its support from the urban middle classes. Members of the city bourgeoisie travelled to remote valleys in search of 'authentic Norwegian culture', brought elements from it back to the city and presented them as the authentic expression of Norwegianness. ... Actually it was the city dwellers, not the

¹⁶It should here be noted that in the context of nineteenth-century Norwegian Romantic-Nationalism, the term "peasant" may be slightly misleading, in English, as a translation for *bonde* (literally "farmer"). The word *bonde* does not necessarily denote a particularly weak economic status, and is furthermore juxtaposed with the 'underclass' of the rural population, namely the servants and the cotters (*husmenn*; see Falnes, 1968:27). In this discussion 'peasant' will therefore refer generally to the rural population.

¹⁷On the bourgeois nature and origins of nationalism see Elviken, 1931:371-5 and 384; Anderson, 1983:74, Grew, 1986:38, Alver 1979:12-13.

peasants, who decided that reified aspects of peasant culture should be the 'national culture'. (Eriksen, 1993:102)

It is clear that since the National-Romantic movement in Norway was inspired, principally, by the political-literary movements in Europe at the time, this clearly indicates that it was an *urban-intellectual* phenomenon, born and bred among the emerging bourgeoisie, and not initially a *rural* movement. Elviken also confirms this when he says that the peasants did not have the same concept of national consciousness as the bourgeoisie (Elviken, 1931:373-5).

As Østerud and Elviken note, then, *rural* group identity was at this time more local than national, and ironically, many of the artistic aspects of rural tradition stemmed from European baroque and rococo art which had found its way to the countryside and to farmers' homes via the local churches, and were now held up as ultimately, *Norwegian* artistic traditions (Østerud, 1984:56). The conscious development of national symbols and folklore was a uniting and tradition-maintaining force, but, as Østerud says, one which only became significant in the moment when this tradition itself became *artificial and conscious* (Østerud, 1984:57). The local traditional heritage was cultivated as a *national* symbol primarily in the cities, among the emigrants, and in the rural areas only when it began to *disappear*; it follows, he concludes, that the Norwegian 'ur-population' did not become nationalistic until it was no longer ur-Norwegian (ibid).

Rousseau had believed that rural communities were the appropriate vehicle for the study of 'national character', an idea which was seized upon by Danish and Norwegian intellectuals of the period (see Elviken, 1931:371), even despite the increased antagonism towards the rural community after the latter had "successfully challenged official control of the local government" (Falnes, 1968:53). (Falnes attributes this openness towards the rural community in part to Asbjørnsen and Moe's NF where the peasant was depicted, rather than "boisterous and poor", as a "gentle creature who was the heir of ancient song and story, the faithful observer of popular traditions"; ibid.) Peasants were idealized and immortalized in Romantic and pre-Romantic poetry (see Elviken, 1931:373; see also Bø, 1968:546) in their role of preserving intact Norwegian national identity, close to its "primeval purity", to have maintained the old national character "almost unaltered for a

thousand years, down to the very threshold of the present" (Falnes, 1968:56-57, see also Eriksen, 1993:102). The 'Norwegian character' was sought and found in 'the hidden Norway' (*det skjulte Norge*) (see eg. Østerud, 1984:56), but in particular, it was believed, in the *odal* peasant, that is, the *freeholding* farmer, became an ur-national image, the ultimate symbol of Norwegianness and of liberty. In the peasant culture, then, lay the foundations for the emerging nation-state. It should also be mentioned that this trend changed within the course of the nineteenth century and that the rural population did in fact eventually embrace the nationalist movement (see eg. Jorgenson 1933, Falnes 1968 or Østerud, 1984:60). For class-political reasons, the idealization of the peasant suffered setbacks during the second half of the century, and also because it was realized that rural culture too was in the midst of drastic change and could not remain unaffected by the onset of modernity (see Hodne 1979 or Bø 1968). This however, gave an extra push to the collecting of folk narrative in an attempt to record and preserve what remained of the ancient Norwegian traditions before they were lost forever; indeed, there was a veritable rush of collectors during the second half of the century to rural areas (see Alver, 1989, Hodne 1979 or Dahl 1981). Moreover, it was felt that perhaps the tide could be reversed if the peasant was given back respect for the rural traditions (see Falnes, 1968:59).

Another crucial element in the link between past-present-future-peasant was the (assumed) link between the oral narrative tradition still alive in the rural areas in nineteenth-century Norway and the saga literature (Jorgenson, 1933:65, see also Haugen 1968¹⁸ and Moe 1914). This was important because it not only lent a certain prestige to the emerging Norwegian polysystem, and authority to the oral narrative tradition as 'literature' in a position to take part in the prevailing canon, but it lent credence to the claim that Norway had earlier been not only a political formation, but an independent *cultural* nation of a certain standing. Therefore, it could be argued that if Norway had earlier been a nation in the nineteenth-century sense of the word (with its own distinct 'character', language and literature), raising a dormant national unity could seem less artificial and

¹⁸For a discussion of the 'saga style' see eg. Sigurd Hoel, 1963, "Glimt av saga" in *Essays i utvalg*, Gyldendal, Oslo, pp.92-99 or Harald and Edvard Beyer, 1978:36.

See also Liestøl, 1930, *The Origins of the Icelandic Family Saga*, Aschehoug, Oslo, for parallels between the folktales and saga literature and Theodore M. Andersson, 1978, "The Icelandic Sagas" in *Heroic Epic and Saga* Ed. Felix J. Oinas, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and London, pp.144-171 for a discussion on the narrative style of the sagas.

forced than creating a new one. In the pre-union cultural-political configuration between the Nordic countries, it also became important to construct an historical scenario where Norway was to be a leading force (Koht, 1977:10-12 and 105, Østerud, 1984:58). P. A. Munch, Keyser, and other historians went to great lengths to exclude Sweden and Denmark from the Icelandic-Norwegian cultural partnership (and thus the prestigious saga literature) and strove equally to maintain Norway's priority in that ancient cultural union, arguing that the sagas dealt with Norwegian matters, were written as requests by patrons at the Norwegian courts, and were essentially 'Norwegian' (see Falnes, 1968:139ff). Østerud argues that history-writing too became in itself a national statement: "The writing of history created national consciousness" (Østerud, 1984:58). The historian J. E. Sars whose seminal work Udsikt over den norske historie I-IV ("Overview of Norwegian History I-IV") (ibid) and Norges Politiske Historie 1815-1885 ("The Political History of Norway from 1815 to 1885") (see Dahl, 1981:127) was a point in case (see also Koht, 1977:10, see also Hodne, 1979:17). Sars, for example, sought to combat the union-policy (union with Sweden) with historical arguments, emphasizing the continuity with the saga age and presenting the farmers as bearers of the national character in the spirit of Romanticism (see Østerud, 1984:58).

The present study supports the thesis that the concept of 'folk' was crucial to the development of national consciousness throughout Europe during the nineteenth century for a number of reasons (see eg. Eriksen 1993, Elviken 1931, Alver 1989, Fürst 1969 and Taylor 1971). Not only was this concept an important element in the creation of a glorified past as part of a bourgeois movement, but in time served to imbue the 'folk' with a sense of pride in themselves and was therefore instrumental in their eventual inclusion in the wider nationalist movement. Fishman writes that:

The mother tongue was the vehicle whereby history reached the lower mass and whereby folklore reached the upper class. Poetry, songs, proverbs, mottos, and tales - these all involve basically language behaviors and language products and both history and authenticity are manifestly made and safeguarded by their recitation. Over and over again one finds that both the context and the form of vernacular oral and written literature are pointed¹⁹ to, by elites and laymen alike, as inspiring, unifying, and activating nationalist stimuli.

¹⁹Fishman, 1975:50. On the connection between folklore, the use of the vernacular and national identity-sentiment in Turkey, see also Ilhan Basgöz 1978.

As Anderson, Hodne, Alver, Liestøl and Fishman all suggest (see Anderson, 1983:75ff and Hodne 1979; see also Liestøl 1979), with the advent of printing and the facilitated distribution of printed matter, the status of the folk's own vernacular was greatly increased, in Alver's words, the "strength of local identity is strengthened when people see their own traditions in print" (Alver, 1989:16). With the publication of their own oral tradition, which thus became the object of respect and admiration among the 'higher classes', the elevated status of the vernacular paved the way for their inclusion into urban society.

III. THE DISAPPEARANCE AND RECONSTRUCTION OF A NATIONAL LANGUAGE

If during the Viking period the distinction between 'Norwegian' and 'Danish' was not yet clear, this also applied to the *language situation*. Scholars disagree on the time of the splitting of the three languages, and it is clear that the transition between the Scandinavian languages was fluid, and that clear-cut distinctions cannot be made; it was not, furthermore, uni-national in that some Norwegian dialects shared many features and similarities with Danish and Swedish (for example Danish and Swedish and a few Norwegian dialects exchange diphthongs for monophthongs; see Lundeby and Torvik, 1956:19ff)²⁰. Furthermore, as Haugen points out, the distinction between 'language' and 'dialect' is not always as sharp as it might seem; in some cases, languages may be mutually intelligible where dialects are not (Haugen, 1972d:496). Koht believes that until the year 1000 all three Scandinavian countries spoke more or less the same language (Koht, 1977:2) while Einar Haugen (Haugen 1968:24) sets the date somewhat earlier, as do Einar Lundeby and Ingvald Torvik, at ca. 700 (Lundeby and Torvik, 1956:19). The earliest saga manuscripts in Norwegian are from around 1150 and bear witness to an Old Norse language significantly different from contemporary Danish and Swedish (Lundeby and Torvik *ibid*), although Haugen points out that Norwegian must have been used also prior to 1150 (Haugen, 1968:24-25). Lundeby and Torvik believe that the Norse language spoken in Norway was given written form no later than the second half of the eleventh century, a process on which the importation of Christianity through Latin had

²⁰Einar Lundeby and Ingvald Torvik, 1956, Språket vårt gjennom tidene, Gyldendal, Oslo.

had a certain influence, although much had already been written in Latin before this (ibid, see also Lundeby and Torvik, 1956:22²¹). In the following years the Norwegian language in Norway developed in different ways, exposed as it was to continental influences, in particular Danish, German and Latin (Haugen, 1968:24-25). By 1370 the written norm seems to have been falling apart, however (see eg. Lundeby and Torvik, 1956:25). The influence of Swedish, Danish and German was equally strong until the year 1450, which marks the beginning of the Danish-language domination on - first written - and eventually spoken Norwegian (ibid). Danish is generally considered to have completely replaced the language spoken and written in what is now Norway (not considering dialects) between 1450 and 1540 (Haugen, 1968:31, see also Lundeby and Torvik, 1956:25). The Norwegian language as such, Haugen claims, dissolved about a century after the beginning of the union with Denmark (Haugen, 1968:24-25), ie. at the end of the fifteenth century.

In Denmark-Norway Rask's above-mentioned 1811 study, which established a systematic phonology of the Germanic languages showing their relationship to other Indo-European languages²², was used to support the erroneous belief that 'Old Nordic' was the basis from which all the Scandinavian languages derived, equally, and that the 'Old Nordic' literature was common Dano-Norwegian property (see Haugen, 1968:30ff). It was, moreover, not only language and literature that was thought to be 'of common stock', but history too: the settlers in Iceland and Greenland were believed to be not Norse, ie. Norwegian, but Nordic (ibid). Danish was considered to be the most important element in this configuration, and Danish scholars often spoke of 'Old-Danish' when they meant 'Old-Nordic' (Skard, 1973:41). This view prevailed until the 1840s when the historians Rudolf Keyser and P. A. Munch published the results of their combined research which indicated that this supposedly Nordic literature was in fact not so much Nordic as *Norse*, and that the language in which it was written had arisen in Norway, that is, the exact opposite of what Rask had posited 30 years earlier (see Skard, 1973:41). The language of the Eddas and the sagas was thus 'pure' Norwegian, it was claimed; Swedish and Danish were no more than diverted variations of this ancient language which, it was argued, belonged exclusively to the north-Nordic

²¹On the introduction of the Roman alphabet and its role in the development of Old Norse as a literary language see also Larsen, 1950:124ff.

²²See Ward, 1988:98 and Skard, 1973:39-40 in Vemund Skard, Norsk Språkhistorie 1814-1884, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo; see also Dahl 1981.

branch, laying the foundation for Norwegian and Icelandic, but not Swedish and Danish (Haugen *ibid*). At stake was then the affinity of the Eddic literature, whether or not it belonged to a period of linguistic uniformity in the northern countries, or whether it had developed after the language in Norway had evolved separately (*ibid*). P. A. Munch in particular was adamant that *norrønt* was old Norwegian, not 'old northern', and that it had been the language used in Norway until the fourteenth century and preserved in Iceland (see Falnes, 1968:135ff and Koht, 1977:108-109). This was clearly not appreciated by Swedish and Danish Romantics who liked to think in terms of a single northern folk spirit (*ibid*). P. A. Munch believed that Old Swedish and Danish were ancient offshoots of a primeval northern parent stem and Falnes, tongue in cheek, remarks that "Munch conceded this honour to them since he then found it easier to shut them out from a share in the Norwegian-Icelandic literature" (Falnes, 1968:138), and he continues:

Yet Munch could offer the sister nations some consolation. There stirred a "national element" in the Old Swedish and Old Danish, and modern descendants might study the speech of their forefathers direct without a tempting detour by way of the Icelandic. (Falnes, 1968:140)

Both the awareness of the purely Norse origins of this great literature, and the language strife which understandably ensued with the Danes, were factors in 'awakening' national consciousness. The 1840's thus constituted a breakthrough for the study of ON, and its impact on national sentiment during these years was significant (see Skard, 1973:39-41). P. A. Munch remained a forefront figure in this period and in 1847 his analysis of the grammar of ON ("The Old Norse Language or the Grammar of *norrønt*") definitely established a link between Old Norse and the rural dialects (see Skard, 1973:50 and Koht, 1977:106 and 114).

IIIa. Danish-language dominance

Since the beginning of the union in 1397, all official acts in government, church and the education system were conducted in the standardized Dano-Norwegian language, replacing the old Norwegian (Haugen, 1968:21). Haugen argues that it was the creation and diffusion of an official

written language which had led to the establishment of this particular *spoken* language among the ruling classes (Haugen, 1968:25). This speech norm, based on Danish writing, was called *den dannede dagligtale* (the "cultivated daily speech"), a term coined by the educationalist Knud Knudsen in 1840, and its strength, Haugen suggests, was linked with the position of the urban bourgeoisie in setting linguistic standards (see Haugen, 1980:109). This language form, a combination of Danish written language and Norwegian pronunciation with the occasional Norwegian lexical particularity, was so rooted in Norway that it eventually came to be referred to as 'the Common Language' and considered to be, when spoken by Norwegians, 'Norwegian' and 'Danish' when spoken by Danes (see eg. Seip, 1914:29). This Dano-Norwegian thus co-existed with the dialects of the isolated rural areas and the two came into contact only through official channels (the rural population was required to conduct all official business in the standardized language; see eg. Haugen, 1968:109; in fact, priests and bureaucrats would not allow the elected ombudsmen to use the folk language, refusing to acknowledge or answer communications in dialect; see Koht, 1977:220). With the Reformation, the Bible was translated into Danish, and Koht argues that this too was instrumental in finally consolidating the dominance of the Danish language in Norway (Koht, 1977:219).

During the union period Danish language domination was not entirely stable, however; the first half of the sixteenth century, for example, saw an increase in the influence of Swedish, but as Denmark steadily gained increasing political hegemony, this tendency subsided, Seip argues, for two main reasons: the Reformation was introduced to Norway through Denmark, and printing reached Norway about 150 years after it had been introduced to Denmark; therefore all the religious, educational and official state-related documents were diffused much more efficiently, in printed form, in *Danish* (Seip, 1933:8). Another important event that encouraged the use of Danish was the introduction of church *confirmation* in 1736, whereby all religious teaching to the Norwegian youth would take place through the Danish language, consolidated by the government bill of three years later, stating that *all* teaching was to be conducted in the 'vernacular' (ie. Danish, not Latin), although this Danicization process was somewhat countered by the contemporary decree that all bureaucrats were to file reports on their local districts, leading to an increased interest in and

raised awareness of the local tongues and customs (see Seip, 1933:23-24). Parallel to this, the 1700s saw a general attempt to simplify and modernize both the Danish and Dano-Norwegian language, weeding out excessive latinizations and germanizations (Seip, 1933:25). Indeed, the late 1700s saw a rising interest in the local Norwegian language and dialects, some poetry (Edvard Storm, Ivar Kleiven, Thomas Stockfleth) and even prose began to appear in (near-) dialect form, and in the bureaucrats' reports many rural Norwegian words appeared (see Seip, 1933:34ff). However, at the same time the position of Danish was growing steadily stronger, in particular through the education system. As Seip notes: "We see then a strange ambiguity in our linguistic position in the period around 1800. The interest in the Norwegian language increases, but this interest is more offset by the increased power Danish gained through schools and in other ways" (Seip, 1933:33).

By 1814 a lively debate among both Danes and Norwegians about the identity and status of the Norwegian national language had arisen (Seip, 1933:37, see also Seip, 1914:29ff and Dahl, 1981:77ff). The language debate was no less lively in Denmark immediately after the dissolution of the union where the Danes began increasingly to object to the Norwegians calling their language 'Norwegian' when they felt that there was no difference between the Norwegians and themselves in linguistic terms, and that the Danes had had, furthermore, a considerable role in cultivating the language and literature of the Norwegian people throughout the four hundred years of union; many Danes would only accept the use of the word 'Norwegian' in referring to the Norwegian dialects (Seip, 1914:30-31). However, this criticism raised by the Danes only served to increase the budding national sentiment in Norway and the fact that in 1814 (ibid).

In 1885 Parliament declared that the Norwegian folk language was to have equal rights vis-à-vis the Dano-Norwegian written language for all official purposes (see eg. Seip, 1933:47 and Koht, 1977:220-221) and from this period onwards the development of the language split in two main directions (Koht *ibid*): some writers began to incorporate Norwegian words into the language in a deliberate attempt to move away from Danish to a still highly diversified Norwegian, whilst others preferred to maintain links with Danish. Asbjørnsen, Moe and Henrik Wergeland were

among the first to do this along with the poet Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson who was perhaps *the* writer of the classic age of modern Norwegian literature who went furthest in Norwegianizing the language in his poems, plays and novels (see Skard, 1973:43-44; see also Dahl, 1981:50ff or Koht, 1977:75-97). Many writers made a point of using Norwegian words that had not previously been a part of the Danish tradition, mainly those words characteristic of Norwegian natural scenery and folk life (Skard *ibid*). From the 1840s onwards there was such a confusion of competing linguistic norms that writers were forced to make deliberate choices regarding their language policy. As Daniel Popp says:

Within the limits permitted by the existing complex of orthographic principles and forms, often competing ones, individual writers worked out norms for their own practice ... Writers faced various needs depending upon what kind of written material they worked with. Thus, they either sought norms which reflected the forms of native speech, yet could accommodate traditional written forms, or vice versa, they sought norms which were better suited to traditional forms, yet could accommodate native spoken material. (Popp, 1977:96)

The nationalist-poet-playwright and agitator for language reform, Henrik Wergeland (1808-1845), is considered to be the first writer to consciously challenge the dominant Dano-Norwegian written norm (Seip, 1914:11ff). One of the language areas which had remained most conservative was that of the stage, and the Norwegianization of stage language became one of Wergeland's, and later other playwrights' (such as Bjørnson and Ibsen), main preoccupations (see Seip, 1914:41ff). Although at the outset Wergeland had expected the main emphasis in the 'Norwegianization' process to be on lexical changes, anticipating only marginal grammatical changes, from 1840 onwards, inspired by the publication of folksongs, he had a change of heart and advocated "Not just an enrichment for the language! No - re-construction! Old endings, old forms, everything that doesn't sound too absurdly wrong!" (quoted in Koht, 1977:95 and Skard, 1973:43). Skard notes that Wergeland's real contribution to the language modernization process lay also in the fact that he absorbed words from the folk language that were *not* specifically associated with the rural environment, thereby challenging the underlying link between this vocabulary and the local, rural environment (Skard, 1973:50); by placing these elements in the literary, urban polysystem, they were transformed into *national* rather than *local* elements. Thus, it could be said that Wergeland paved the way for Asbjørnsen and Moe (see Skard, 1973:50). In fact, Wergeland met Jørgen Moe in July 1841 and of

course read the NF; Koht goes so far as to say that "Through these works [the NF tales] he discovered that an old Norwegian folk tradition existed, and the foundation was laid for the great achievements of the National Romantics in the next decades" (Koht, 1977:83).

The conservative wing of the literary establishment, which was more drawn towards maintaining Danish orthography and form in general, consisted of writers such as Johan Sebastian Cammermeyer Welhaven and Camilla Collet, joined by P. A. Munch. Welhaven and Wergeland in particular were considered to be 'rivals' and polemics between them were often intense (Dahl 1981:50ff). While Welhaven advocated the 'edifying' of the peasant population, to be guided by (his own) educated, urban class, and believed that the young Norway should remain in close contact, linguistically and culturally, with Denmark to 'build itself up' (see eg. Dahl, 1981:70-71), Wergeland agitated on behalf of the peasants and the 'common man' who he believed should no longer be seen to be "objects of curiosity, but as the real backbone of democracy" (quoted in Elviken, 1931:384). Paradoxically, Wergeland believed that Norway's language-bond 'with one of Europe's most cultivated nations' was intensely positive, although he at the same time says that the union was a great misfortune; the paradox can be understood, Dahl remarks, by remembering that on the one hand he is asserting Norwegian national independence, on the other, the hegemony of the ruling classes (Dahl, 1981:78).

IIIb. Language reform and standardization. Landsmål and riksmål

Contemporaneously with the changes and developments that were taking place in the standard Dano-Norwegian language form, a young linguist by the name of Ivar Aasen (1813-1896) sought to construct, on the basis of the diverse Norwegian dialects, a new language to fill the gap left by the extinction of written Norwegian in the Middle Ages. His aim was to create a modern Norwegian grammatically and semantically related to ON (see eg. Koht 1977, Østerud 1984 and Dahl 1981). Aasen believed that the dialects, rather than being 'deviant' or 'erroneous' as many others had previously believed, were direct descendants of ON, having preserved its grammatical

and lexical forms, albeit with many changes, over the centuries that had passed²³. Others, such as Keyser and P. A. Munch had already pointed out the relationship between the dialects and Old Norse, but it was Aasen who proved this link with his systematic linguistic mapping of the dialects, and he was able to prove, furthermore, the grammatical similarities and the inner continuity between the dialects themselves (see Haugen, 1968:30). He further believed that these dialects together could create what he variously referred to as 'a common Norwegian language', 'the language of the common people', 'the true Norwegian folk language' or 'our National language' (*vort Almuesprog*, *det rette norske Folkesprog* and *vort Nationalsprog*)²⁴. Aasen gave highest priority to conservative dialects, ie. those closer grammatically to ON (the west coast and midland regions rather than the south-eastern and northern areas), but aimed to create a norm that would not be so regional as to exclude the possibility of a national consensus, opposing those who wanted to include aspects of ON that no longer functioned in *any* dialect, such as P. A. Munch (see Haugen 1968:29 and Koht, 1977:106 and 108-109 and Haugen, 1980:110). In fact, four years before Aasen began to elaborate his plans for the development of the new language form, P. A. Munch had proposed the formation of a national language on the basis of the old Norwegian language as a link between the old and the emerging nation²⁵; indeed, like so many other products of the Romantic movement, the stress of the entire *landsmål* movement was very much on continuity with the ancient past. This proposal, conceived by an unknown, unscholared, peasant-lad at the age of 22 (see Koht, 1977:109), was indeed new and revolutionary, and this new form of Norwegian came to be one of the most explosive factors of linguistic policy, to this day splitting the nation in vociferous adherence to either camp.

In 1848 Aasen published Det Norske Folkesprogs Grammatik ("Grammar of the Norwegian Folk Language"). In 1850 followed Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog ("Dictionary of the Norwegian Folk Language"), in 1853 Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge ("Samples of the rural language in Norway") and in 1864 and in 1873 the dictionary and the grammar were republished

²³See Ivar Aasen, 1905, "Om vort skriftsprog" in Syn og Segn (15), pp.1-5.

²⁴See Haugen, 1968:27, Koht, 1977:108-109 and 114 and Ivar Aasen, 1853, Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania.

²⁵See Moltke Moe, 1912:121-123 in Moltke Moe, 1912, "P. A. Munch og det nasjonale gjennombrudd" in Maal og Minne (1912), pp.117-126.

(see eg. Koht, 1977:104 and 114-115). Although Aasen's linguistic work as a dialectologist was an enormous contribution to language studies in Norway and fundamental for the formation of the discipline, he was motivated by nationalistic rather than by scientific aims (see Koht, 1977:110). Already in his earliest writings his two main currents of thought can be witnessed: the desire for an independent nation with its own national language, and democracy, ie. that the constitution should be an instrument empowering the people (especially the peasants) and that therefore the language of the people should be the language of the nation (see Seip, 1914:54 or Koht, 1977:100-103). The fact that he used the term 'Norwegian' was in itself a nationalist provocation, as Norwegians had come to think of Danish - or Dano-Norwegian - as "Norwegian", at least when it was used by Norwegians (Haugen, 1980:10, see also Hodne 1979). (In the republication of his dictionaries, instead of specifying 'folk' in the title, he simply wrote 'Norwegian Grammar' and 'Norwegian Dictionary', indicative of the status given to the new language.) The term 'Norwegian' was therefore not taken up by others than his closest supporters (ibid).

Aasen could thus be described as an embodiment of 'the true Romantic' fused with the true 'peasant', and his work could be described as the exemplification of Rousseauian ideals. Through him the development of the ideological paradigm from bourgeois Romantic nationalism to a rural popular, democratic and national movement is expressed, illustrated in a statement such as the following.

Now that our homeland has become what it once was, that is free and independent, it is incumbent upon us to use an independent and national language since this is the most noble characteristic of a nation ... We desire precisely such a language of the people in which every citizen can participate without effort; our constitution gives us the right to fulfil this desire. (see Aasen, 1905:1)

In this quote from the young Aasen, the Romantic bond between language and nation can be clearly seen; Aasen's work was inspired by dreams of 'the Past' and became an important element in the development of Norwegian National-Romanticism. No doubt, Koht remarks, the fact that his linguistic works were published during this particular period was vital for their enthusiastic reception (see Koht, 1977:106). The new language form was referred to as *landsmål*, which means

both rural (*land*) language and national (*land*) language, until 1938 when, after an extensive language reform, *landsmål* became officially known as *nynorsk*²⁶.

To fully implement this new language the *landsmål* supporters realized that for it to succeed beyond use as a poetic and literary language, it would have to become official in state and school systems; political action was needed and this took place through an alliance with the opposition "Left" (*Venstre*) party which was particularly well-represented by the rural population as well as by progressive intellectuals (see Haugen, 1968:30). The opposition party was thus advocating both national and democratic causes - opposition to a foreign king and his impediment to Norwegian independence, and an extension of suffrage to include the whole population (*ibid*). The language question was symbolically important in this conflict because - by supporting *landsmål* the "Left" party was thus attacking one of the privileges of the ruling classes and at the same time supporting the nationalist cause by opening the language to more Norwegian elements, thus associating the Norwegianization of the standardized Dano-Norwegian language form with the emancipation and claim to equal rights of the rural population (eg. Haugen *ibid*). When in 1884 the 'Left' party came to power, one of the first things the new government did was to propose that *landsmål* should be considered official alongside the prevailing Dano-Norwegian language form (Koht, 1977:219).

With this proposal the language question was introduced definitively as a political issue (see Haugen, 1968:31 and Østerud, 1984:63). Alongside the developments in *landsmål*, changes were occurring in the opposite camp among those who opposed the introduction of the *landsmål* and preferred to maintain the conservative Dano-Norwegian (see Koht, 1977:218). Supporters of this language form, coined *rigsmaal* (later *riksmaal*, *riksmål* - "language of the kingdom"), insisted that Dano-Norwegian was also 'Norwegian', primarily because of the Norwegian pronunciation and certain Norwegian lexical influences (see Haugen, 1968:40). Thus, the terms *landsmål* and *rigsmål* were established as two opposing language forms. Subsequent to the 1907 and 1917 language

²⁶Haugen, 1972b:427 in Einar Haugen, 1972, "Language Planning in Modern Norway" in Studies by Einar Haugen Eds. E. Firchow et. al., Mouton, Paris, p.422-431.

Haugen prefers "New Norse" to New Norwegian as it emphasizes the continuity between past and present; indeed he argues, for the same reason, that the English "New Norse" is more appropriate than the Norwegian *nynorsk*. See Haugen, 1972a:25 in Einar Haugen, 1972, "The Linguistic Development of Ivar Aasen's New Norse" in Studies by Einar Haugen Eds. E. Firchow et al., Mouton, Paris, pp.25-57.

reforms *riksmål* came to be known as *bokmål* (Haugen, 1972b:427 and Koht, 1977:221) and today the term *riksmål* denotes a far more conservative linguistic minority movement, prevalent in restricted urban environments, in which a higher degree of linguistic continuity with the earlier Dano-Norwegian language form is preserved.

CHAPTER 6

THE CORPUS: ASBJØRNSEN AND MOE'S NORSKE FOLKEEVENTYR THEORETICAL PREMISES AND TEXTUAL REALIZATION

The previous chapters of this thesis have attempted to demonstrate how the nineteenth-century polysystem in Norway, in a period of intense historical, political, social, and linguistic change, was in the process of becoming established as a nationally independent institution, and how the role of National-Romantic ideology was crucial to this process. Through an examination of the position of oral narrative in nineteenth-century Norway, the following chapter will attempt to demonstrate that it was no less crucial to the formation of the NE in both theoretical and practical terms.

I. ASBJØRNSEN AND MOE'S THEORETICAL PREMISES AND METHODOLOGY. THE INFLUENCE OF THE GRIMMS

Moe had spent much time in Christiania during the years the two collectors compiled the NE, and Liestøl argues that the distance from and homesickness for his home may have sharpened his sense of the distinctiveness of rural life and thereby allowed him to form a clearer and more conscious theory of art (see Liestøl, 1977:39). By this time he had already formed a vague idea of what was later to become his seminal project, but it was only when he in 1836 had access to the Grimms' KHM that he understood how he was to go about it in practice (see Hodne, 1979:24 or Liestøl 1979). Asbjørnsen had been in contact with the Grimms' work even earlier than this; his first known contact with their work is in 1832 when he borrowed the Grimms' Deutsche Grammatik (see Sand Bakken, 1935:464), and the first time he read the KHM seems to have been January 1835 (Sand Bakken *ibid* and Hodne, 1979:14), so it is clear that he had read the Grimms'

academic work even before he read the KHM (Hodne, 1979:24). The Grimms' approach thus became the guiding principle for Asbjørnsen and Moe in their own work, in their methodology and in their advocacy of the collector-rewriter's perceived duty to render the informants' narratives accurately¹.

Following the Grimms' example Asbjørnsen and Moe's explicit intention was to present the folktales in the language in which they were told (see Moe, 1914:147 and Schmidt, 1885:260), but the practical problems inherent in the concrete realization of the transfer from oral to written form may well have seemed insuperable, and was - given the difference between the rural 'folk' and the urban Danicized language - certainly of a far more serious nature than that of the Grimms. Although Asbjørnsen and Moe's theoretical (and ideological - to uphold the cultural and linguistic continuation of the peasant-nation equation) premise was that of retaining and presenting the language of the folk unchanged (Moe, 1914:147), at the same time these narrative were to be presented in writing in a form that was to be understandable as well as familiar to their bourgeois readership (see eg. Hovstad, 1933:290) or, using Holbek's terminology (after Petr Bogatyrev and Roman Jakobsen, Holbek, 1987:40), the *langue* of the performer and the *parole* of writer had to be integrated into a unified and artistically acceptable product.

1a. Theoretical premises

Unlike the Grimms, Asbjørnsen and Moe wrote surprisingly little, in terms of theory, about folktale collecting and -rewriting. In Moe's lengthy introduction to the 1852 edition some indications are found, as well as in prefaces to the some of the NF editions². On further

¹See Hodne, 1979:24. See Schmidt 1885 and Krogvig 1915 for letters between Asbjørnsen and Moe, and between them and the Grimms, where they explicitly state their desire to adhere to the latter's *Treue und Wahrheit* principle. On the general influence of the Grimms on Asbjørnsen and Moe, see Liestøl, 1932:154 and Hansen, 1932:134 as well as Krogvig 1915.

²In addition to the preface to the 1840 suscription invitation, and the lengthy academic introduction of the 1852 edition, the 1866 and 1868 editions of the NF contained prefaces of varying lengths, and Moltke Moe also wrote prefaces to the 1896, 1896-1905, 1904, 1911/1914, 1928i, 1932 and 1936i editions. Asbjørnsen wrote prefaces to the following editions of his own legend collections: 1845, 1848, 1866, 1870, 1871 and Moltke Moe wrote prefaces to the 1896, 1907i and 1907ii editions of Asbjørnsen's legends (see Raabe 1942 and Appendix 2 in this thesis).

examination of these passages it also becomes clear that Asbjørnsen and Moe's views about folk literature evolved considerably from the late 30's to the 60's and 70's. In the preface to Nor 1838, in which Asbjørnsen published 4 tales, Moe stated that he wished to "renew *Kunstpoesie* through folk narrative" (quoted in Liestøl, 1932:154). Later, more directly influenced by Romantic beliefs in the collective origins of oral narrative, Moe, at Asbjørnsen's insistence, abandoned this technique and aimed for a more unified narrative style reflecting what they both believed to be a *national* literary style and character (Schmidt, 1885:263 and Moe, 1914:148). As early as 1840, in a preface to the publication of the very first edition of NE, Moe had written that the collectors aimed to retell the tales "faithfully as they had received them from the narrator, without beautification of any event or changing the course of action" (quoted in Liestøl, 1932:149 and in Skard, 1973:42). By 1852, in the introduction to the second, full edition, Moe specifically stated that it was his intention to retell the tales in a folk-language for *scientific* - academic - purposes (see Moe, 1914:126). It is interesting to note that the Grimms had initially been sceptical towards Asbjørnsen and Moe's 'scientific rigour'. As Dorson says: "[according to the Grimms] [t]hey thereby deviated from the present-day view that all texts, garbled or ample, should be recorded literally. But their end product so appealed to Jacob Grimm that he described them as the best *Märchen* in print" (Dorson, 1964:ix, emphasis added).

Moe is usually considered to be the leading scholar of the two, partly because it was he who wrote the academic introduction to the 1852 edition of NE where the influence of the Grimms' principle of fidelity was explicitly stated, and also the leading stylist (see eg. Bolckmans, 1960:152, 154 and 156 or Liestøl, 1932:155). And yet it was Moe who at the outset was keen to *adapt* the tales in a literary mode. In fact, his first option had been more in line with pre-Grimm German Romantics such as Brentano, Arnim and Tieck (see eg. Hansen, 1932:160), elaborating the oral tales to create a product acceptable to the contemporary literary environment. Asbjørnsen's answer to Moe's proposal to adapt was that "he had neither the desire nor the talent to undertake such an adaptive role. If Moe, however, wished to relate the tales *in unadapted form*, he was willing to collaborate" (quoted in Hodne, 1979:31, emphasis added) and much later, Asbjørnsen, in a letter to Jacob Grimm in 1858 states that he is anxious about the folktale collection because he fears that Moe is 'failing him'; Asbjørnsen, by own 'confession' depended heavily on Moe's artistic criticism

(Schmidt, 1885:267). Moe accepted Asbjørnsen's objection, although he later interpreted this event as a misunderstanding, and stated that he had been referring only to his *poetry*, not the collaboration on the folktale project (see Liestøl, 1932:153). Both Liestøl and Hodne agree that Moe's literary vocation influenced his traditional-narrative work; indeed, the fact that in 1837 Moe had explicitly stated that he planned to use traditional narrative in his own creative writing is a clear indication of this (see Liestøl, 1932:154ff). Referring to Moe's artistic style, Hodne quotes Sigurd Aarnes in saying that "In this 'poetic realism' there is a clear connection between the folktale narrator and the poet Jørgen Moe" (Hodne, 1979:32) and that Moe combined poetry and folklore studies in a "literary crop-rotation" (ibid). Hodne therefore argues that given his creative-literary talent and vocation, it was therefore not a matter of course that Moe eventually so wholeheartedly endorsed the Grimms' academic, 'scientific' *Treue und Wahrheit* premises for folk narrative research and retelling (ibid). He suggests rather that it was possibly the *seriousness* and scientific attention with which the Grimms devoted themselves to a genre that he admired but which until then had held little status in society at large, that most appealed to Moe (see Hodne, 1979:31). Moe eventually came to fully endorse the communal-collective Grimmian view. Eventually, it was Asbjørnsen and Moe, and not vice-versa, who expressed doubts as to whether the Grimms' actually implemented their 'scientific methodology' in line with their professed *Treue und Wahrheit* creed (at least to the satisfaction of Asbjørnsen and Moe; see Moe, 1914:147 Schmidt, 1885:281 and Hansen, 1932:175). There can be no doubt then that Asbjørnsen and Moe were heavily influenced by the Grimms, both as academic folklorists and collectors, as well as in their role as artists (see Hodne, 1979:24 and 30)³ but their theoretical and methodological (Grimmian) view, Falnes writes, was also to be seen in function of its nation-building role: "It should be recalled that Moe had a vested interest to defend for he had based the national significance of the folk tales on their style and form, and this significance they could possess, from his point of view, only if the form had been fixed from time immemorial" (Falnes, 1968:256-257).

³In terms of textual adaptation, the Grimms' influence on Asbjørnsen and Moe's work on the formation of the individual tales has been discussed by scholars such as Liestøl and Hodne. Liestøl shows, for example, the influence of the Grimms' "*Schneeweisschen und Rosenrot*" on "*Östenfor Sol og Vestenfor Maane*" (Liestøl, 1979:96; see also Hodne 1979).

A number of other Norwegian scholars too expressed views and wrote about folktales during this period, among them P. A. Munch who in a lengthy (positive) review of Moe's 1852 introduction to the NE, spoke of the tales as being the *source* for mythical and heroic legends (see Liestøl, 1953:296⁴). He claimed that they were much older than previously believed, their narrative style *formative* of later mythological epic and poetry, thus going against the Romantic Grimmian approach in which the folktales were considered to be degenerate remnants of 'higher' myths and cultural artefacts, although he shared the belief in the folktales original *Urform*. On the basis of this review, which he considered to be academically far ahead of its time, Moltke Moe later hailed P. A. Munch as "one of the founders of the scientific discipline of the study of tradition" (Liestøl, 1953:296). Moltke Moe also believed that P. A. Munch's historical research (presumably despite his dissension with the prevailing Romantic beliefs) was no doubt formative for Asbjørnsen and Moe's theoretical views on folklore (ibid).

Ib. Nature-poetry versus Art-poetry and the role of the poet

Like the Grimms, Asbjørnsen and Moe distinguished between *Kunst-* and *Volkspoesie* (Art- and Folk-poetry) especially in the later years of collaboration on the NE, and for Asbjørnsen and Moe, as for the Grimms, *Volkspoesie* clearly had priority over *Kunstpoesie*. As Moe says:

Our *Kunstpoesie* as a whole is quite distinct from, and estranged from, our *Volkspoesie*, which is especially prevalent in legends and folktales, but also in certain metrical, lyric-epical forms. *One does not ask who the author is, for each story, there is only one answer: the Folk; who narrate to create not a name, but Air - which is all-encompassing Life, which must free itself, it is the source which struggles to create a place for itself.* (Quoted in Hagemann, 1963:53, emphasis added)

In Norway, the artist was, as in Romantic Germany, given high priority, clearly parallel to what has been discussed concerning German Romanticism and the Romantic vision of the poet as 'visionary', 'sage' and 'genius'. The artist was not only the creator of *Kunstpoesie*, but was to 'free' and represent *Volkspoesie* to the whole nation. Asbjørnsen and Moe believed that it was the role of the

⁴See Harald and Edvard Beyer, 1978:151ff for a discussion on the relationship between tales and ancient myth and Skard, 1973:53-55 on P. A. Munch.

poet, with his clarity of vision, "to distinguish between what is crucial and what is not crucial" for the work of art (Liestøl, 1979:42). In Eriksson's words, the Scandinavian Romantics' main concern was of "the power of poetry to catch the spiritual, or, as they preferred to say, the ideal essence of being" (Eriksson, 1988:179); they believed folk narrative to be, "the purest and most complete revelation of the spirit of the *Volk*" (quoted in Liestøl *ibid*). Asbjørnsen and Moe believed then that their role as *artists* was to 'free' and re-express in written, artistic-literary form, the national essence imbued in the literature of the folk:

One must, they insisted - like in other art-forms - depict the image in such a way that "the Characteristic", the "essence" is revealed, to "reveal the internal proof of the secret of our folktales", and leave out "the distracting, unnecessary details ... The nature of poetry, they claimed, is a revelation of the 'essential' in life. (Liestøl, 1979:42; see also Dorson 1964:x)

The role of the poet was thus to re-express the essence or the characteristic *in a new linguistic and physical (written) form*, taking care that the folktale was to be "clothed" in such a way as to allow its "inner life", its "spirit" to be revealed (see Liestøl, 1979:82ff). For this to take place, the poet was required to have a deep familiarity with the 'folk', their way of life and their poetic tradition (see Liestøl, 1977:41; see also Moe, 1914:140). They believed that the "*narrator must stand above the people, he must yet have kept an intimate bond with them*" (quoted in Liestøl, 1932:148, emphasis in Liestøl). The connection between (and influence on) Moe's artistic-poetic agenda (what Hodne and others call 'poetic realism'⁵) and the German-Romantic creed which the Grimms advocated is, on the basis of such statements, clear, especially in the distinction between nature and art poetry and the role of the poet as a 'visionary sage' and as one whose duty it was to bring out and present the essence of the nation through folk narrative. As in Romantic Germany the role of the genius-poet to 'catch the ideal essence of being' coincided with and was strengthened and complemented by the Herderian ideal of nations as well as of a human history intensely linked to nature (Eriksson, 1988:181). The main difference between Asbjørnsen and Moe and the Grimms could be said to lie in their approach to *collecting*. Whilst the Grimms mainly received their informants in the comfort of their own home (see Ward, 1988:90, Dollerup 1995:95-97), Asbjørnsen and Moe were true

⁵See Hodne, 1979:32, Dahl, 1981:100 and Harald and Edvard Beyer, 1978:122 and 149.

fieldworkers, travelling around the country interviewing their informants on the latter's own home turf.

1c. From oral performance to written tale. Re-telling and re-writing

It has been argued that Asbjørnsen and Moe's folktales did not take shape 'by themselves'; they were a conscious literary effort, demanding intense linguistic creativity and compromise. As Falnes says: "It is permissible then to wonder whether the highly praised style of the stories owed more to the popular idiom or to the literary skill of Asbjørnsen and Moe" (Falnes, 1968:259). For example, Asbjørnsen and Moe, as the Grimms, very occasionally made use of several different variants, building on one main underlying strand and several supporting strands from other variants⁶. Although this technique is frowned upon by modern folklore scholars who record tales in a form as 'original' as possible (see eg. Holbek 1987 or Dundes 1985), it must be remembered, as Liestøl also notes, that Asbjørnsen and Moe's aim was not the same as that of the modern folklore scholar, rather, it was artistic, pedagogical and nationalistic (see Liestøl, 1977:44). Asbjørnsen and Moe's texts were based on the notes that they took during recording and on their own memory, more as a mnemonic device, that is, than a stenographed recording, and it is therefore impossible to judge how 'faithful' they really were to their narrators' original performance⁷. However, this should not entirely exclude a high degree of accuracy: Dollerup, Holbek, Reventlow and Rosenberg Hansen cite the case of the Danish collector Evald Tang Kristensen "who relied on some kind of rapid notation and memory, [and] did in effect preserve a high number of idiosyncratic linguistic peculiarities with his informants" (Dollerup et al., 1984:253). Asbjørnsen and Moe put themselves in the same category as the storytellers, learned the tales, "internalized them and lived through them" and retold them "faithfully to the tradition but still in their own way" (Liestøl, 1979:44). Unfortunately, most of the preparatory manuscript work is lost and therefore impossible to evaluate;

⁶See eg. Liestøl, 1977:43 or 1932:152, or Hodne 1979. Liestøl, for example, shows in detail how the tale "*Presten og Klokkeren*" is a construction of two of Moe's variants. He also notes how Asbjørnsen added his own stylistic devices, such as rhymes and proverbs (Liestøl, 1977:45).

⁷See Liestøl 1979:88-89 and 1932:151ff. See Hodne 1979 for a detailed account - to the extent that it is possible - based on Asbjørnsen and Moe's extant notes, on the changes effected from the *oral* version of individual tales to written form.

however, the later correspondence between the two men gives some indication of their methods⁸. Despite his confessed adhesion to - or attempted recreation of - an original form, it is interesting to note that Moe was keenly aware of the role of the narrators, often going to great lengths to describe their character, appearance, and storytelling techniques and they usually identified their informants which, to my knowledge without exception, belonged to the rural population (see eg. Hodne 1979 or Moe, 1914:148ff or Moltke Moe 1925-1927). Indeed, Moe speaks of one particular narrator as "performing" rather than "telling" folktales⁹. This is particularly interesting because none of Asbjørnsen and Moe's Romantic contemporaries seemed to give any attention to this crucial aspect of the story-telling event.

An indication of their attitude towards their own role in the adapting the tales, is that Asbjørnsen and Moe differentiated strongly between 'collecting and writing down' and 'telling'; in a number of prefaces they refer to their work as that of 'collectors and re-tellers' (see Liestøl 1932:148). They speak of "such and such a recorded tale as not having been *told* yet, their unpublished tales are referred to as "our untold fairytales"" (from Liestøl 1977:41). In their distinction between 'writing down' (as the legend-collector Faye had done before them) and 're-telling' they seem to be fully aware of the performative aspects of the story-telling event, attempting to present the tales in a form that would relate the *entire* event as faithfully as possible; they ambitiously attempted to relay the 'ideal tale' or the 'story-telling event', aware of the difficulty this entailed but in the belief that they could recreate a once-existing ideal tale, the *Urform* (Moe, 1914:123). Given the changes in language, this *Urform* could not be understood literally but seems to represent a Herderian 'Idea' imbued in the content and form of the tale.

It may seem paradoxical, then, that Moe assumed he was receiving the folktales in a somehow 'completed' form - that is he assumed the oral development of the tales to have been completed by the time they reached him and in the form they had been told to him, and that his step

⁸See Krogvig 1915 and Moltke Moe, 1925-1927, "Det nasjonale gjennombrud og dets mænd" in Moltke Moes Samlede Skrifter Ed. Knut Liestøl, Aschehoug, Christiania for the correspondence between them.

⁹See eg. Moe, 1914:148ff, see also Liestøl, 1932:150; for accounts of the informants see Bø, 1972:100-103 or Moltke Moe 1925-1927, "Det nasjonale gjennombrud og dets mænd" in Moltke Moes Samlede Skrifter Ed. Knut Liestøl, Aschehoug, Christiania).

was the final one in a presumed finite process (see Foss, 1923:214 and Moe 1914 in its entirety). The vocabulary, the choice of words was thus, it was believed, already 'given', the final selection having been made by others than the collector (ie. through 'tradition'), but the seeming incongruity may be explained by their Romantic view of the poet, as described above, whose duty it was to 'free' these tales, re-express them in a new form. Thus the tales were believed to be 'completed' through tradition (see Foss, 1923:214), but perhaps through a social or cultural degeneration, or lack of artistic sophistication in their home environment, they may have been regarded as 'unpolished' and unable to express their 'true selves'. Furthermore, this presumed narrative continuity would lend credence to a cultural-literal continuity and therefore also the continuity of the nation as a long-standing, independent entity; narrative continuity was, as mentioned, crucial to the construction of full cultural nation-hood. The dilemma for a committed folklorist who wanted to write down the tales in a popular manner lay, then, in adhering to the rules of an official language that barely overlapped with the folk language of rural oral tradition:

It is therefore not the collecting of the material which is the most difficult aspect of a work such as this. The difficulty lies rather in the re-telling, particularly as this takes place through a language which has to such a great extent distanced itself from the speech of the people, as our written language has. (Quoted in Liestøl, 1977:41)

To have re-told and written down the folktales in the official Dano-Norwegian would have been, for Asbjørnsen and Moe, to derobe them of any national identity, to rob them of everything that potentially constituted their 'Norwegianness', as Hovstad also notes (Hovstad, 1933:290). Although Asbjørnsen and Moe seemed to have no qualms about retaining the official Danish orthography and declination, they sought to express the tales' 'Norwegianness' by choosing rural forms for syntax and vocabulary, for example (see eg. Foss 1923:216ff and Hovstad *ibid*). Furthermore, as Hovstad and others note, the *themes* that Asbjørnsen and Moe introduced through their collection of tales were in many ways specific to the Norwegian rural community (nature, agriculture, tools, animals, etc.) and unfamiliar to the Dano-Norwegian urban community, emphasising the Rousseauian nation-peasant bond, although Vemund Skard reminds us that:

the connection between Norwegian themes and Norwegian forms of language was not in itself new, it has followed Norwegian writers right from the Reformation. And because the

national awakening in the 1830s-1840s was a breakthrough precisely for national themes in literature, the typically Norwegian language forms naturally followed. (Skard, 1973:49)

Equally important, though were the words associated with daily speech that are *not connected* to the rural farm environment but were nevertheless included in the tales, opening up for a rural-Norwegian language use beyond the strict association to rural themes. Furthermore, Asbjørnsen and Moe wanted to avoid the dual tone of the Grimms' half-dialect, half-'book'-language manner (see Moe, 1914:148). By using different dialects for the different tales they would have limited the NF to a narrower readership, whilst they wanted them to become a *national* corpus, to belong to the *whole* country, not just isolated valleys; therefore, they aimed at some degree of standardization (see Moe *ibid*).

Hovstad is one of the few scholars who considers the text-production process, from a "Norwegian" point of view, as nothing other than a translation *from Norwegian into Danish* (ie. from Norwegian rural spoken dialect form into standard written Dano-Norwegian; Hovstad, 1933:291), notwithstanding the high degree of 'Norwegianization' elements, indicated above, that were in fact *introduced through the texts*. Hovstad notes, for example that as far as sentence structure is concerned, the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales were definitely innovatory in the urban Dano-Norwegian polysystem, but argues that the differences in syntax between the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales and in the Dano-Norwegian urban language form are attributable not so much to the differences between Danish and 'Norwegian' as to the differences between Germanic 'folk' style on the one hand, and continental European, Latinized 'educated' language on the other, that the paratactic sentence structure, generally considered 'typical' of the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales is rather than being uniquely 'Norwegian', in contradiction to the latinate hypotactical structure, characteristic of the folk narrative genre as a whole. He argues that this can be demonstrated by comparing the Asbjørnsen and Moe collection to the Grimms' KHM, or to Grundtvig's or Hyltén-Cavallius' collections. However, in the light of what has been discussed in this thesis about the Grimms' intense adaptations, such an argument would need to be qualified and placed in relation to the entire text-production process. If the argument were to be followed up, however, it could be compared to what has been noted above about the saga style and my suggestion that rather than being a uniquely

Norwegian continuation of the saga narrative tradition, the particular narrative traits of the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales may rather belong to a wider European (structural) folk narrative tradition which includes those particular literary techniques. If Liestøl's argument about the self-correcting tendency of the individual narrator, or tradition-bearer to adhere to a general norm, an 'ideal form', is kept in mind, it could be argued that the adaptations may be examples of this tendency to attempt to revert to an ideal structure. To argue the case conclusively, however, an in-depth comparison between pre-Latin non-fictional or '-literary' texts (ie, not the sagas) would be necessary.

The paradox of the situation is clearly expressed in Asbjørnsen and Moe's language dilemma: the urban literati had created for themselves a national ideological framework in which to pursue their struggle for independence based on a culture that was foreign to them; this could only be fulfilled by presenting this foreign culture as their own national property, but by doing so they could not lay claim to the prestige which the conservative Danicized language and culture - which they had acquired during the union period - represented and which was precisely their symbol of power. This was also why the language debate was so fierce, and is still so fierce: language was and is a statement of social status and power, and that is also why poets and writers of the National-Romantic period had to tread so carefully and so slowly in their reforms; they had to have it both ways, so to speak, folk culture and language presented somehow in an urban and urbane form. For Asbjørnsen and Moe 're-telling' was not simply the transition from folk to bourgeois and from oral to 'literary', but from dialects to standard Norwegian, and a 'standard Norwegian' in the process of monumental change, the difficulties presented by the discrepancy between spoken dialects - the form in which the tales were told - and the official, written language which to all intents and purposes was Danish, were enormous.

Id. 'Equivalence' and the Urform

It has been noted that Asbjørnsen and Moe subscribed to the *gesunkenes Kulturgut* theory, and that they believed that it was their task and duty, as Romantic collectors, poets and academics, to retrieve the spirit and essence of this *Urform* in which lay also the spirit and the key to the presumed Norwegian national character (see eg. Alver 1989:13-14, Kielhau, 1931:268 and Dorson, 1964:xi). Romantic collectors. In its nineteenth-century manifestation of artistic form and unity, the Asbjørnsen and Moe collection was thus believed to express the 'equivalent' of a presumed ancient text, to bring the tales back what many referred to as their "saga origins" (Moe, 1914:146 and 128-134, see also Liestøl, 1932:150). Their understanding of 'equivalence', then, lay in a creative reconstruction of its contemporary form, upholding the enormous importance given to the poet-writer. If their role as Romantic 'visionary' poets was to retrieve a presumed *Urform* through which was expressed the 'essence' of the nation, it would have been incumbent upon them to represent this *Urform* in a form which would live up to its high reputation, and in this light deliberate, conscious and careful adaptation might be regarded almost as 'a sacred duty' rather than as adulteration of the text.

In respect to language, of course, there could be no absolute recourse to the original form, in fact Asbjørnsen and Moe were relatively conservative in this regard compared to some radical writers who advocated a much more drastic Norwegianization of the language (see eg. Skard, 1973:52ff and Foss, 1923:209-210¹⁰); however, the rural dialect words introduced through the NE were more than token elements not only in their impact on the emerging language, but also insofar as they functioned symbolically as a link with the ON. One aspect of the tales which belie their literary-stylistic adaptation is witnessed by the unity of form of the many different tales collected from different parts of the country and from very different informants, described by Liestøl in the following way "although they have many different narrators, the same tone is present throughout the work as though it was told by a single mouth" (Liestøl, 1932:149). He too argues that this type of adaptation could be a result of the Romantic desire to rediscover or 're-create' a national character or

¹⁰This is borne out fully by the present author's experiences whilst translating passages of the NE tales and the Moe's Introduction to the 1852 edition, the latter written in a conservative Dano-Norwegian.

essence in the oral folk tradition; creating an *artistic unity* may therefore be seen as an attempt to regain this national unity or 'essence' (Liestøl, 1977:42) (although the sense of artistic unity could also be a result, he argues, of the language transition from many different dialect forms to a homogenous, standardized, written form; Liestøl, 1932:149); Hodne judges it to be a successful representation of what he believes *is* a homogenous Norwegian oral poetic traditions (Hodne, 1979:124). In the same way that the Grimms had imposed an artificial unity of form on their collection of tales (see eg. Dégh 1979), and that Lønrot had created complete units out of fragmentary, dislocated narrative scraps to present the image of a whole, complete, fully-formed and mature national narrative tradition (see Wilson 1976), Asbjørnsen and Moe attempted to present a narrative product 'equal' to what it was once believed to have been.

In the first chapter of this thesis the term 'equivalence' was defined, in polysystemic terms, as what a target culture *regards as translation*, ie. in functional-relational terms (see eg. Toury 1980:73), only *one of many possible* relationships between two texts or two sets of texts. In the context of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus, it could be argued that in the 'translation' from oral to literate form and from dialect to standard form, 'translational equivalence' was that relationship which the target culture (ie., the urban middle-class), considered to be 'equal'. It has been argued repeatedly in this thesis that this 'functional equivalence relationship', as I choose to call it, between an *Urform* and the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales in their nineteenth-century expression (one of *many possible* relationships), was important to the bourgeois public and to the readers of the NE in that it upheld their construction of themselves as a continuous cultural entity, a nation; this relationship was justified and legitimated through its continuity both with the rural population, considered in the Rousseauian and Herderian tradition to be true exponents of Norwegian character, and with the past or their reconstruction of 'the Past'.

II. THE 'ESSENCE' OF A NATION, NATIONAL CHARACTER EXPRESSED THROUGH ORAL NARRATIVE

In keeping with the Romantic ideal, heavily influenced by German Romanticism, Asbjørnsen and Moe had, as noted, given great importance to the folktale genre as collective art, as 'natural poetry' (see Moe, 1914:104-121) and they believed that the tales which they heard and collected among the rural population embodied in them an unbroken tradition with the ancient Norse culture, an expression, in symbolic form, of the 'Norwegian character' (see Moe, 1914:104 and eg. Falnes, 1968:73). Asbjørnsen and Moe knew, of course, of theories of narrative migration (see eg. Moe, 1914:104-121), and did not presume to claim that the tales were indigenous to Norway, although they may at first have harboured such hopes. (Indeed, Jacob Grimm had praised the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales precisely for their 'nation-ness' (Falnes, 1968:217), a feature that their own tales could claim only with difficulty, given the status of their informants and of the literary and non-German (French) influence that they must, at least to some extent, have been aware of (see eg. Ellis 1983 or Ward 1988; see also Moe, 1914:123). Asbjørnsen and Moe realized that many of the Norwegian tales were variations of tales from other countries, and the next generation of folklorists were even more keenly aware of the link between Norwegian and other folktales (see Moe, 1914:104-121); Moltke Moe, for example, traced the similarities between a selection of Asbjørnsen and Moe tales and their assumed parallels in the tales of other countries, suggesting that literary influence played a not-insignificant role in this link, a suggestion which would have been difficult to accept for the preceding generation of folklorists¹¹. To identify precisely what this national characteristic consisted of, was of course an entirely different matter. The fact that the Norwegian folktales shared significant common traits with tales of other nations, that they were in fact variants of each other, gradually became so apparent that to be able to uphold the National-Romantic belief that these tales embodied a national 'essence' had to be raised to a new level of abstraction. For the purposes of the present argument it makes no difference whether or not these texts are "uniquely" Norwegian. What is important is that they were *believed to be* uniquely Norwegian and were introduced into the polysystem on this basis, and that the Asbjørnsen and Moe collection was the channel through which innovations were introduced into the emerging Norwegian polysystem. That they *functioned* as such is the critical point of this thesis.

¹¹Moltke Moe, 1895:104 in Moltke Moe, 1895, "Æventyri paa vandring" in *Syn og Segn* (1), pp.87-116.

Ila. National character expressed through literary form

Although the awareness that the Norwegian folktales were so closely related to that of other countries seemed difficult to reconcile with the nationalist theories of the Romantic period, Asbjørnsen and Moe insisted that the Norwegian folktales were nonetheless 'unique' in their narrative style, and in contrast to Swedish, German and Danish tales, Moe argued that a characteristic of the Norwegian folktale was a continuation and development of the saga style (Moe, 1914:146, see also Foss, 1923:211). A solution to the 'national character problem' was thus found in the presumed national narrative style of the tales: "it is precisely in the narrative style and narrative mode that the unique features of each country's tales are realized" (Moe, 1914:147) and "Yet it is equally through the entire narrative mode, the tone, the unique colour, that our tales decidedly distinguish themselves from those of other peoples, and through which they disclose the identity of the soil in which they have taken root and grown" (Moe *ibid*). As Falnes (somewhat ungenerously) comments, Moe, "after some reflection":

got over his difficulty. He harmonized the idea of a common Aryan tradition with his favorite notion of a folklore unique for Norway, by making a distinction between the general themes of the stories and their details in plot or narration. The former, he pointed out, were common to all Aryan peoples but the latter were distinctive to each. The contradiction with which he had wrestled thus proved to be only apparent and when it had been resolved in this way, his earlier conviction, now "strengthened and clarified," made it seem obvious that the Norwegian stories were really distinctive. (Falnes, 1968:227)

Moe specifically motivated his 'scientific' methodology for re-telling the tales unadapted, in the manner of the folk so as to free 'uniqueness' (Moe, 1914:147). There is another aspect to this problem, however, which has not been mentioned, and that is that Moe himself explained the problem in the following way: he distinguished not only between the 'Characteristic' and 'uncharacteristic' elements to be discovered and 'freed' through artistic expression, as Liestøl (1979:40ff) says, but between two *levels* of 'uniqueness', a distinction through which he actually, and it seems to me reluctantly, seeks to resolve the problem of tale-parentage with other cultures and national uniqueness. Consider the following quote:

Disregarding isolated exceptions, they appear as products which *have developed from a common seed, and which therefore express themselves in analogous forms of the same Idea,*

ubiquitously, guided by the inner and external conditions of a people, yielding a unique result. They seem to have GROWN, organically and FROM WITHIN; one finds omissions and additions that have come about through an *external, mechanical process of juxtaposition of the individual traits but not of the core content.* No more can the chemical osmosis - if I am permitted to call it by this name - of one people's poetic tradition into another's serve to explain the presence of inconsistencies, or the nature of inconsistencies. (Moe, 1914:122, emphasis added)

Moe here is saying that there is a common core, a 'Basic Idea, in these tales, unchangeable and beyond the stage of development, so characteristic that they cannot have been imported (Moe, 1914:122) which point to a common seed in an infinitely distant past (Moe, 1914:123): "One is therefore obliged, where the folk poetic tradition corresponds to the wider environment, to acknowledge the reference to the Ur-fellowship of an ancient era which the dates of history have not sufficient numerals to identify". In other words that "*Urfællesskab*" (Moe, 1914:123) or common *Ur* form that has so frequently been referred to here. Subsequent to this common, but infinitely distant, ancestor the development in each individual culture have formed not only left their mark, or imprint, but *formed* each tale according to the 'character' of each individual nation (an intrinsic nationality, in a Herderian sense' Moe explicitly says that this distinction is taken from the Grimms and inspired by their juxtaposition of language development and tale development; Moe, 1914:124). In this way Moe manages to emphasize both commonality which distant enough from other Indo-European languages and races not to put in doubt each tradition's uniqueness, but also the 'personality' of each nation (Moe, 1914:122 and 124) subsequently expressed through - as Falnes has noted in the preceding quote - through its narrative style (Moe, 1914:125 and 142). 'Narrative style' is more than language, however, because Moe goes to great lengths to describe the socio-cultural uniqueness of the tales through 'Character type' (Moe, 1914:135ff), especially the Ashlad (Moe, 1914:135-136).

One specific example of a narrative characteristic typical of the Norwegian tales, Moe believed, was that popular language - proverbs and sayings, rhymes, popular expressions and proverbs - are usually used *in the context of dialogue*, unlike, for example, the Swedish tales of Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens, which generally made use of proverbs and popular sayings only *outside* dialogue (see Moe, 1914:124; see also Foss, 1923:222ff). Another trait, Moe believed, that was particularly characteristic of Norwegian folktales, was 'objectification': "It is the same cool

objectivity that shuts out emotion, and that only extremely rarely allows the emphasis of a mood, expresses participation or lack of participation"¹². Moe describes this as the Norwegian folktales' characteristic 'manly' tone, a 'pure-epical' narrative style with no interference of the narrator's empathy (Moe, 1914:147); he described the re-telling process as an attempt to maintain a balance between the 'manly tone' of the Norwegian tradition, and what he felt was appropriate to 'the naïve and childlike' tone he believed was common to the genre (Moe, 1914:142 and 147).

Regarding the presumed link with and influence of the saga literature, Dorson notes that the saga influence may have been manifested not only (or not so much) in a direct, continuous narrative tradition, but in Asbjørnsen and Moe's *expectations* and therefore also re-tellings: "Asbjørnsen and Moe thought of the reciters of Icelandic sagas as the ideal and prototypical Norwegian storytellers, and sought to achieve this ideal standard when their informants fell short" (Dorson, 1964:ix). This link with the saga tradition was important in that it upheld the National-Romantic construction of Norway as an independent (cultural) nation, and through time this may well have biased the re-writing of the folk tales in the direction of what Asbjørnsen and Moe believed was a typical 'saga-style', presumably a step closer to an imagined *Urform*.

Iib. National character expressed through nature and social configuration

One of the more obvious ways in which the tales have been, through time and tradition, 'Norwegianized' is through the cultural and physical environment of rural Norway (see eg. Dahl, 1981:104). Many of the Norwegian Romantics, inspired by the Rousseauian view of the peasant, believed that a particular physical nature would leave its imprint on the oral tradition, thus forming a national 'essence' based on the concrete, physical, attributes of the host country (see Dorson, 1964:vi). The *cultural* environment, however, was perhaps even more decisive. The tales reflect the passage of time and changing cultural phenomena in the combination of Old Norse mythology, rural superstition and folklore with Christian beliefs (see Moe, 1914:128 and 133-134, and also

¹²Quoted in Christiansen, 1931:279 in Reidar Th. Christiansen, 1931, "Norske Eventyr" in *Folkevisor, Folkesåger och Folksågor* Eds. Knut Liestøl and C. W. von Sydow, J. H. Schultz, Copenhagen, pp.264-265.

Christiansen, 1964:xxxviiiiff). As George Webbe Dasent, Asbjørnsen and Moe's first English translator, writes:

the national character of Norway was shaped by the ancient mythology and towering landscape. Thus the isolated Icelandic settlement, and the late conversion to Christianity, had nourished the old Norse mythology, which left its imprints on the modern popular tales. (Quoted in Dorson, 1964:xiii)

From a socio-historical point of view, the tales therefore reflect periods of intense transition of Norwegian society from early history through to the nineteenth century, and often, in these periods of transition, seemingly incompatible worldviews seem to happily cohabit, possibly indicating that the theoretical dogmas of new ideologies (introduced forcefully, in the case of Christianity in Norway; see eg. Koht 1977 or Østerud 1984) are confused and infused with popular folk belief (see Jorgenson, 1978:112 and 124). Common characters are Our Lord, the Virgin Mary and St. Peter in pre-Christian costume and function; a personified, and often ridiculed but not entirely evil, devil is also a popular protagonist, often 'saving' the peasant from their real fear, the tax-collector (or a similar figure and function); a *benevolent* Christian God, on the other hand, is almost entirely absent¹³. In many of the NF humorous tales, for example, Catholic figures (in particular the Devil) are heavily satirized or treated in a fashion that clearly does not derive from orthodox Catholic dogma¹⁴ (Jorgenson, 1978:112 and 124).

The tales deal primarily with the life of the common people, and the supranatural characters too are often adapted to the daily life of the rural peasant (see eg. Bø, 1977:51, Christiansen 1964, Dorson 1964 or Harald and Edvard Beyer 1978). The Ash Lad, the prince, the king, the princess,

¹³See Moe 1914 and also Borgen 1978 in Johan Borgen, 1978, Introduction to *Samlede Eventyr*, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, pp.vii-xxiii. The present author has identified such Catholic-Nordic mythological characters in the following tales: *En Prestehistorie* ("The Story of a Priest"), *Gutten med Oldunken* ("The Boy with the Beer Keg"), *Gutten og Fanden* ("The Boy and the Devil"), *Kullbrenneren* ("The Charcoal Burner"), *Mumle Gåseegg* ("Rumble-Mumble Goose-egg"), *Fanden og Futen* ("The Devil and the Bailiff"), *Presten og Klokkeren* ("The Priest and the Sexton"), *Prestens Mor* ("The Priest's Mother"), *Prestepølse* ("The Priest's Sausage"), *Skipperen og Gamle-Erik* ("The Priest and Old Nick"), *Smeden som de ikke Turde Slippe inn i Helvede* ("The Priest they Dared not let into Hell"), *Jomfru Maria og Svalen* ("The Virgin Mary and the Swallow"), *Kværnen som står og maler på Havets Bunn* ("The Mill that Grinds at the Bottom of the Sea"), *Vårherre og St. Peter på Vandring* ("Our Lord and St. Peter a-Travelling") and *Gjertrudsfuglen* ("The Woodpecker").

¹⁴For example as in the tales *Gutten og fanden* ("The Boy and the Devil"), *Smeden som de ikke torde slippe inn i helvede* ("The Smith they Dared not Let into Hell"), *Fanden og futen* ("The Devil and the Bailiff"). The humorous tales with religious character are listed in a separate table in Appendix 2.

'Our Lord' have all been created in the image of the rural population, placed in the milieu in which they themselves lived, and the choice of words too came primarily from the daily life of the farmer (see Foss 1923). The satire directed against the bourgeois establishment (especially the tax-collector) is often stinging in a tale such as "*Kullbrenneren*" ("The Charcoal Burner"), but so is it against superstition and ignorance bred by poverty, in a tale such as "*En Frierhistorie*" ("A-Wooing"). The king-figure (in the form of the wealthy farmer) - benevolent but easily fooled and, according to Johan Borgen, a figure often worthier of more confidence and trust than the middlemen - is virtually always present either in the background or more prominently (see Borgen, 1978:13-15). It is perhaps in such character portrayals one could, from a sociological point of view, begin to speak of the oral narrative tradition reflecting a particular character, in this case that of the rural population who were held up in the Rousseauian spirit as the prototype of a nation's essence. Of course such a 'daily life' reflects not only local-regional particularities (rather than national), but class identities (eg. peasant vs. bureaucrat, and rural versus urban). Indeed, the character setting is clearly and without exception (disregarding the legends and frames) rural and poor; Olav Bø too notes that, sociologically speaking, it is clear that the Norwegian folktales portrayed, and formed part of, the 'lower' social groups and the satire and criticism of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats is therefore not only understandable, but to be expected (Bø, 1977:51 and Bø, 1972:93ff or Foss, 1923:215). In his own experience as a folktale collector, the best informants, he says, have tended to be the poor, the destitute, servants, wage-labourers, and the blind (Bø, 1972:103 and Bø, 1977:51-54), an observation fully confirmed by Moe's own experiences as a collector (Moe 1914 and Moe in Krogvig 1915). Ronald Grambo has further noted that even the names used in the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales often denote social status, in particular a name such as 'Ashlad' (ie. one who pokes in the ashes), certainly an indication of a low social status¹⁵. As Dasent too remarks:

These Norse Tales we may characterize as bold, out-spoken, and humorous, in the true sense of humour. In the midst of every difficulty and danger arises that old Norse feeling of making the best of everything, and keeping a good face to the foe. The language and tone are perhaps rather lower than in some other collections, but it must be remembered that these are the tales of "hempen homespuns," of Norse yeomen, of *Norske Bønder*, who call a spade a spade, and who burn tallow, not wax. (Dasent, 1969:363)

¹⁵See Ronald Grambo, 1964, "Om navn i norske eventyr" in *Maal og Minne* (1964), pp.50-63.

Dasent's quote here, written in 1859, illustrates precisely the Rousseauian ideal of the rural peasant embodying a national character, the Romantic idealization of peasant life. Others too have noted that the social environment in the tales reflects Norwegian rural habits, structure and norms. Dahl for example suggests that when knights and forts are exchanged for farmers and cotters, this mirrored the transition from the European feudal system with its distance between lord of the manor and land labourer, to the "more humane Norwegian peasant society with the free-holding farmer and the cotter as polarities" (Dahl, 1981:107). The tendency is the same as in all fairy tales, Dahl continues, the lower classes are poor and the opposition to and struggle with the ruling classes is inevitably central to the plot of the tale, so that the "sympathy of the tales always lies with the lower class" (Dahl, 1981:109¹⁶). The transition of the tales from rural to urban and from oral to written form represents, furthermore, a significant transition in audience/readership from an economically poor rural environment to a resourceful urban middle class. Dahl speaks of this as a 're-functioning' in terms of the readership and in terms of which role a certain genre or a particular corpus has in the polysystem when its function shifts within it (Dahl, 1981:109-110). In terms of the NE, it could then be said that the natural identification of the audience and informants with their own art was transformed, or 'shifted', to - on the one hand a social non-identification (that is urban-bourgeois vs. rural) - but on the other hand a new form of identification (national) at a more abstract, or symbolic, level.

IIc. The Norwegian prototype: The Ashlad

Another trait that was considered to be 'typically Norwegian' was the character-portrayal of the Ashlad (*Askeladden*, often translated as 'Boots' or 'Jack'; see Dasent 1969), whose names were many (*Askefisen, Oskefisen, Askepot*¹⁷; see Moe, 1914:135-136), sometimes even interchanged in one and the same narrative performance (see eg. Brundvand, 1959:15). The Ashlad's "rugged

¹⁶For a confirmation of this claim in the context of general folklore studies, see eg. Jack Zipes, 1979, Breaking the Magic Spell. Radical theories of Folk and Fairy Tales, Heineman, London, and 1983, Bottigheimer 1978 and 1986 or Marie-Louise von Franz, 1970, An Introduction to the Interpretation of Fairy Tales, Spring Publications, Zurich.

¹⁷In oral tradition he is often called *Askefis* (see eg. Bø, 1972:93) but Asbjørnsen and Moe chose the form *Askeladden* ("the Ashlad") which was less offensive to urban taste ("*fis*" also means "fart") (see Moe, 1914:150).

individualism", Lloyd Hustvedt says, appealed to and was held up as a model by the nineteenth-century scholars in Norway as a personification of positive national traits, principally courage and perseverance¹⁸. The Ashlad', had become "a popular contender" for the 'true Norwegian' character (Dorson, 1964:vi). Like folk narrative itself, the Ashlad was considered to be not only a Herderian/Roussauian expression of the peasant, but also a link to the ancient past, to the Vikings and the sagas (see Christiansen, 1931:278). As Jan Brundvand writes:

He is usually traced back to peasant origins or sometimes even to the Vikings. In this character, it is popularly supposed, the frustrations and dreams of the simple people of Norway manifested themselves, and, since the nineteenth century, national awakening, Norwegians have constantly been called upon to imitate Askeladden.

Moe believed the Ashlad to be a typically Norwegian figure who distinguished himself from similar characters of other nations by his "deep humility - a mark of his natural superiority - until the point in the narrative where he suddenly takes centre stage" (see Moe, 1914:136). Other national-folkloric interpretations exist too: Dahl places the Ashlad in an economic-historical perspective when he says that he was precisely the type of person who "managed to get ahead, fitting perfectly into the liberalist ideology which was beginning to make its mark in the competitive capitalistic society beginning in the 1840s" (Dahl, 1981:109), and in yet another interpretation Grambo notes that the Ashlad character has often been linked with Norwegian inheritance customs (Grambo, 1964:50-63). Brundvand too, drawing on studies of parallel characters in oral narratives from other nations, links Askeladden's position and role with inheritance and the right of the junior son to remain at home (Brundvand, 1959:19ff).

Ild. Local character

Previously in this thesis, in the discussion on nationalism, the distinction between local identity and a constructed national identity has been emphasized (drawing especially on Østerud

¹⁸Hustvedt, 1969:554 in Lloyd Hustvedt, 1969, "The Folktale and Norwegian Migration" in Journal of Popular Culture (11:4), pp.552-559.

¹⁹Brundvand, 1959:14 in Jan Brundvand, 1959, "Norway's Askeladden, the Unpromising Hero, and Junior-Right" in Journal of American Folklore (72), pp.14-23.

1984, Anderson 1983 and Gellner 1964). The importance and uniqueness of local identity in the nation-building phase of a country, gradually decreasing in priority as the ideal, the needs, and the rhetoric of the nation-state as a separate entity gains upperhand, is borne out by studies performed on local variations in traditional oral narrative, where precisely many of those traits considered to be nation-wide and expressive of a nation's character are found to be typical of certain parts of the nation only (see Alver 1989, Østerud 1984, Christiansen 1964 and Eriksen 1993). An interesting question is of course *which* elements, which narrative or other traits are put forward as 'national' and for which reasons: is it because they represent a local region which for some reason has a favoured or dominant status, is it largely coincidence (where the field-workers 'happened' to end up; in this case predominantly eastern Norway, see eg. Hovstad, 1933:289 or Hodne 1978:31), or are certain elements from a particular region chosen rather than others because they present the nation in a favourable light? Or perhaps there *are* certain traits which are shared by a majority of individuals in a certain part of the population which are not found in the neighbouring nations? In Norway one of the elements which, the present author would argue, served as a criteria for choosing which elements were to be deemed 'national' was the continuity with (an albeit constructed) past and with the Old Norse civilization on the basis of its appropriateness as a confidence-building factor in the political and cultural separation and ultimate independence from Denmark and Sweden. Asbjørnsen and Moe believed the folktales and the poetic tradition to be a national feature, and there are no *direct* indications of their regarding one region as more *authentic* than another in this respect, although the greater part of the tales, especially in the early editions, stemmed from Ringerike, for which there may be other explanations, however, such as that of the relative proximity of their dialect (see Hodne, 1979:120ff). Other language scholars, however, in particular Aasen (and even more markedly the historian P. A. Munch) explicitly cultivated the linguistic proximity of certain dialects with ON (see Seip 1914 or Liestøl 1979). A (re-)constructed continuity seems to be an essential factor, a *leitmotif* in the Norwegian National-Romantic rhetoric, manifested *par excellence* in Asbjørnsen and Moe's views on and work with folk narrative as well as in the work of subsequent generations of folklorists.

In the introduction to the 1852 edition, Moe discusses the local features of the legends²⁰, and although for the fairy tales he preferred a homogenized 'national' language (since they belonged to "the whole country") he approved of using dialect form for the legends precisely because of their association with a particular geographical and linguistic area:

In my opinion, the reproducing of legends in dialect is permissible, but not for tales. I take this stand because the legend is much more closely connected not only to the individual country, but usually to the individual district, and its idiom therefore often provides the narrating of legends with precisely that strong local colour they should have. The tale, however, is usually common to the whole country, and rendering it in dialect form would therefore be too limiting and would bind it to an environment which is actually more restricted than the one to which it actually belongs. (Moe, 1914:148²¹)

It could perhaps be argued that the *legend* is one folk narrative genre that is much more localized, closely tied to *local* history, tradition, place and personages, and could therefore be regarded as more 'characteristic' than the often much more (structurally and content-wise) universal folk-fairy tale (see eg. Christiansen, 1964:xli, Liestøl 1977, Beyer 1978, or Hodne 1979). Reidar Th. Christiansen's distinction between *memorat* and *fabulat* phases of the historical legend (see Christiansen 1964:xxiv), from 'history' to 'story', as it were, furthermore indicates, I believe, that there may be a process within the legend-genre itself, a transition from local to general (or perceived national).

III. TEXTUAL REALIZATION, PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF ASBJØRNSEN AND MOE'S THEORETICAL PREMISES

On the basis of his Romantic vision of folk narrative Asbjørnsen and Moe believed, then, that the tales existed in a 'completed' form, a 'completeness' hidden under the surface of the performed tale (see Moe 1914) that had to be re-discovered and rendered in a new, accessible mode.

²⁰On the distinction between legend and folktale in the Norwegian context see also Knut Liestøl, 1927, "Eventyr- og Segnbøker" in *Syn og Segn* (33), pp.460-466.

²¹See also Sørensen, 1962:33 in Ernst Sørensen 1962, "Sprog og stil i folkeeventyrene" (introduction to) *Norske Folke og Huldreeventyr* Ed. Ernst Sørensen, Riksmålsforbundet, Oslo, pp.11-35, and Foss, 1923:212 or Skard, 1973:49 for comments on this quote.

On the one hand, they felt they had to remain 'true to their sources' (Moe, 1914:147 and Foss, 1923:214) but at the same time to reconstruct the presumed *Urform* that would also have to be intelligible to the reading public, and in the prevailing linguistic plurality - and at times confusion - the task was not an easy one, as Popp remarks:

The point of departure for Asbjørnsen's program of revision is sufficiently clear. It is the confusion of competing norms which characterized practice in both Denmark and Norway in his day, affecting specific orthographic points which had posed problems as a rule for centuries, sometimes even back to the Reformation. (Popp, 1977:93)

The following section will attempt to show how Asbjørnsen and Moe's solutions to the problem posed by the linguistic plurality and 'competing norms', informed and concretely governed by their (Grimmian) view of their own role as poets and folklorists, was realized in practice, that is, in terms of textual revisions, from the oral sources to the first written text (by showing to previous studies), and in the revisions of the subsequent editions, through my own comparisons.

In the preceding discussion it has been suggested that the tales, in the form of symbolic representation, seem to deal with the social and cultural environment and hierarchy, and the daily life of the rural population, the vocabulary therefore reflecting these circumstances (the farmer's work, tools, accommodation, food, social life and also nature, animals and plants). Although they were portrayed as 'national', many of these words varied from dialect to dialect (see Jorgenson, 1933:217ff or Borgen 1978). (Both Asbjørnsen and Moe were most familiar with the eastern Norwegian dialects, and words from these dialects therefore figure most prominently in the tales²²; Skard too notes that the collectors were much more familiar with the eastern Norwegian dialects (Skard, 1973:44), these being closer to the Dano-urban sociolect. *Where these existed* and were in common use, however, both Asbjørnsen and Moe chose words from the average *urban* language for lexica associated with rural life, resulting in a combination of Norwegian dialect and common Dano-Norwegian words²³. Although the orthography and grammar was almost exclusively Danish, Asbjørnsen and Moe introduced phonetic elements such as voiced consonants and diphthongs that were inimical to the Danish written form when the words in question were *uniquely* Norwegian (see

²²See Skard, 1973:49, Hodne, 1979:271, Hovstad, 1933:289, Harald and Edvard Beyer, 1978:64 or Foss, 1923:218.

²³For a list of these words see Foss, 1923:215ff.

Foss, 1923:218; see also Popp 1977). In many instances, however, Asbjørnsen and Moe chose to retain the standard urban Dano-Norwegian mode²⁴.

IIIa. Literary-stylistic innovations introduced through the NF: oratio tecta, the over-defined noun, and 'framing'

Apart from the orthographical, lexical and grammatical features that were introduced into the target polysystem through the NF, a number of stylistic, literary and linguistic techniques were absorbed into the urban language form and the literary canon through Asbjørnsen and Moe's texts. Three key features in particular should be mentioned here: *oratio tecta* (free indirect speech), the over-defined noun, and 'framing'.

In a study of the language of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus, Alex Bolckmans points to the extensive use of free indirect speech in the tales²⁵. Although not unique to the NF, free indirect speech, was one of the literary techniques introduced into the *Norwegian* literary polysystem through the NF. The following quotes from the NF provide examples of free indirect speech:

The man went out to see what was going on, and when he came out, there stood a great, big white bear.

"Good evening to you!" said the white bear.

"Good evening!" said the man.

"If you give me your youngest daughter, I shall make you as rich as you now are poor," he said.

Yes, the man thought that was marvellous, that he should become so rich, but he thought he should speak to his daughter first, and went in and said that there was a large white bear outside, who promised to make them rich, when he could only have her²⁶.

"Oh, heaven help me!" said the man, "we haven't a stick of wood at home; you'll have to let me drive home a load of wood, otherwise we'll quite freeze to death; I'll come back with the horse tomorrow.

Yes, that he was allowed to do, they agreed, but if he didn't come back, he would lose all his sheep that summer, said the bear.

The man loaded the wood and wandered home, but he was not happy with the agreement, as you can guess²⁷.

²⁴For a list of examples see Foss, 1923:226ff.

²⁵Alex Bolckmans, 1960, "Halvrepplikkene i Folkeeventyrene" in *Maal og Minne* (1960), pp.129-157. Out of 157 tales, he has found 84 tales and legends with one or more examples of *oratio tecta*, a total number of 385 instances.

²⁶From *Ostenfor Sol og vestenfor maane* ("East of the Sun and West of the Moon"), my translation based on P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1914, *Samlede Eventyr, Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave* vol. 1, Gyldendal, Oslo, p.178.

When the troll heard that, he said no more about it; but a little later he saw that flowers and wreaths had been hung on the closet, and asked who had done it.

Yes, the princess had.

"What is all that trickery good for?" asked the troll²⁸.

Bolckmans shows how the collectors used this technique, often in combination with direct speech, in a highly creative manner, setting a precedent for coming literary genres. In narratives as short, concise and summarized as the folktales, Asbjørnsen and Moe were able to use such simple techniques to bring out certain traits in the characters, to set a mood for the story, to emphasize a particular point by, for example, putting in direct speech in the middle of a passage of free indirect speech, or in the transition from indirect to reported speech²⁹; by contrasting free indirect speech to direct speech (for example in the middle of a dialogue), Bolckmans shows how Asbjørnsen and Moe foregrounded certain characteristics (ibid). He thereby concluded that free indirect speech was a conscious narrative technique used to render the transition between reference and speech smoother, but also for other effects, such as emphasizing nuances and changes in mood and tension within the tale, presenting differing personalities of the characters in relation to each other or to the (personified) forces of nature (strong, weak, confident, hesitant, respectful, indifferent), and he shows how these personalities change from the beginning to the end of the tale (Bolckmans, 1960:146-152). In one example ("East of the Sun and West of the Moon"), he suggests how a girl's humility vis-à-vis the forces of nature are emphasized through the use of free indirect speech as she meets the four winds who speak to her directly, confidently, without hesitation (Bolckmans, 1960:140). Alfred Jakobsen further notes that free indirect speech is a common literary stylistic technique in Old Norse narrative³⁰, supporting Moe's claim to a narrative link between the folktales and the sagas, although it is not unreasonable to assume, as does Christiansen, that this link was deliberately elaborated by them (Christiansen, 1964:xli-xlii). Whether Asbjørnsen and Moe introduced this technique through their creative adaptations, or whether it stems from the oral

²⁷From *Vel Gjort og Ille lønnet* ("Well Done and Ill Paid"), my translation based on P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1914, *Samlede Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave* vol. 1, Gyldendal, Oslo, vol. 2. p.

²⁸From *Risen som ikke hadde noe hjerte på seg* ("The Troll who had no Heart in his Body"), my translation based on P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1982, *Samlede Eventyr*, Den Norske Bokklubben, Oslo, p.105.

²⁹*Oratio tecta* is used mainly in connection with speech (verbal responses), he notes, but also occurs less frequently with thoughts (20% of the total number; Bolckmans, 1960:131). The relationship of thoughts to responses (5%-95%) is not surprising, he argues, given the folktales' propensity towards speech and action rather than contemplation (ibid).

³⁰Alfred Jakobsen, 1980, "Om halvreplicker i norrønt" in *Maal og Minne* (1980), pp.150-166.

narrative folk technique, or is a remnant of the saga literature (or a combination of all three) is therefore a legitimate question to ask. Partly because of the high frequency of occurrence, Bolckmans concludes that it seems unlikely that it is only a literary afterthought; it is much more likely, he says, that it is a 'folk' narrative technique which Asbjørnsen and Moe may have consciously emphasized and streamlined in their final versions (Bolckmans, 1960:156). The technique does not occur as frequently in Asbjørnsen's framed tales, for example, an indication that he considered it to be a 'folk' technique and not appropriate for literary and 'educated' language. Asbjørnsen and Moe, Bolckmans concludes, have made use of the *oratio tecta* technique not only to emphasize the 'folk style', but to create, improve, and perfect a (literary), artistic text (Bolckmans, 1960:156) warning, however, that a 'folk style' should not be confused with a 'Norwegian' style (Bolckmans, 1960:157). In my own textual analysis of the NF editions this technique has, not frequently but unmistakably, been added during the textual revisions.

The use of the '*overdefined noun*' (or 'double definite'), is often considered to be one of those linguistic features introduced during the 1830s-1840s, in large part through the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales, that most contributed to the 'Norwegianization' of the language (see eg. Skard, 1973:45). The influence of the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales in this particular respect was such that Lundeby states that "It would hereafter be difficult to present anything as Norwegian 'folk' language without giving a certain space to the over-defined form" (Lundeby, 1965:204). This linguistic feature cannot be directly translated into English because the definite article in English precedes the noun in a separate word whilst in Norwegian the definite article forms *part* of the noun as an added word-ending (*huset* - the house, *skogen* - the forest). In Dano-Norwegian, when a personal pronoun would precede the noun, the definite article ending *-et* or *-en* would usually not be added. In spoken Norwegian, however, the personal pronoun would often be *added after* the noun, and the definite article ending would therefore be maintained (eg. *ditt hus* - "your house" would in a more 'Norwegianized' form become *huset ditt* - "your house")³¹. As Lundeby demonstrates, this grammatical structure can take various forms of inversion and syntactical-morphological

³¹This technique could be compared with the extra emphasis given to a noun through the use of noun-adjective inversion and the addition of the demonstrative *this* or *that*, eg. *this lady gay, that gentle knight* (see Lundeby, 1965:29).

combinations (he differentiates between five different types) (ibid). In Old Norse literature, he says, this type of linguistic emphasis was relatively frequent, although not the rule (ibid) and on the basis of extensive research of Old Norse texts, Lundeby concludes that before 1400 the over-defined noun was commonly used *in speech* in Norway, with much the same frequency as it is today (Lundeby, 1965:158). In Danish, however, the phenomenon was almost completely unknown, and for the Norwegian writers from 1500 onwards writing in Danish, it began to represent a conflict between the written and the spoken language form (see Lundeby, 1965:186). It was only with Asbjørnsen and Moe that the phenomenon really began to break through into written language, as a result of their attempt to portray the texts in a form as close as possible to the spoken language, although of the first post-independence generation of writers, Henrik Wergeland was the first to use the double definite form, during the 1830s³². As Lundeby says:

Since they did not try to avoid it, but on the contrary exploited it, it became one of their most important ways to create the style they sought after. When the folktale language gives an impression of Norwegianness despite the fact that the orthography and conjugation follows Danish almost completely consistently, this is not least due to the frequent use of the over-defined noun. (Lundeby, 1965:199)

In the later revisions, the Asbjørnsen and Moe collection has always been 'a step ahead' of the contemporary polysystem in its adherence to Norwegian speech, Lundeby notes (see Lundeby, 1965:201). Of the more recent editions the 1940 revision, the so-called "jubilee edition" was particularly notable for its implementation of spoken language features, and in particular the double definite (ibid). Dahl, who tends to describe the impact of the Asbjørnsen and Moe collection on Norwegian language and literature in less extreme terms than earlier historians and linguists, states that the tales did indeed bring a new style to Norwegian literature with devices such as those mentioned here. He adds, however, that such devices were not necessarily specifically *Norwegian* (Dahl, 1981:113) except in the case of the double definite, although he says that the device which really created a precedent was that described by Bolckmans, free indirect speech, which Asbjørnsen and Moe were the first to use consistently and consciously, but which, from 1850 onwards, and in the use of which writers started to follow their lead (Dahl, 1981:114-115). Ernst Sørensen shows how many of Moltke Moe's revisions, particularly in the 'frames' of Asbjørnsen's legends, have been

³²For a detailed discussion of Wergeland's use of the over-defined form, see D. A. Seip, 1914:1ff.

changed ('simplified and Norwegianized') to a degree which unnecessarily changes what he called the 'mood' and effect of the narrative techniques (Sørensen, 1962:21ff), and his comment on the use of double definite cannot be ignored either. In a comparison between the 1852 NE edition and Moltke Moe's 1896 revision he shows how Moltke Moe's increased usage of the double definite (where the 1852 text had a single definite) may impoverish the text by 'flattening out' the presumably conscious poetic effect (Sørensen, 1962:29-30). Perhaps Moltke Moe in his naturalistic zeal and revulsion towards excessively romantic language (see preface to NE 1896) *was* too enthusiastic in fulfilling the mission his father and Asbjørnsen had charged him with - to constantly revise the tales in a popular spirit - to the extent that it blinded him towards some of the nuances and literary techniques present in the first editions. My own comparisons bear out this tendency towards an increased frequency of double definite forms in the tales themselves (not only the frames), but their use in the tales does not seem to me to be either inflationary or counter-productive, as Sørensen suggests. Sørensen's argument may not be irrelevant, but the fact that he chooses to use the introductory legend *frames* as examples is telling, since they were Asbjørnsen's own literary creations and therefore much less relevant both from a nationalistic, linguistic, and folkloristic perspective; furthermore, both Asbjørnsen's legends and frames were also less relevant from the point of view of 'content' because they stemmed from an urban rather than rural environment and therefore both content, vocabulary and style were presumed to be less 'Norwegian'.

Despite the fact that Moe is generally considered to be the leading scholar and artist of the two (see eg. Foss, 1923:209 or Liestøl, 1932:155), Asbjørnsen's (re-)writing seems to have been the focus of far more scholarly examination than Moe's, perhaps because it was he who after 1852 took over the editing of the NE, or perhaps it was because in his Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn Asbjørnsen had successfully introduced, in Norway, a new narrative technique, that of creating a '*frame*' as the introduction to a tale through an imaginary narrator, thus giving a 'realistic' impression and also giving more room for artistic creativity. Dahl notes that the difference between folk and urban language is clearly manifested in this 'framing' technique: in the narrator's introduction more genitive constructions tend to be used, and modal verbs that denote value-judgements rather than simple descriptions. The tales themselves, on the other hand, tend to be characterized by short main

clauses, connected by 'but', 'for' and 'because' (parataxis), rather than subordinate clauses (hypotaxis), there are few explicative interpolations that lengthen the narrative, and there are very few adjectives (Dahl, 1981:112; see also Skard, 1973:46).

The 1870s have often been considered, in Norwegian twentieth-century literary criticism, the breakthrough of the realist period in literature³³. Despite the fact that he wrote at the peak of the National-Romantic period and that the genre he used and helped introduce into the Norwegian polysystem is usually considered to be the ultimate Romantic genre, Asbjørnsen is often cited as a precursor to the realist period; Hansen for example sees him as a 'transition figure' between Romanticism and realism (Hansen, 1932:325). Asbjørn Aarseth has argued, however, that one of the links between Asbjørnsen and 'realism' could simply be the fact that he was a scientist, and that this somehow affected his writing technique in the direction of 'realism'³⁴. The latter seems, however, to be unconvincing as it rests on the assumption that Romanticism and science somehow 'don't belong together', and yet it should be remembered that in Romantic Germany, science and Romanticism were closely linked³⁵. Through a close reading of two of Asbjørnsen's legends Aarseth presents an alternative to the 'naturalistic' reading of the text as "direct and spontaneous", "unadorned and unpolished", "descriptive in detail", "unconscious of literary techniques", in other words, the typical 'realistic' readings; Aarseth, rather, considers Asbjørnsen's literary technique to be highly conscious and creative, the frame story cleverly juxtaposing and complementing the legend proper in language and character composition³⁶. From this he concludes that Asbjørnsen's texts could be considered *a widening of the Romantic register* of literary technique, in fact, an example of National-Romantic poetics rather than a new 'realistic' technique (Aarseth, 1981:55). Dahl too argues that Asbjørnsen's framing technique is 'literary' and 'conscious', for example the fact that Asbjørnsen refers to specific places in the frames renders the legend itself (a supposedly 'historical'

³³See eg. Downs, 1966:11 in Brian W. Downs, 1966, *Modern Norwegian Literature 1860-1918*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

³⁴Asbjørn Aarseth, 1981, *Realismen som myte. Tradisjonskritiske studier i norsk litteraturhistorie*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

³⁵For a discussion on science in Romantic Germany see von Engelhardt 1988. Hansen notes that Asbjørnsen was particularly well-read in contemporary German scientific studies (Hansen, 1932:70; see also Hansen, 1932:32ff and p.47.

³⁶The language of the frames, conservative Dano-Norwegian, is radically different from the tales told through them (see eg. Skard, 1973:50). See also Olaf Øyslebø, 1971, "Stilviljen bak Asbjørnsens endringer i Huldreeventyrene" in *Stilstudier*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, pp.64-76.

tale) more credible (Dahl, 1981:104). Indeed, it could be added that the very focus on nature described in such detail in the frames themselves is more characteristic of the Romantic pastoral tradition than 'realism'; furthermore, the use of animation of non-animated objects (see Dahl, 1981:113) is more 'Romantic' than 'naturalistic'. This again supports the conclusion drawn from Popp's linguistic study (Popp 1977) that Asbjørnsen, in his re-telling of the tales and legends, had a deliberate literary programme in mind, that he was highly conscious of his role as a 'shaper' of the literary system through his 'translations' from oral folk narrative to written, urban fairy tale. Olaf Øyslebø also notes that it is more than likely, given that these constitute consistent, deliberate changes, that they were part of Asbjørnsen's overall, deliberate, linguistic-poetic 'policy' and that they were therefore probably also leading guide-lines for the writing down of the *first* edition from the oral sources (see Øyslebø, 1971:72).

In a highly detailed linguistic study, Popp has analysed Asbjørnsen's linguistic impact on the emerging *bokmål* language form, identifying the orthographic innovations that Asbjørnsen brought to *bokmål* through the revisions of his legend collection³⁷. Popp's 1977 study is carried out on the background of the official (and unofficial) linguistic norms in Norway as well as in Denmark at the time, tracing orthographic norms back to the pre-Union period. He identifies which features anticipated and were accepted by the subsequent language reforms, in particular the Stockholm language-planning conference in 1869.

Popp clearly sees the influence of what he considers to be Asbjørnsen's highly conscious and deliberate 'personal programme' on the emergence of *bokmål*: "we do have compelling evidence that the individual writer stood behind much of what took place as orthographically *bokmål* became *bokmål*" (Popp, 1977:96), "within a few years of their introduction into his own texts, many of the points which made up Asbjørnsen's personal program of reform were officially adopted as norms for the emerging *bokmål*" (Popp, 1977:8), and "it is possible to perceive a relationship between individual practice and developing norms for a written standard which an entire nation has come to follow" (ibid). Popp concludes that Asbjørnsen's legends had a significant impact on orthographic

³⁷Popp's study is planned to be the first of four studies of Asbjørnsen's influence on the nineteenth-century linguistic norms; the others will cover phonology, morphology, and syntactical and lexical norms.

reform for *hokmål* (Popp, 1977:91 and 96) and that Asbjørnsen's individual influence on the development of written reforms (during the period 1862-1885), in particular where Asbjørnsen's specific measures became adopted officially, were notable (ibid). Many of Asbjørnsen's reforms were based on considerations unique to Norway although others were shared by Denmark in their linguistic reform movement (Popp, 1977:92).

The linguistic changes in Asbjørnsen's revisions have been systematically mapped out in Popp's study, but based on Falnes' observations (Falnes, 1967:233), but it should not be forgotten that Asbjørnsen did not endorse the development of the more radical *landsmål* form, and that he was no militant language purist. Falnes notes for example how the conservative urban bourgeoisie of Christiania applauded Asbjørnsen for his *linguistic caution*, and the exponents of the more radical movement were equally disappointed (Falnes, 1968:233-235). This may in fact have been a reason for the ultimate (linguistic) success of the NE; that they were close enough to the urban-literary language form that they were not immediately repelled by a conservative readership. Indeed, the language question, in practice, was much more class-based than the National-Romantic rhetoric of the nation and of nationality with its idealization of the peasant, might indicate. Therefore, Asbjørnsen may not have wanted to stand too openly on the side of the most vociferous language reformers, yet he was surely acutely aware of the need for linguistic change, implementing this through his folkloristic writing, a channel through which it seemed more appropriate and unthreatening, perhaps, to express this form than his other academic or journalistic writing.

It is clear that these linguistic reforms reflected the general underlying ideology of the Romantic period and did not only result from a need to 'simplify' or 'standardize' the language as was happening simultaneously in Denmark (see Popp 1977 and Lundeby 1965), . During this national awakening period, a set of norms had emerged and became established which corresponded to the culmination of another set of factors - the result of a long process of political-historical transition in Scandinavia and the influence of Romantic ideology from Germany and France through Denmark. It seems likely that it was these factors which informed Asbjørnsen's

'programme' and were instrumental in and strengthened the development of a national language in Norway which then led to the adoption of official norms. As Popp agrees:

No doubt of great significance are such non-linguistic or quasi-linguistic factors as the accessibility of the writings which displayed useful solutions, *and how closely attuned these writings and even their authors themselves were, in their outlook, to the spirit of the times.* (Popp, 1977:97, emphasis added)

IIIb. Revisions during the initial re-telling phase and through subsequent editions

The NE, it has been emphasized, underwent a process of constant linguistic revision, from the publication of the first modest volume of folktales in 1841 till well after the authors' deaths. These revisions, it must be stressed, were *not* aimed at changing the *content* of the tales, but at bringing the language closer to what was believed to be a more national form of Norwegian, closer to the language of the rural population and what was emerging as *bokmål*, and to conform to official language reforms as they became established. The *first major* amendments were naturally implemented by Asbjørnsen and Moe *in the first stage of text-production, from oral to written form.* As mentioned, however, few of their original manuscripts exist today (see Liestøl, 1932:153), so these first changes can only be guessed at, at best roughly deduced through painstaking comparison of notes, letters, manuscripts, etc. In his 1979 study Hodne, on the basis of such extant notes, manuscripts and letters, has performed the laborious and challenging task of assessing, analysing and attempting to re-construct the (assumed) main features of the initial textual transition. His conclusions indicate that the textual amendments were considerably less drastic than those of the Grimms, as they have been described earlier, especially by Ellis, but also Dégh and Ward. In this study, Hodne has also attempted to reconstruct some of Moe's linguistic and cultural *selection* criteria, which he believes to be the following: personification and integration of Norwegian nature, fantasy in a rural Norwegian background and a 'rural world-view' (Hodne, 1979:236); in short those aspects which Asbjørnsen and Moe themselves emphasized (especially in Moe 1914) as 'uniquely Norwegian'. Hodne believes that Moe sought out and successfully captured a representative sample of the Norwegian poetic tradition, despite the limited selection of 18 of Moe's tales in the 1841-

1843 editions (Hodne, 1979:253-282), and despite the fact the 14 were from the same district (Ringerike), a result, he writes, of the fact that these criteria "lay in the poetic tradition itself" (Hodne, 1979:240). As mentioned, the task of reconstructing the re-telling phase is not only difficult but illusory. Nevertheless, Hodne's observations are interesting, both for the conclusions he draws regarding adaptation to cultural norms but also because of the (relatively) low degree of adaptation. In only one case did they seem to make use of different variants for one text (*Buskebruden*, although, as Hodne says (Hodne, 1979:159) such re-structuring is extremely difficult to identify and demonstrate, and in only one case (*Enkesønnen*) was there a clear substitution on grounds of censorship, where the princess is made pregnant by the gardener's son is omitted, and in the same tales where the same gardener's boy wears a leaf-wig, the explanation for this behaviour is changes from his having lice to his head not being "very clean" (Hodne, 1979:258-259). His conclusions (Hodne, 1979:269-282) are that the original 'recipes' (from the collectors' notes) have modified ("epic innovations", p.279) according to three principal guide-lines: a strengthening of ethical norms, comic features, and 'folkish' elements. As far as the *motif* (following the Aarne and Thompson index and identification of tale constituents) is concerned, 17 out of 18 tales were identical to the original ms., the 18th being a compilation of two variants, albeit with 'sporadic loans' from variants (ibid) in a few tales; a general faithfulness to the ms. texts in content (ibid), not only in skeletal form, but also in detail, especially for the shorter texts (Hodne, 1979:270) and in dialogue (ibid). As far as additions go (Hodne calls these "epic" to indicate actual substitutions/additions), a lower degree of adaptation of the ms. in the short tales and for the tales from the region of Ringerike (ibid) (he suggests that this may be due to the closeness/distance of the informants' dialects from his own, with a few exceptions, Hodne, 1979:271). He also notes that the first tales to be published were those that were least modified in regard to the ms., often almost a word-for-word account (Hodne, 1979:273) and explains this by saying that Moe's theoretical and methodological approach to collecting and re-writing changed during this time, supported by the fact that his statements in the 1840 preface (where he advocates a very high degree of fidelity to ST, ie. adequacy) were considerably amended by the time he wrote his celebrated folkloristic essay in the 1852 NF edition, where he considers himself a "re-teller" (Moe, 1914:147) (Hodne, 1979:274). It has been noted earlier that in the preface to NOR in 1837 (Dahl, 1989:100ff; see also Hansen 1932), Moe

spoke of freely adapting the tales, renewing *Kunstpoesie* through *Volkspoesie* and this would seem to contradict the methodological development Hodne describes here, but on the other hand this supports his own defence vis-à-vis Asbjørnsen's complaint (see Hansen, 1932:261) where he says that in this regard he was referring to his own literary (poetic) writing. I believe that by 1852 Moe had to change his stance somewhat for two reasons. Firstly, he had become increasingly aware of the parentage between Norwegian and other folktales (indeed he spends the major part of the 1852 essay on an exposition of similarities) and had become on guard and defensive of his fundamentally nationalist assumptions and needs, and as a result of this, and perhaps also with an increased familiarisation with the essentially Romantic ideas of Herder and the Grimms (which he himself acknowledges in Moe, 1914:124 and 148), the national essence and uniqueness of the tales could no longer be found in the word-for-word relaying of the tales, but had to be 'freed' through a reconstruction of what he believed to be the true Norwegian poetic tradition, the hidden 'completeness' had to be discovered and 're-expressed', as it were. This is supported by the fact that he distinguishes between two levels of 'uniqueness', that which belonged to an ancient *Urform* and that which belonged to the national poetic tradition (Moe, 1914:124). On the other hand, although Hodne is no doubt right in identifying this (theoretical and textual) tendency towards acceptability, Moe himself, in the 1852 introduction, clearly says that the tales must be 're-told' *as closely as possible for scientific purposes* (Moe, 1914:147). There seems to be a fine balance to be upheld here between national uniqueness and international parentage, between relaying the language and tradition of the folk and distorting its oral (nineteenth-century) expression to rediscover its true (national) poetic form. Again, this illustrates the claim that was made in chapter 1 that the text-production was characterized by a balance or a compromise-combination of seemingly paradoxical elements and approaches, in particular in regard to adequacy and acceptability, in how this initial norm was stated (as is clearly seen in Moe 1914 and the quotes from the 1840 preface), and how it was realized textually. It is true, then, that as Falnes says (1968:249), and as many others have emphasized, that Moe found a justification in his nationalist rhetoric through the 'narrative style' of the NF, but I believe I have shown that his theoretical views were not restricted to this single aspect. In his desire to 'free' the national poetic tradition through a re-telling, having scrupulously taken into account a vast number of tales and variants in different parts of the country and identified what he

believed to be a common poetic form (see Hodne, 1979:274 and 282), and profoundly influenced by Romantic views as expressed by the Grimms and others about the status, (collective) origins and national essence of folk culture and language as well as the role of the poet, he believed he was 'freeing', reconstructing not only a pristine *Urform* but a form that would represent a unified poetic tradition of the nation as it had come to shape these narratives through the centuries.

IIIc. 1. A Comparative analysis of the NE revisions. Changes in 'content'

The present author has studied all the individual tales of the first enlarged (1843-1844) NE collection³⁸ (52 tales) and compared them the same tales in one of the contemporary NE collections, chosen at random (1982³⁹). I have also followed the development one tale, "*Ostenfor Sol og Vestenfor Måne*" ("East of the Sun and West of the Moon") through six early editions, finally comparing it to the same (1982) contemporary edition. In addition, I have compared a random sample of tales from the 1843⁴⁰ collection with a 1914⁴¹ and 1982 editions to test these conclusions (*Hvidebjørn Kong Valemon*⁴² - "King Valemon the White Bear", *De Syv Folerne* - "The Seven Foals", *Vesle Aase Gaasepike* - "Little Aase the Goose-girl", *Gutten og Fanden* - "The Boy and the Devil", *Giske* - "Giske", and *Herreper* - "Squire Per"). (The detail-study of the linguistic revisions in "East of the Sun and West of the Moon" follow the present section). The only non-linguistic

³⁸One tale, *Spurninger* ("Questions") has been excluded from this comparison because it no longer formed part of the NE after 1914 (see Appendix 2). I can only assume that the reason it was excluded is probably its close resemblance to another variant, the tale *Prindsessen som ingen kunde maaltbinde* ("The Princess who Always Had to Have the Last Word") which was first included in the NE in 1868 (see Appendix 2).

³⁹P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1982, *Samlede eventyr I* and *Samlede eventyr II* (2 vols.), Den Norske Bokklubben, Oslo.

⁴⁰P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1843, *Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved P. C. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Første Hefte* and 1844, *Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved P. C. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Anden Deels 1ste Hefte*, Johan Dahl, Christiania (2 vols. bound together in one). The present analysis is based on the (complete) facsimile edition of NE 1843-1844, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1994, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, Jørgen Moe, *Norske Folkeeventyr*, Damms Antikvariat, Oslo.

⁴¹P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1914, *Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalt af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Folke-Utgave. Ottende Utgave*, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co, Christiania.

⁴²This tale has also been tested against: P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1907, *Udvalgte Folkeeventyr. Ny Samling*, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania, pp.123-133 and P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1914, *Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalt af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Ny Samling. Med bidrag av Jørgen Moes reiser og optegnelser. Tredje Udgate*, edited by Moltke Moe and Anders Krogvig, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania, pp.134 -141.

changes that could in any way be considered to be other than language-related in the tales in the 1843-44/1982 comparison, were found in the the following samples (underlined passages):

"Vesle Aase Gaasepike" ("Little Aase the Goose-girl") (vol. 1. pp.84-87):

In both the 1914 and 1982 editions, when the Princess steps over the truth-stone by the Prince's bed, the stone calls out "one who has had nine", whilst the 1843 edition has "one who has borne three children" (p.87). It seems reasonable to deduce, however, that since on the two previous occasions, in the 1843 version, the stone has said "borne three children" and "borne six children", either Asbjørnsen, Moe or Moltke Moe have judged 'nine' to be a logical progression, or have perhaps incorporated this feature from another variant of the tale.

"Giske": (vol. 2 pp.446-452)

The 1982 edition has added (as has the 1914 edition) "and he was glad to be rid of her" (p. 446) (a repetition of a statement made earlier), "I believe" (p. 447) - for emphasis, and has omitted "When they came to the pigsty" (p. 448) - a specification, and "Look what lovely chick-pea bread!" (p. 449).

Fugl Dam ("Bird Dam") (vol. 2 pp.156-166)

The following (underlined) phrases were missing from the 1982 edition: "and they realized that they had been captured⁴³ by trolls" (p.156), "for he is a strict master, which we are all tired of, and when he is dead I will be king in his place" (p.157) (implicit from the tale plot), "if the Troll King had taught him that or it was his own idea, I cannot tell" (p.163), "who was to have the Red Knight, who said he had saved them and killed the troll" (p.165) (already understood); and added the following phrases not found in the 1843 edition: "they went to bed to sleep, all of them" (p.158), ""Boat, go back home, the way you came!"" (p. 162); in addition the 1843 reads "King" for 1982 "the Big Troll" (p.158) and 1843 reads "promised" for 1982 "threatened" (p.165)

⁴³The Norwegian 'captured' reads literally "taken in the mountain" which implies that the deed is done by trolls.

"Rike Per Kremmer" ("Rich Peter the Pedlar") (vol. 2 pp.261-272)

This is the only tale I have found in which the the modifications made could be considered at all striking. The hero has gone to save the princess from the dragon who has the key to all knowledge, and has been asked by a queen to ask the dragon, while he is there, where her gold keys are that she had lost earlier. In the 1843 version the answer that the dragon gives to this question is that the queen should look for her gold keys in the bushes "where she lay that time, she knows well enough" whilst the 1982 edition reads "where she usually lies and lazes about after dinner" (p. 269 and p. 271). There is no doubt that the 1843 text clearly refers to a sexual relationship in the past between the dragon and the queen, and this has been deemed inappropriate and omitted in the revised versions. There can be no doubt about the interpretation of the 1843 text because it is the *only* instance found, in a sample of 52 tales, where a new and different phrase has been *substituted* for another, not just omitted or added; the new text is still critical of the dragon, but just so much more innocently and unthreateningly to middle-class urban values, not just because it refers to sex, but to an intimate relationship between humans and supernatural creatures. In the first 1843 version the collectors chose not to include explicitly erotic tales, although they "had the presence of mind to write them down" (Dahl, 1981:101). These tales were not published until over a century later in a separate publication⁴⁴.

Other (non-significant in terms of content) revisions in this tale were additions in 1982: "but nothing good came of him, he must be dead" (p.262), "he was so grumpy and sleepy" (p. 269), "when he saw all the wealth he was awestruck and [he] asked if the dragon lived in such luxury" (p.272); and omissions: "The boy went away with the letter through the woods" (p.263), "replied the boy" (p.266), "the sparks flew from his eyes" (p.269), and "I have never heard of such dreaming" (p.270).

Apart from the last case, the revisions in these tales are, according to my analysis, highly representative of the type of changes found in the NE (in all the 52 tales examined), and none of these additions or omissions seem to carry any significant interpretative implications. The most

⁴⁴p. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1977, Asbjørnsen og Moes erotiske eventyr, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

frequent (but again non-significative for plot or socio-cultural interpretation) were found in the following tales "*Mannen som skulle stelle hjemme*" ("The Man who was to Mind the House") (vol. 1. pp.88-90), "*Gutten som gikk til Nordenvinden etter Melet*" ("The Boy who Went to the North wind to Reclaim his Flour") (vol. 1. pp.161-165), "*Soria Moria Slott*" ("Soria Moria Castle") (vol. 1. pp.386-397), "*Grimsborken*" (vol. 2. pp.365-376) and "*Det har ingen nød med den som alle kvinnfolk er glad i*" ("He whom women love, suffers no need") (vol. 2 pp. 385-394)

One relatively consistent tendency I found in these tales was that invocations of the name of God ("Oh, God!", "God help me!", etc.⁴⁵) outside a strictly religious reference were omitted and exchanged with exclamations with no religious references. Lastly, in some tales the direct address to the reader was simply omitted, but this applies only to a small number of the tales. In the first case, it is quite clear that the revisions have been effected to conform to bourgeois sensibility and perhaps an increasingly puritan worldview, but in the second case, I find it difficult to suggest any 'reasons why' especially since it is not consistent. If anything, it detracts from the oral nature of the tale and from a textual form attempting to render the performance situation (the 'ideal tale), as Asbjørnsen and Moe wished to do (see Moe 1914). On the whole, the closeness to the original 1843 text⁴⁶, even at a distance of over 150 years, is striking, and seems to suggest that the myth of the *Urform*, was not simply a Romantic feature, but is still present in the collective attitude towards the NE in Norway or indicates, perhaps, that the revered status which the NE still holds today as a national symbol - and therefore the reverence for the original text - has precluded any extensive adaptation, even in the children's versions. In fact, this is true to the extent that the tales read, despite the fact that formally they have been brought up to date with contemporary language and conform to language reforms in almost every way (with very few exceptions⁴⁷), they sometimes read 'oddly', at least for urban readers, with a singular use of rural words and sometimes unfamiliar colloquial expression. I can only assume that this is a result of the language editors' strict fidelity to

⁴⁵Examples of this trend are found in vol. 1. pages. 456 and 461; vol. 2: pages. 163, 177, 179, 184, 257, 269, 323, 326, 361, 362, 465 and 468; the only exceptions were ~~vol. 1. pages.~~ vol. 2: pages. 220, 221 and 385.

⁴⁶This statement is supported by Hodne's analysis of a selection of tales in a 1843/44-1852 comparison, where he says that "None of the variations in content "intrudes" on the basic text ... No change in approach towards the poetic tradition can be proved in these changes ... He has kept the epic form of re-telling that he found in NE 1" (Hodne, 1979:282), although he mentions here too that the language has undergone significant changes (ibid).

⁴⁷In one case I found the very archaic use of capitalization for the personal pronoun "De"/"Dere" (you singular and plural), but it seems highly unlikely that this is anything other than an oversight.

the original text, especially after the main revisions implemented by the folklorists at the beginning of this century who had had close contacts with the collectors or their environment), such as Moltke Moe, Jan Jørgen Alnæs and Liestøl.

IIIc. 2. Changes in language

To provide examples of the changes in language, I have examined the eight different versions of the tale *Ostenfor Sol og Vestenfor Maane* ("East of the Sun and West of the Moon"). The following section is the result of a detailed linguistic comparison between the 1843 edition of NE, six subsequent editions (till 1914) and a contemporary edition (1982). I have classified the revisions in terms of: punctuation, orthography, lexica, morphology, and 'other'. Judging by a cursory reading of randomly chosen samples of other tales (by myself), the results of this analysis seem to be representative for the development of the tales in general, also confirming Popp's conclusions (Popp 1977), as described in the thesis, in full. Apart from modifications such as those indicated in the thesis, there were no significant changes *in content*: no additions, omission, elaborations, substitutions of the texts (the children's versions too have remained unchanged in terms of content, judging by another random sample of several editions of two tales ("The Ram and the Pig who went to the Woods to Live by Themselves"⁴⁸ and "The Seven Foals"⁴⁹, against a contemporary edition). It is worth noting that the development here is one of a progressive 'Norwegianization' of the language. Within one and the same edition, these changes are not, however, always consistent. (For example, some *ede*-verb endings have been Norwegianized in the 1866 edition, but many have been retained. The same applies to orthography and lexica.)

After the collectors' deaths, the main language revisions were undertaken primarily by Moltke Moe at Asbjørnsen's specific request, and later by other folklorists and scholars such as

⁴⁸P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1898, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Andet Oplag, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen, pp.1-7.

⁴⁹P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1930, Barne-Eventyr. Asbjørnsen og Moe. Sjette Oplag, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, pp.86-96.

Krogvig, Alnæs and Liestøl. Some versions stand out in the degree of change, and usually follow major official language reforms⁵⁰. The years 1893 and 1907 saw major language reforms in *riksmaal*, whilst *landsmaal* reforms took place in 1901 and 1910; in 1907 there were major language reforms for both *riksmaal* and *landsmaal*. One of the key figures in the Norwegian language reform movement was the educationalist Knud Knudsen, who proposed 12 fundamental reforms that he believed would help bring the Norwegian language 'into its own' (published 1887). Some of the most central, all of them represented in the following analysis, are: 1) the exchange of 'soft' (voiced: eg. *b, d, g*) consonants for 'hard' consonants (unvoiced: *p, t, k*) after a long vowel; 2) the omission of *l* or *n* in silent positions; 3) the omission of *d* and *t* before *s* (*bedsk - besk*); 4) the substitution of *g* for *v* in *skog, plog*, etc.; 5) the shortening of words (*fader-fa, moder-mor*; officially recognized alternatives in the 1907 reform and obligatory in the 1917 reform); 6) the exchange of *er* in place of *e* i plural. Most of Knudsen's proposals were put into effect in the 1907 and following language reforms⁵¹.

(The Norwegian terms have been translated only when this has any relevance for the English-language reader - that is all *lexical* changes, but not orthographical or morphological revisions.)

1843⁵² - 1852⁵³

a. Punctuation: virtually unchanged, in the transition from the 1843 to the 1852 texts, the punctuation is, if anything, more conservative. One of the features that distinguishes Dano-Norwegian from modern Norwegian is the use of commas (see eg. Øyslebø 1971 or Dahl 1981). In the former, commas are used much more frequently, partly due to a higher frequency of parataxis. In Dano-Norwegian, commas are used before relative clauses, for example before the infinitive marker '**at**' and before prepositions and connectives, '**som**', '**til**', '**og**', '**at**'. The omission of commas in cases other than marking the separation of a relative clause from the main clause is one of the features that renders the text under study 'Norwegian' rather than 'Danish-Norwegian'; this particular feature is slower to appear than modernizations in orthography and lexis, however, and it is not until the 1904 edition that economy in punctuation really breaks through.

b. Orthography: A few orthographical modifications were found in the second edition, signalling a gradual 'Norwegianization': **gj - g** (*gjildt - gildt*), **oe - o** (*troe - tro*, but only in the first occurrence), **aa - o** (*aarkedede - orkede*), **ld - l** (*Troldpak - Trolpak*, although this is the only occurrence of *ld*

⁵⁰See H. J. Haffner, 1942, *Asbjørnsen og Moe's norske folkeeventyr. En bibliografisk undersøkelse*, N. W. Damm & Son, Oslo in the series *Småskrifter for Bokvenner* no. 16; see also Popp 1977 and Seip 1933:68.

⁵¹See Gundersen, 1967:45ff in Dag Gundersen 1967, *Fra Wergeland til Vogt-komiteén*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

⁵²P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1844, *Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved P. C. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Anden Deels 1ste Hefte* (part 2), Johan Dahl, Christiania, pp.1-15.

⁵³P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1914, *Norske folkeeventyr samlede og fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Andet Forøgede Udgave*, Johan Dahls Forlag, Christiania, pp.249-262.

becoming *l* as early as this; it may therefore be an error), **gj - j** (Gjenten - Jenten, although the use of the *gj* form is used inconsistently in 1843, indeed Jenten seems to be preferred); finally the form **allene** appeared in the 1843/44 version substituted for **alene** in 1852 (again, this was not consistent in the 1843/44 text, both forms appear).

There were two instances of revised capitalization, but they seem arbitrary as the one is modernization (**Stort - stort**) and the other is a conservatism (**to - To**, although this **to** is the only occurrence of adjectival nominal **To** non-capitalized in 1843/44);

Only one occurrence of the splitting of compound words was found in **paafærde - paa Færde**.

c. Lexica: the only lexical change found was **Aften - Kveld**, which could be said to constitute a 'Norwegianization'.

d. Adjectival- Verb endings: None. The only instance of any morphological modification was the omission of a double definite in 1852 ("*den gamle Troldkjærring*" - "*den gamle Troldkjærringen*"). Given that this is in all the other versions a progressive development in the *later* editions; it could possibly be an oversight, or it may have been an experimental one-off. The definite article (plural) form **ene** appears in both the 1843/44 and 1852 editions (in the word *Bølgetppene*), only to revert to the more conservative form **erne** (*Bølgetopperne*) in 1866 until it is modified again to the more 'Norwegian' form **ene** in 1904.

e. Other: There were more additions in the 1852 edition vis-a-vis the 1843/44 than in any of the others. However, none of these additions or omissions actually seem to constitute any change in 'content' or 'Norwegianization':

"*vaskede de Fillerne hun havde*" (p.2) (washed her rags) is in 1852 "*stelte istand Fillerne*" (p. 251); (arranged rags)

": *der er Ingen, som veed hvor langt der var*" (p.2) (no one knows how far it was) is omitted in the 1852 edition (p. 251)

"*og saaledes gik det hver Nat*" (p.3) (and that is what happened every night) is in 1852 and in all subsequent editions provided with the explanatory phrase: "*og dette var Hvidbjornen, som kastede Hammen af sig om Natten*" (p.251) (and this was the Whitebear who cast off his pelt at night);

"*det kan vi nok snakke om siden*" (p.5) (we can talk about that later) in 1852 becomes "*det kan vi altid snakke om*" (p.253) (we can always talk about it);

"*til min nærmeste Grande*" (p.7) (to the nearest neighbour) is in 1852 "*til Grandekjærringen*" (p.255) (to the neighbour's wife);

the phrase "*du kan kanske faae Brug for det*" (p.7) (you might find a use for it) has been omitted in 1852 (p. 255); this may be an error because it appears a few lines later as the second of three phrases that accompany a sequence of three events, and again in the third occurrence;

"*og hun var ikke istand*" (p.13) (and she wasn't able) is in 1852 "*saa hun ikke var istand*" (p. 259) (so that she wasn't able);

"*og sortere*" (p. 14) (and blacker) is missing in 1852 (p.261) to describe the stains on the Prince's shirt; this may also be an oversight as it *does* appear a few lines later in the same collocation as in the 1843/44 edition;

the 1843/44 has a short one-sentence epilogue at the end of the tale which is missing in the 1852 edition and all the subsequent editions (although it is not an uncommon feature in the NE in other tales): "*Hvorledes de kom afsted, og hvor de flyttede hen, det veed jeg ikke, men er det dem jeg mener, saa er de ikke saa langt borte endda*" (p.15) (how they left and where they moved I do not know, but if it is the ones I am thinking about, they cannot be very far away yet).

There were also additions or omissions of the following pronouns, prepositions and connectives in this sequence: **og, saa, han, nok, da, det, nei, den, alligevel, heller** (and, so, him, probably, then, it, no, it, still and rather; and on one occasion **i** was exchanged for **paa** (in for on).

This revision constitutes a careful and still-hesitant Norwegianization.

1852 - 1866⁵⁴

a. Punctuation: on the whole unchanged; some *more* commas have in fact been added, which - if anything - renders the syntax more rather than less conservative.

b. Orthography: clear 'Norwegianization' with the substitution of single vowels for double vowels: **e** for **ee** (in 1852 **see, veed, snee, meente, seent** and **kanskee**) and **i** for **ii** (in **vis**), **e** for **je** (**Bjerg**), **æ** for **e** (**hæspe**). Also **oe** for **o'** (**Mo'r**) and **gj** for **j** (**jente**). Only in two cases has the capital letter for pronouns been changed (**Intet** and **Jer**); one compound contraction: **førend - før**.

c. Lexica: here too the lexical development is towards 'Norwegianization', although in some instances they are simply synonyms; for example, although "sindt" here becomes "arg", in the next edition the text reverts to "sindt". Seven cases of lexical changes (near-synonymical) were found: **behøvde at - skulde** and **kan** (needed to - should-can), **Beskjed om - Rede paa** (notice/news about - heard about), **huskede at - mindtes** (remembered - remembered), **forelsket i - glad i** (in love with - fond of), **bestandigt - altid** (always - always), **eie - have** (own - have), **sindt - arg** (angry - angry).

d. Adjectival- Verb endings: prudent Norwegianization with the following changes:

ede becomes **et** in *sorgede, feilede* and *legede*, although other **ede-** forms have been maintained;

aac becomes **aa** in *faae, gaae, slaae, staae, laae*;

oe becomes **o** in *boede*, but *not throughout* and only in the present tense.

e. Other: there are 13 cases of very slight modifications: additions/ omissions/ changes in position preposition/ pronouns/ connectives etc. (hereafter referred to as "idiom"). They do not seem to signal any relevant radicalization of language and certainly do not indicate any changes in terms of 'content'.

1866 - 1874⁵⁵

a. Punctuation: in this edition the punctuation is actually slightly more *conservative* in regard to the use of commas; in some cases the exclamation marks of the previous version have been substituted with commas, rendering the text more 'bookish' and less 'oral'. In this version the dialogue is now marked with a '-' for direct (and sometimes free-indirect) speech.

⁵⁴P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1866, Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe, Tredie Udgave, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania, pp.200-209.

⁵⁵P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1874, Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania, pp.203-213.

b. Orthography: is on the whole conservative, sometimes even reverting to the 1852 edition such as **hespe** becoming **hæspe** and **Bro'r** becoming **Broder**; only in two cases is the orthography Norwegianized: **ødt** becomes **øde**, **ld** becomes **l** in "tilfalds";

in three cases only has the capital letter for adjectival nouns been abandoned: **Alt**, **To**, and **Anden**;

contraction of compounds: **førend** - **før** and **jasaa** - **ja saa**.

c. Lexica: 9 cases of lexical modifications which taken as a whole constitute a mild Norwegianization: **Oevrige** - **andre**, **agt** - **vogt**, **saaledes** - **saa**, **Ild** - **Varme**, **noget** - **nogen**, **Sovedrik** - **Svaledrik**, **saamegen** - **saameget**, **sikker** - **vis**, **arg** - **sindt**.

d. Adjectival- Verb endings: very few changes; only one instance of **ede** becoming **ed** and the relative pronoun **der** becoming **som**.

e. Other: only seven instances of changes in idiom; all negligible from the point of view of Norwegianization. In this version the winds have become animated ('him' rather than 'it') although this is not yet done consistently; it adds a touch of 'oral style' to the text and is followed through in the subsequent versions.

On the whole, there are fewer changes here than from 1852 to 1866.

1874 - 1904⁵⁶

a. Punctuation: the 1904 edition has significantly simplified (and 'Norwegianized') the text, in main by a considerable reduction in the frequency of commas. As regards the *format*, this version has been divided into more paragraphs, mainly by changing the format of dialogue sequences, starting on a new line for most new instances of reported (direct and free-indirect) speech, a substitution of the previous '-' markers. Also, in a few cases the sentences have been divided into shorter units. All of these modifications are a development in the direction of less conservative, less Danish, and less formal style towards a lighter, more 'oral' narrative mode.

b. Orthography: clear Norwegianization: **Moder** - **More**, **æ** becomes **e** in **nægte** - **negte** and **aa** **blæste** - **blasst**, **græd** - **graad**; **nd** becomes **n** in **sindt** - **sint**, **Prinds** - **Prins**, **Prindsesse** - **Prinsesse**; **dt** becomes **dd** in **opredt** - **opredd**; single consonants in **vis** - **viss** and **vakkre** - **vakre**; **v** for **g** in **skogen** - **skoven**; **u** for **ue** in **duer** - **dur** and **u** for **oe** in **foer** - **for**;

further, the omission of capital letters for: **Ingen**, **Nogen**, and the tendency towards contraction into compound words: **nok saa** - **noksaa**, **efter at** - **efterat**, **bort igjennem** - **bortigjennem** (but not consistent: eg. **saameget** - **saa meget**) is another step in the same direction.

c. Lexica: only 7 cases of lexical changes, but they all signal a relevant 'Norwegianization' of language - **Raad** - **Greie**, **hexet** - **troldet**, **saadan** - **slik**, **Fruentimmer** - **Kvindfolk**, **anden** - **andre**, **sortere** - **svartere**, **Skorten** - **Peis**.

d. Adjectival- Verb endings: significant Norwegianizations in the verb forms in the 1904 edition with the substitution of **te** for **ede** (ringede - ringte). The substitution of the definite article plural form in

⁵⁶p. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1904, Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Fællessamlingen. II, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, pp.48-61.

erne for **ene** (*Bølgetopperne* becomes *Bølgetoppene*) although this is not consistent (eg. *Gangerne*), it is also another development towards modern Norwegian. Surprisingly, both the 1843/44 and 1852 editions have the less conservative definite article form in the plural, but only in the word *Bølgetoppene*.

Furthermore, in this edition the use of the nominative "*dig*" has in some instances (p. 54, 55 and 60) been exchanged for the accusative "*du*" and "*hende*" for "*hun*" (p. 55, 56 and 57), a strong indication of colloquiality and oral style; the effect is the same with the frequent use of the double definite, for example: "*den andre Morgen*" - "*den andre Morgenen*" (p. 57 and 58), "*begge de forrige Ganger*" - "*begge de forrige Gangene*" (p. 50), "*i det Kammer*" - "*i det Kammeret*" (p. 59), and "*den gamle Troldkjærring*" - "*den gamle Troldkjærringen*" (p. 61); this is not an unusual feature in the NE revisions according to my analysis, but only in one instance have I found that the radical use of the accusative "*dem*" (them) in nominative position ; ie. instead of "*de*" (they).

e. Other: here the winds and the White Bear have become consistently animated ('him' for 'it'), strengthening the effect of an 'oral style'. As regards idiom, only three instances have been noted, but here (p. 59) there is actually the addition of a short phrase "*så de gav ham en sovedrikk*" ("and they gave him a sleeping potion").

The 1874-1904 revision represents a significant Norwegianization.

1904 - 1909

a. Punctuation: virtually unchanged, three cases of long sentences divided into shorter units.

b. Orthography: capital letters for common nouns have been abandoned consistently. Other significant changes towards Norwegianization are simplification of infinitive verb forms: **sagde** - **sa** (also **lagde**, **tager**), **have** - **ha**, **give** - **gi**, **bede** - **be** and past tense forms **boede** - **bodde** and **spurgte** - **spurte**; also the omission of silent d in **klæder** - **klær** and **hundredevis** - **hundrevis**. Other Norwegianizations are substitution of plosives **d** - **t** (*lede*), and **b** - **p** (*eple*), of 'soft' consonants **g** - **k** (*legte*), and the substitution of **æ** for **e** (*Flæk*, *stærkere*). Two other examples of orthographical Norwegianization were found: **Kammer** - **kammers**, **Moderen** - **moren**. In this revision, however, the trend towards separating compound words was in some cases reverted to (*noksaa* - *nok saa*, *fordi* - *for de*); on the whole the use of compound words seems to follow a development first towards integration and much later a re-division into two separate words.

c. Lexica: only two clear lexical changes, both in the directions of Norwegianization, were found in this revision (both near-synonyms): **præktigt** - **gromt**, **Aftenen** - **kvelden** (beautiful and evening)

d. Adjectival- Verbs/Verb endings: continuing the previous development towards Norwegianization of verb forms: **ede** verb-ending becomes **ed/te** (*skinnede* - *skinte*, *lovede* - *lovte*, *bankede* - *banket*, *snakkede* - *snakket*, *vaskede* - *vasket*, *pyntede* - *pyntet* and the irregular *gnedet* - *gnidd*); this trend is not completely consistent, however);

other grammatical developments in this text, all constituting 'Norwegianizations', are: indefinite pronouns **hvor** becomes **det** and **der** becomes **det**; **er** is used consistently for the regular plural form (*Dage* - *dager*, *Gange* - *ganger*) and irregular forms are also modernized (*Huse* - *hus*); **jer/I** is consistently substituted with **Dere**.

e. *Other*: only four changes in idiom/syntax, have been found; none of them significant either in terms of Norwegianization or content.

This revision constitutes on the whole a significant Norwegianization of the text, especially in terms of orthography and morphology.

1909-1914⁵⁷

a. *Punctuation*: unchanged

b. *Orthography*: a continuation of the previous orthographical Norwegianization: **g - k** (*rig, rigdom, forligt, knaget, brug, skreg, røg*), **d - t** (*mad, maade, ude, rude, sad, hede, draabe, did, vide, baade*) and **b - p** (*løb*); as well as new developments **y - u** (*dyppet - duppe*), **dste - ste** (*vidste - viste*), **dd - dt** (*ludd - lydt*), **f - v** (*af, afsted*), **g - t**, **hv - kv** (*hvid*) and **ld - ll** (*trold*); also *kammer - kammers*.

c. *Lexica*: 11 cases of lexical substitutions, and virtually all the 1914 words are 'Norwegianized' (near-synonymical) forms - **deilig - vakker**, **værelse - rum**, **hvorledes - hvordan**, **altid - støtt**, **forrige - andre**, **ligedan - like ens**, **friste - prøve**, **utmaset - utkjørt**, **Frempaa dagen - Om dagen** and **fragte - flytte** (beautiful, room, room, how, always, previous-other, similarly - just like, try, exhausted, further on in the day - during the day, move).

d. *Grammatical forms - Adjectival-/ Verb endings*: continuation of developments in the previous edition: shortening past tense verb forms (the infinitive has already been Norwegianized in 1909) **taget - tatt**, **havde - hadde**, **give - gi**, **-ed to -et** in *kasted, pynted, sorged, banked, knaged, stunded*) and irregular forms **gned - gnudde**;

definite article in the plural form **erne** to **ene** (*fillerne - fillene, vinduerne - vinduene*);

impersonal pronoun (this development had begun in the previous edition, and here too is inconsistent) **der** to **det** or **som**;

more cases of double definite, eg. "*næste torsdagskveld*" - "*næste torsdagskvelden*" (p. 169) and "*datter din*" - "*datteren din*" (p. 169);

in addition, on a few occasions in this edition (but not consistently), the accusative **ham** has been substituted for the grammatically incorrect nominative form **han** which is however very common in spoken language and therefore provides an effect of 'oral style'.

e. *Other*: twelve cases of modifications in idiom/syntax have been found, as before, irrelevant to the Norwegianization programme.

This revision constitutes a moderate Norwegianization.

1914 - 1982⁵⁸

Given the leap in time, the following juxtaposition is meant to be, rather than a strict comparison as such, a representation of the changes from the Norwegian language of 1914 to the modern standardized *hokmål*:

⁵⁷P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1914, *Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe, Folke-Utgave*, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, pp.169-177.

⁵⁸P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1982, *Samlede eventyr, I*, Den Norske Bokklubben, Oslo, pp.230-242.

a. *Punctuation*: mainly unchanged.

b. *Orthography*: the continuing and consistent implementation of the following linguistic modifications started in previous editions - **nd - nn** (*mand - mann, skulde - skulle, ind - inn, inde - inne, kunde - kunne, hende - henne, tænde - tæne, kjender - kjenne, end - enn, anden - annen, vandet - vannet, kvindfolk - kvinnfolk, indtat - inntat*); **ld - ll** (*fuld - full, guld - gull, vild - vill, vilde - ville*); **aa - å** consistently, **æ - e** (*vægg - vegg, læste - leste, færdig - ferdig, længe - lenge, længer - lenger, dækket - dekket, omhæng - omheng, forældre - foreldre, tændte - tente, næse - nese, tætte - tette, trætt - trette, nætter - netter, ræd - redd, vækket - vekket, ældst - eldst, sætte - sette, træ - tre, kjærring - kjerring*), **b - p** (*skibe - skipe*) and **dst - st** (*sidst, bedste*);

further modifications not found in the previous editions are:

the abandoning of the silent letters: **ig - i** (*aldrig - aldri*, but not *riktig*) **og - o** (*slog*), **ad - a** (*hvad - hva*) and **ed - e** (*stedmor - stemor*);

the doubling of consonants: **k -kk** (*gik - gikk, fik - fikk, rok - rokk, skik - skikk, sprak - sprakk*), **p - pp** (*op*), **s - ss** (*stuslig - stusslig, os - oss, tilpas - tilpass, des - dess*), **t - tt** (*sat - satt, hat - hatt, nat - natt, indtat - inntatt, tat - tatt*), **l - ll** (*altid - alltid, vil - vill*), **f - ff** (*Huf - Huff*) and **b - bb** (*stub - stubb*);

the following changes have also been implemented: **ig - eg** (*sig - seg*), **u - o** (*rum - rom, slukket - slokket*), **ske - skje** (*kanske - kanskje*), **e - a** (*frem - fram*), **øi - øy** (*oine - oyne, oieblikk - oieblikk, hoit - hoyt*) and **e - ei** (*skorstenspipen - skorsteinspipen*) as well as **g - k** (*rigdommen - rikdomme, rigtig - riktig, magt - makt*), **em - om** (*mellem - mellom*) and **ei - æ** (*veir - vær*); note also **noget - noe** and **endda - enda**; also **hjemmenifra - hjemmefra, faa laane - få låne, gammeltroll - gamletroll**

capital letter for **Dere** has been abandoned for the modern **dere**.

most of the compound words are separated in modern Norwegian, such as those found in this text: **tilsidst - til sist, bortigjennem - bort igjennom, derop - der opp, tilpas - til pass** and **imorgen - i morgen**, but the word **Ja saa** is often, but not always, rendered **jasså**.

c. *Lexica*: lexical differences that have been found in these two texts are **meget - mye** and **støtt - alltid** (much and always) which constitute (near-synonymical) Norwegianizations; in addition, the following (near-synonymical) lexical changes appear: **brukte - pleide, til - som, til - dess**, and **efter - efterpå** (used to, as, the more, afterwards).

d. *Grammatical forms - Adjectival-/ Verb endings*: the past tense verb endings **-ev/av** become **e/a** (*blev - ble and gav - ga*), **jagde - jaget** and **været - vært**. In some cases, the definite article ending **en** becomes **a** for feminine gender (*kjærringen - kjærringa, jenten - jenta, bygden - bygda*);

the infinitive form **at** becomes consistently **å**;

the impersonal pronoun **der** becomes consistently **det**;

the modern edition retains the (inconsistent) use of the (grammatically incorrect) accusative for nominative forms (**han** for **ham** and **det er mig - det er jeg**) for 'oral' effect.

e. *Other*: contraction is used to give an 'oral effect' - **hatt ham** becomes **hatt'n** and **om han** becomes **om'n** and **min - mi'**.

These textual comparisons clearly show how the **NE** was gradually 'Norwegianized', some transitions more clearly than others (eg. the 1874-1904 transition, after the 1893 reform, and the

1904-1909 transition subsequent to the 1907 reform). If we accept Popp's conclusions (Popp 1977) that Asbjørnsen was following a deliberate 'personal programme' when revising the NF, and that his reforms were not only followed by other writers, but influenced official language policies, it is clear that the revisions described here illustrate both the collectors' own personal Norwegianization programme based on the language of the rural population, and the extent to which these reforms were absorbed into the emerging language. A measure of the success of these reforms, ie. those that were consistently and permanently absorbed into the language, is to be found in the last comparison with the modern edition, where the general morphological, lexical and orthographical trends of the early revisions have been consistently and more radically implemented.

III d. Summary of linguistic amendments in the NF revisions

Summing up Skard's (see Skard, 1973:45ff) and Øyslebø's (Øyslebø, 1971:70ff⁵⁹) observations, the main changes and innovations in language introduced through the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales can be listed as follows:

syntax: the over-defined noun⁶⁰; free indirect speech (*oratio tecta*); repetition of the personal pronoun at the end of a phrase⁶¹; paratactic rather than hypotactic form (ie. placing of clauses, sentences or propositions side by side without connecting words, as opposed to the frequent use of connectives between hierarchically structured clauses - hypotaxis); the frequent use of relative and nominal subclauses also in speech⁶², and the use of 'oral-style' conjunctions giving the impression of 'directness'; a shift from nominal to verbal expressions⁶³; changes in morphology and orthography

⁵⁹Øyslebø's study applies to Asbjørnsen's framed tales.

⁶⁰For a brief discussion on the use of the double definite form in Norwegian literature, including the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales, see Einar Lundeby, 1965, *Overbestemt substantiv i norsk og de andre nordiske språk*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, and Trygve Knudsen, 1966, "'Overbestemthet" i Forskningsfelt" in *Maal og Minne* (1966), pp.58-65.

⁶¹This is a colloquial idiom in Norwegian roughly corresponding to the English "I'd take that with me, I would"; see also Skard, 1973:46 on the 'folkish' use of repetition of the personal pronoun.

⁶²See Skard, 1973:46.

⁶³Logically, then, as Øyslebø points out, the last two elements in combination, 'Norwegian' vocabulary and spoken language, lead to an impression of *Norwegian speech* (Øyslebø, 1971:72).

tending towards an analytical narrative style (partly through paratactical sentence structure)⁶⁴; omission of relative and principle clauses, and other linguistic techniques allowing sentences and clauses to interact more independently of each other and also leading to a more 'spoken' form; and lastly, a shift from reported to direct speech.

idiom/vocabulary: the introduction of many non-Danish, 'typically Norwegian' words and idioms⁶⁵; and the omission of foreign words (Latin and Greek and German loanwords); and the frequent use of idiomatic and colloquial expressions in dialogue⁶⁶.

alliteration: alliteration and rhyme in folk and idiomatic expressions⁶⁷; alliteration in syntactic repetition; and the addition of tautologies⁶⁸.

The main *orthographical* features which Asbjørnsen used in his legends and tales (a number of these features were not included in the first versions, but only in the revised versions) and which played a significant part in the emergence of *hokmål* in its separation from Danish and in the attempt to 'Norwegianize' the language, can - based on the Popp survey - be listed as follows (Popp's conclusions to each separate linguistic phenomenon that constituted an innovation are worth quoting fully in order to substantiate the empirical data presented here and to demonstrate just how influential, in purely linguistic terms, the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus was in the nineteenth-century Norwegian polysystem):

1) doubled vowel letters and "supporting e": "By carrying out his plan in 1859 Asbjørnsen achieved virtual consistency in his overall treatment of long vowels in words with closed-syllable root forms ... he anticipated the acceptance of Knudsen's 1861 proposal for reform on this point and quite possibly then influenced the decision in favor of acceptance of Knudsen's program. Second, he did this as a literary figure, his case is in fact the earliest we

⁶⁴Moe, in a letter to Faye, specifically mentions wishing to avoid the heavy latinized sentence constructions with frequent hypotaxis and relative clauses in favour of a paratactic style, and to avoid the progressive '-ing' form in favour of subclauses; see Sørensen, 1962:31. See also Liestøl 1979:223ff and Foss 1923.

⁶⁵see Foss 1923:216ff and also Skard, 1973:46-47.

⁶⁶Øyslebø claims that this technique, of using idiomatic expressions in reported speech, which gives the impression of 'directness' and brings the reader into a 'real-life situation', was used frequently in the sagas (Øyslebø, 1971:73).

⁶⁷Foss, 1923:222. See Foss, 1923:221ff for a detailed list. See also Skard 1973:47-48 and Johan Hovstad, 1933, "Eventyrmålet hjå Asbjørnsen og Moe" in *Syn og Segn*, (39), pp.289-309.

⁶⁸By this is meant two - often rhyming - synonyms side by side, eg. *Rægler og Historier* was changed to *Rægler og Remser* (see Skard, 1973:52).

know of, since Wergeland never completed a comparable revision in his practice and Ibsen did so only in 1862" (Popp, 1977:35).

2) "silent e": "It is reasonable to suppose also in the case of "silent e" that *Asbjørnsen's anticipation of the reform influenced the decision to adopt that reform*" (Popp, 1978:40, emphasis added).

3) "silent d and t" in post-vocalic clusters: "So far as it is now known no other literary figure in Norway had moved to eliminate the letters up to that time. Asbjørnsen's treatment of the clusters could hardly have escaped the attention of the delegates at Stockholm in 1869 ... Løkke's report and Asbjørnsen's 1870 texts reached the public at approximately the same time [and] *no doubt both influenced the official decision to endorse Aeries' spelling list of 1885*" (Popp, 1977:44, emphasis added).

4) *i* versus *j* for /j/ in unstressed syllables: "In the case of literary texts, we know yet of no consistent treatment of /j/ which can compare with Asbjørnsen's in 1870, and the principled and exacting solution which he provided might easily have influenced the official decision to endorse Aeries' spelling list in 1885" (Popp, 1977:49).

5) *æ* and *e* for short vowels: "Asbjørnsen's solution was Norwegian and not Danish. It perhaps set a precedent for truly Norwegian solutions, *thus laying certain ground for the reform to come in 1917, which, based even more radically on native phonology, brought a complete break with Danish tradition*" (Popp, 1977:59, emphasis added).

6) *æ* and *e* for long vowels: "Of spellings which Asbjørnsen did not revise, all those for words with Old Norse etymons in *ei* show *e* for /e:/ ... That Asbjørnsen's treatment of such words was so uniform suggests that spellings with *e* were standard at least for this group" (Popp, 1977:63).

7) capitalized initial letters: "But aware as [the delegates at Stockholm in 1869] surely were of the step which Asbjørnsen had taken in 1859, they may have considered his revisions a sign that resistance was already weakening in Norway ... *Only Asbjørnsen's treatment of indefinite pronouns was in a position to influence decisions made at Stockholm, and thus to be of consequence in the movement for lower-case forms in Norway*" (Popp, 1977:68-69, emphasis added).

8) spacing and hyphenation: "it is possible that Asbjørnsen's solution to the problem of the reading difficulty which these presented was heeded by many who expected that such terms would become increasingly common in written Norwegian, among whom of course would be delegates at Stockholm" (Popp, 1977:76).

9) *c*, *q*, *x*, *z*, and *th*, *ou* in native words and early loans: "The general indication is that Asbjørnsen was a leader of the development which saw the rejection of *c*, *q*, and *z*" (Popp, 1977:79).

10) recent loans of non-Germanic origin: "it is important to notice in particular that Asbjørnsen had partly adopted naturalized forms well in advance of the 1862 reform. The texts from before 1859 *were thus in a favorable position to influence the official decision which came in that year, as well as the recommendations which came from Stockholm in*

1868. *These texts show that Asbjørnsen was well ahead of developments in Norway on these points, and at least keeping pace with developments in Denmark*" (Popp, 1977:87, emphasis added).

11) *sk* for *dsk* in root consonant clusters and *ls*, *lt*, *rt* and *ns* for older *lts*, *ldt*, *rdt*, and *nds* or *nts* (see Popp, 1977:92)

12) doubled consonant letters before *r*: This feature, however, was not taken up by the language reformers. "This is one instance, the only one, in which his orthographic revisions fail to anticipate the general line of development. Asbjørnsen nonetheless remains the first major Norwegian writer we know of to have concerned himself directly with the problem of consonant letters before *r*. He worked out a solution which seems as principled as it could be, *and which can be readily understood as a response to native linguistic conditions*" (Popp, 1977:47, emphasis added).

Those changes that Asbjørnsen had already introduced into his texts *soon before* they were adopted officially were: features nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8 and 10; and those changes adopted by Asbjørnsen *many years before* they were adopted officially were nos. 4, 7, 9 and 11 (see Popp, 1977:92).

IV. THE IMPACT OF THE NF ON THE LITERARY POLYSYSTEM

Not only did the NF have a crucial role in the emergence and formation of *hokmål*, but the folktales had, and continue to the present day to have, an enormous impact on literature as well as on other cultural sectors, such as music and painting. Of the literary output that followed in the wake of the National-Romantic movement, Jorgenson, for example, says:

From 1850 on no author ignored [Asbjørnsen and Moe] in the cultivation of his style and in the portrayal of Norwegian character. In fact no person can understand the literature of Norway from the middle of the nineteenth century until the present day without making a thorough study of the fairy tales collected by Asbjørnsen and Moe. (Jorgenson, 1933:217)

The playwright Henrik Ibsen⁶⁹, the poets Henrik Wergeland and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, the musicians Edvard Grieg (composer) and Ole Bull (violinist), the artists Hans Gude and Adolph Tidemand, J. C. Dahl, Erik Werenskiöld and Theodor Kittelsen, are only the most celebrated

⁶⁹On Ibsen's inspiration for Per Gynt from the NF, see Hallvard Sand Bakken, 1939, "Navnet Per Gynt" in Maal og Minne (1930), pp.141-144.

examples of the NF⁷⁰. Bjørnson, in a homage to Asbjørnsen, had apparently said of the tales: "God knows, how little would have become of me had it not been for you" (quoted in Skard, 1973:52) and according to Sigurd Hoel, the importance of Asbjørnsen and Moe's collection cannot be underestimated: "It is *the* literary opus of the last century that has had the most multifaceted, and the greatest collected influence, for Norwegian literature and research, for a Norwegian national identity and awareness, and yes, even for Norwegian daily life" (Hoel, 1948:102), and Skard too agrees that the literary influence was significant: "one of the most important preconditions for the free and natural expression which breaks through with Bjørnson and Ibsen was the language used in the folktale collection" (Skard, 1973:52). Both Ibsen's Brand and Peer Gynt were of course significantly influenced by the folktales, especially in terms of theme⁷¹. Of more recent writers influenced by the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales can be mentioned Jonas Lie, Trygve Andersen, Gunnar Heiberg, Nils Kjær, Gabriel Scott, Knut Hamsun, Arnulf Øverland (see eg. Sørensen, 1962:14). Seip goes so far as to state that "All good style in language since then ... is dependent on the folktales" (quoted in Skard, 1973:52), and Dahl, on a less impetuous note, says that although some of the claims that have been made on behalf of Asbjørnsen and Moe's work and their effect on the development of the language, such as that of Seip above, have been prone to exaggeration, the folktale genre *did* no doubt bring a new 'style and tone' to Norwegian literature (Dahl, 1981:113). Although certain contemporary scholars' appraisal of the influence of the tales was influenced by the zeal of the National-Romantic period, it is clear that the folktale collection was *accepted*, also in academic circles, as the symbol and the conscious self-assertion of a new literary and linguistic identity.

Skard argues that the effect of Asbjørnsen and Moe's language reforms increased in the years subsequent to the first publication, (Skard, 1973:49ff) and that it was primarily the 1850 generation of writers which represented the most profound influence of the new style. Asbjørnsen and Moe's tales formed a precedent in the nineteenth-century (and later) Norwegian polysystem in

⁷⁰For a note on some of the main artistic works - both literature and art - inspired by folk tradition and literature, see Hodne, 1979:19ff. On the use of nationalist Romantic rhetoric and images in Norwegian visual art, especially Edvard Munch, see Patricia G. Berman's excellent paper "Edvard Munch's Peasant's and the invention of Norwegian Culture", paper presented at the conference *Scandinavian Culture* at Hofstra University, New York, November 1993.

⁷¹Skard, 1973:52. See also Durbach, 1982:2 in Erroll Durbach, 1982, Ibsen the Romantic, Analogues of Paradise in the Later Plays, MacMillan Press, London and Basingstoke, or Dahl 1981.

several ways. Not only on the level of language and on the level of national(-related) themes in literature, but also as a model for a new genre, thus its position in the literary canon was multi-functional. In this capacity, the Asbjørnsen and Moe collection was not only a temporally limited 'one-off', but continued to regenerate and shape the polysystem (also through the frequent revisions) in what Even-Zohar calls a 'dynamic' model. The following quote clearly illustrates, in general terms, the specific function and position of the Asbjørnsen and Moe texts in the Norwegian polysystem from the 1840s till today:

It therefore seems imperative to clearly distinguish between two different uses of the term "canonicity", one referring to the level of texts, *the other to the level of models. For it is one thing to introduce a text into the literary canon, and another to introduce it through its model into some repertoire.* In the first case, which may be called static canonicity, a certain text is accepted as a finalized product and inserted into a set of sanctified texts literature (culture) wants to preserve. In the second case, which may be called dynamic canonicity, a certain literary model manages to establish itself as a productive principle in the system through the latter's repertoire. It is this latter kind of canonization which is the most crucial for the system's dynamics. Moreover, it is this kind of canonization that actually generates the canon, which may thus be viewed as the group of survivors of canonization struggles, probably the most conspicuous products of certain successfully established models. (Even-Zohar, 1990:19, emphasis added)

The folktales were later included in the educational curriculum, a step which came to have a profound influence on its acceptance in society and its status as a national symbol (see Skard, 1973:52). In this way, moreover, the folktales extended an influence on coming generations of authors and text producers, and the folktales are still a central part of the educational curricula today. The inclusion of traditional narrative literature in the national educational curriculum is a particularly important link between the past and a projected national identity for the future in that it has an educative-informative and *formative* role on the younger generations. However, as Ann Helen Skjelbred notes, it is not enough for cultural elements simply to be defined by the elite as ethnically or nationally 'characteristic', but these characteristics must be accepted as such by that particular group itself⁷². This has indeed happened in Norway as the tales eventually became, as other groups in society were drawn into the nation-building process (see eg. Koht, 1977:117 and

⁷²Ann Helen Skjelbred, 1993, "National and Cultural Identity: A Norwegian Perspective", paper presented at the *Folklore Fellows Summer School*, August 1993, Turku, Finland.

Østerud, 1984:60ff), not only a bourgeois cultural statement but a national symbol in a much fuller sense of the word

The folktale collection has been edited and revised many times since the first publication in 1841 to the present day. The revised editions show enormous linguistic changes, in keeping with the radical developments in the Norwegian language itself over this period, and in line with the language reforms as established by Parliament. The tales thus mirror not only the official ever-changing language policies, but are an explicit expression of the dynamism of the wider cultural environment, reflecting also the - often seemingly unsystematic - mixing of conservative-radical language. Both Asbjørnsen and Moe had explicitly expressed the wish for the folktale revisions to continue in line with language development and to "follow the growing feeling of the language for the popular" (quoted in Skard, 1973:53). As Asbjørnsen himself pointed out, this continuous, periodic rewriting and renewing of the tales - tales intended "for the folk and for the youth of the nation" - mirrored the dynamic process of the narrative oral tradition itself (ibid).

CONCLUSION

I.

A point of departure for this thesis has been the claim that the target culture governs translation and other wider text-production processes to conform to prevailing literary and linguistic norms. It has shown, through the case study of an intralingual translation process, how TC norms, directed by events at an abstract, macro-structural level, govern the concrete translation process in terms of literary and linguistic expressions in competition with, but also in a complementary relationship with, SC norms.

The Romantic-Nationalist movement was initially conceived, it has been argued, among the urban bourgeoisie, the 'TC', and it was primarily to fulfil the needs of this group that the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus was produced and promoted to national status and to a national symbol. Indeed, the Asbjørnsen and Moe folktales might perhaps never have gained the position that they did had it not been for an random combination of a number of political and cultural events circumscribing the country as a whole, and this group in particular, during a period of intense upheaval. When Norway in 1814 achieved semi-independent status after a re-shuffling of power subsequent to the Napoleonic wars, the effort required, after a union of 400 years, to re-create herself as a fully independent cultural and political nation was, this thesis has argued, considerable, and it was precisely to help fill this need that the NE came into being. The French Revolution had inspired the emergence of nation-hood all over Europe and had become a political model to emulate, also in Norway, whilst in Germany, Romanticism and Nationalism had fused to form a new vision of group-identity, based on the ideas of Rousseau, Hegel, Herder and elaborated by the Schlegels, Novalis, Arnim, the Grimms and others. Every nation was seen as possessing an intrinsic 'essence' to be 'fulfilled', and one of the important keys to this 'essence' lay in folk literature, in its faculty of belonging to the ancient past and these political and cultural developments had a resounding effect on Norway's future. Norway's difficult topographical and climatic character had discouraged

communication between isolated rural settlements with towns and thereby promoted the flourishing of local customs, verbal art and dialect, leaving these cultural expressions relatively untouched by urban influence. Furthermore, the fact that oral narrative found expression in a language and literary form closely related to ON and to the Viking culture, in its turn regarded as representing a glorious, strong and independent ancient past, was an added factor fuelling the emergence of national sentiment. The Asbjørnsen and Moe texts were thus a product of the acute interest in the ancient past and in oral narrative as an expression of 'national character', and of the (Rousseauian) interest in the environment surrounding this oral narrative as a repository for both 'nation' and 'national language'. The texts were *selected* on the basis of this ideology and they were further *produced* on the same basis, that is they were written and adapted to promote certain values that would uphold the rhetoric of Romantic discourse and also to cater to the political-cultural need to forge an independent national identity, distinct from their Danish neighbours. As de Geest has noted, the target culture tends to affirm its own needs through translation (in this case intralingual translation).

The Norwegian case parallels that of other European nations in the nineteenth century in many respects: the influence of German Romanticism and especially Herder, the strong connection between past and present and the use of a constructed concept of 'the Past', and the active promotion, indeed *creation*, of a literary myth to sustain emerging national sentiments. Both folk language and literature were thus crucial instruments in the Romantic and the Nationalist discourse of the nineteenth-century in these countries in the (re-)appropriation of a cultural heritage. The prevailing ideology, the specific political histories, and the larger political circumstances all served to create the foundations for what were to become new, national cultural and literary institutions in an independent political and cultural future. Three key aspects of nineteenth-century European culture and ideology seem to interact in the text production processes discussed in this thesis and in the formation of the NE. Firstly, the Romantic tendency to look to the past, and the idealization of the poet as a 'visionary' and genius. Secondly, these Romantic views strengthened, complemented and to some degree formed the emphasis on *nation-hood* and national character. In Norway they certainly interacted with and strengthened a political process that was taking place as a result of the

union with Denmark and the separation after France's military defeat. Romantic ideology had given the Norwegians a *cultural* justification as well as a good dose of national pride, and allowed them to construct a past which gave the emerging nation continuity and legitimation. Finally, all of these factors, inherent in Romantic ideology and political nation-building, interacted with the growing interest in folk tradition, and in particular oral narrative, and the closely-linked Rousseauian idealization of the peasant. In this line of thinking the need to look to the past and form a link with it, both culturally *and* linguistically found fulfilment in the intrinsic 'personality' of an individual nation, the Herderian Idea. The search for the *Urform* made sense not only in folkloristic terms, but formed part of a much larger cultural discourse in which all of the above factors interacted.

II.

In polysystemic terms, the production of the corpus catered to TC norms, but the texts were also *innovatory* in that they introduced a number of SL elements into the emerging polysystem. Indeed, they were not only innovatory, but they were instrumental in shaping the emerging polysystem, both in literary and linguistic terms. Both of these factors were equally important, and complemented each other ideologically, although the competing linguistic norms were reconcilable only with some effort and sustained by help of a potent nationalist rhetoric. Once in printed form, the oral tales gained a certain position and prestige in the polysystem, and could in turn 'exert authority' by influencing the target polysystem. In their function as channels for innovation, in linguistic and cultural developments, they were instrumental in creating the emerging national language, *bokmål* (as Popp, 1977, has shown), and indelibly marked the cultural output of the country for generations to come.

The *presentation/promotion* of the NE, the final step in the text-production process, mirrored its selection process in that it was presented on the premises of the TC, and was appropriated by the urban elite as part of its own literary canon. It would be wrong to imply, however, that it was simply a question of appropriation, only to subsequently entirely ignore the source culture; rather,

through this process and through the parallel developments in language and politics, the rural community was drawn into the dynamic cultural developments and empowered, politically and culturally, through this process (although often, as Østerud and Koht have noted, only subsequent to relinquishing their status as 'folk' through a process of urbanization and modernization), not least in the developments leading up to and culminating in the *landsmål* movement; in time, the rural population took an active part in the nation-building process, not least through the figure of Ivar Aasen in his linguistic and cultural-nationalistic functions.

As Toury and Even-Zohar have stated, above, a translation (or a set of translated texts), despite (or indeed because of) the fact that it is a product of conflicting norms, can be a central force within the wider polysystem. Moreover, through this process *its own position* may undergo a radical shift in status. The oral narrative tradition in nineteenth-century Norway, initially a collection of marginalized 'texts' (to the extent that it was even known at all and certainly to the extent that it was acknowledged as 'art') thus achieved, through the establishment and canonization of the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus, a central position within the emerging polysystem; indeed, it could be concluded that through the Asbjørnsen and Moe collection, a new, multifunctional genre was introduced into the Norwegian polysystem, a process analogous to what was happening in other European countries with, especially Germany, but also Finland.

Even-Zohar and Hermans have noted that for a norm to become stabilized, a certain degree of consensus, of common acceptance in the target culture, is required. When certain options are discovered to be effective as 'problem solvers', for a given number of individuals, they tend to gain the status of a 'norm'. A number of the linguistic features Asbjørnsen and Moe introduced into the polysystem through their tales functioned precisely as such 'problem-solvers'. Prior to and partly during the period in which NE was published, Norwegians were in the tentative process, creating their own independent national language, and discussing, often in fierce polemics with the Danes and between themselves, the terms for such a development, that is whether or not it was opportune, feasible, or even desirable (said Welhaven and P. A. Munch) to break so radically with their more 'cultivated' Danish past and now-benign neighbour. The Asbjørnsen and Moe tales, continuing and

furthering the work of Wergeland, not only showed the nation that it was possible to present 'Norwegian' rural themes in an acceptable literary form, but that it was possible to write (rural) 'Norwegian' in a form that the (urban) bourgeoisie could still recognize and understand. Further, it offered a number of concrete, potential solutions to the problem of how to write 'Norwegian' language in terms of orthography, syntax and morphology. To all intents and purposes, they provided a 'translational model' of operational norms.

It may seem unusual to discuss norms in terms of purely linguistic expression and grammatical-stylistic features, but a case can be made, and *has* been made, for such a usage here. Linguistic features, in this particular context of nineteenth-century Norwegian culture, were a *direct* result and expression of a specific cultural-ideological (National-Romantic) approach. The drive towards the Norwegianization of the language was the product of the National-Romantic view of the rural population, by nature of their geographical isolation and linguistic proximity to the Old Norse culture was not, however (at least initially), a democratic movement advocating the recognition, emancipation or empowering of the rural population, but one which exclusively served the needs of the urban bourgeoisie. The fact that language, and language in its concrete *linguistic* expression, became - and still is - so closely tied to politics and that it generated such heated polemics, further indicates that linguistic form is here (also) ideological and cultural expression.

In terms of Toury's distinction between initial, preliminary, and operational/textual norms, the cultural-ideological milieu and resultant norm system in European National-Romanticism could be defined as an underlying preliminary norm that guided text-production and 'translational policy'. Nineteenth-century folktale collectors and re-tellers in several European countries were governed in their re-writing by a belief in the existence of an ancient *Urform*, seeking to re-create this original form and re-present it to their audience in a form acceptable to and understandable by a nineteenth-century literate and urban audience/readership. In a sense, they were both 'free' and 'not free' to adapt; 'free' to the extent that they believed the oral versions they received from their informants were degenerate versions in need of 'correcting', and 'not free' because they believed in the existence of an original form to be reinstated in the national canon, representing the nation. This recreative

process was consolidated by the Romantic vision of the poet as society's sage and visionary whose gift, even duty, lay in discovering and re-presenting what the late Romantics (vaguely) referred to as 'Beauty', 'Truth', or 'Life', where 'Art' was regarded as an almost holy bridge between the ideal and the real. The poet's role was to 'free' and reveal the assumed 'hidden' essence of the nation as expressed in oral tradition and its even deeper-hidden *Urform*, as Moe postulates in the 1852 Introduction. The Herderian vision of the 'essence' of a nation imbued in language and literature, especially of the past, coupled with the Rousseauian idealization of the rural peasant, further strengthened this process. Thus, underlying parameters and cultural norms had a direct influence on 'translational policy'.

It can be concluded, then, that the norms underpinning the nineteenth-century Norwegian urban polysystem were accepted and implemented in the textual transfer of the Asbjørnsen and Moe tales and through this process they became canonized within the emerging polysystem. Bringing on board a number of radical linguistic-literary innovations, they thus constituted a crucial element in laying the foundation for the development of a new, independent, literary poetics and an emerging national language. The highly functional, skopos-driven nature of this particular translational process required the *explicit* (and ideological) norm of 'adequacy'; authenticity and loyalty or fidelity to the original, was, in principle an essential *prerequisite* for the formation of national identity, although the *implicit* norm was one of intense 'acceptability'. Indeed, it was crucial that both norms of adequacy and acceptability functioned contemporaneously: Acceptability, ie. a language highly adapted to the norms and poetics of the target system - was important because only thus could the text, in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, serve its purpose as a national symbol. In other words, the effectiveness of the text by means of translational strategies of acceptability was the only way of preserving the myth of authenticity (absolute fidelity); adequacy was thus dependent on acceptability for a means of expression and for an institutional 'stamp of approval', of official justification. This thesis has aimed to 're-construct' those specific norms which governed this initial norm and the translational equivalence relationships as they were understood by nineteenth-century folklore collectors, not aiming to praise or criticize *one, ideal* equivalence relationship between SC

and TC, but to identify which, *of many possible* such relationships, was or were dominant in this particular period, and for which reasons.

III.

The tales had been lifted out of their performative and particularistic setting, through which the teller had performed the tale for his or her audience with the help of extra-verbal effects and with a shared understanding of local tradition and local historical events which could provide 'signification' to his audience based on these common socio-cultural parameters, based on the teller's individual performative ability, and based on the audience's response, on their approval or disapproval. When the tales were heard, taken down in note form, adapted and retold through the printed medium by the folktale collectors who came to the rural communities from the city, these elements were no longer present. The shared understanding between performer and audience which made the tale 'worth telling' in the original set was no longer present. As Olson and Bauman note, oral mode and oral narrative tends to be context-based, whilst the literary mode imbues the text itself with autonomous, intrinsic 'meaning'. This thesis has suggested that the transition of texts from oral mode to literary mode, mirrored the transition from 'simple' structure-based to the complex culture-based societies which Gellner describes. For the nineteenth-century Romantics in particular (especially the post-Herder Romantics), the immutability of this identity of the individual was defined by its *organic* participation in the nation. It could be argued that this parallels the search for the representation of oral narrative as a once-existent, static, (ideally) unchangeable and original *Urform*, in which meaning would be equally intrinsic to the text, rather than presenting it in the form in which it actually existed, as a dynamic, ever-changing narrative unit *performed* by a teller for an audience and dependent on the audience for the full realization of the tale (the ideal tale in Dollerup et al.'s terms, or the 'entire storytelling event'), and dependent on the shared historical and social assumptions of the performer and the audience.

It has been argued that in their capacity as 'translators', both the Grimms and Asbjørnsen and Moe were guided by the idea of re-creating the original *Urform* in the conception of 'translational

equivalence', and that they did not necessarily see their role as adaptors as 'betraying' the text ('misleading the readership' as Ellis would have it), because the texts they possessed were only inferior versions of what they believed to have existed in an original, 'higher', form. Therefore, their 'translational policy' was to re-construct this ancient art-form (which thus represented a higher cultural stratum than that of its carriers), rather than to present the tales as they actually may have functioned in their home system and at the same time extract and free its 'second level' of nationness, as Moe argues in the 1852 essay. It has been established now that this essentially target-based re-writing process was governed by, and consolidated, urban rather than rural norms and traditions. It also seems reasonable to assume that had it not been so, it would never have gained the acclaim it did, nor, the present author claims, would it have gained a position as a national symbol or have been a fundamental element of the *contemporary* Norwegian polysystem. Indeed, none of the other Norwegian folktale collections, highly adapted or re-told 'folkloristically' often in dialect form, word for word, have gained the recognition and popular success of the NE. On the basis of the material presented here, then, on the discussions on folklore and 'fakelore', and on the professed adherence to an original form, the degree of adaptation inherent in the passage from such an assumed original form to contemporary expression, illustrated in this thesis by the Asbjørnsen and Moe corpus and their vision of themselves as text producers, and informed by the wider European National Romantic climate, one clear fact emerges: it is not the professed adherence, the act of adaptation (or lack of adaptation) to any original form in itself, but the *function* these attitudes and acts came to have and the role they came to play in the wider political-cultural arena which sealed the success of the NE and its destiny, as a national symbol and tool, not only in the independence movement on the mid-nineteenth century, but even today through its role in the educational curriculum and through the mark it has left and continues to leave on literature, art, music, and even political rhetoric (such as in the discussions about the EC referendum in 1994; Skjelbred, personal communication 1994). It is clear, then, that it is not necessarily the 'facts' (or 'mis-facts') that count, but how these 'facts' are presented, in which circumstances, which needs they serve, and how effective they ultimately are. That is, the 'success' of a text or a set of texts (or a genre), its appropriation into and position in the polysystem depends on its function, on fulfilling certain needs *at a given point in time*. The creation of literary histories and the construction of 'the Past', the

imagining and inventing of a new group identity (nation-hood), the making-up of non-existent texts - 'fakelore', have been discussed in the various chapters of this thesis, and they all have in common the active, wilful construction of historical and cultural phenomena. Moreover, this thesis has also verified that the subsequent revisions of the NE, although linguistically substantial, were, once the first transition from oral to written has been realized, in terms of 'content' negligible, indicating that the Romantic vision of an ideal form, the reverence for an ancient pristine text, and the authority of that original text, is still with us today.

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APPENDIX 1

**JØRGEN MOE'S INTRODUCTION TO
NORSKE FOLKEEVENTYR SAMLEDE VED ASBJØRNSEN OG MOE (1852)**

First published in P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1852, Norske Folkeeventyr samlede og fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe, Anden forøgede Udgave, Johan Dahls Forlag, Christiania; reprinted in Jørgen Moe, 1914, "Norske Folkeeventyr" in Samlede Skrifter, Hundredearsudgaven I-II, Ed. Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, pp. 104-148, on which the following translation is based.

Appendix 1 presents the present author's translation of Jørgen Moe's Introduction to the second (1852) full edition of Norske Folkeeventyr, a 45-page monograph on the diffusion of folktales. Moe first presented these ideas in a subscription invitation to the NF which appeared in *Den Constitutionelle* in 1840 (see Østberg, 1994:3), was later considerably expanded, and republished as the present essay. In this study, Moe gives us an indication of his theories regarding the origin and diffusion of folktales, but his priority has clearly been to demonstrate the links between the 'tale cycles' in the Norwegian oral narrative tradition and those of other European and non-European folktale traditions (especially sections III and IV). The translated essay, though lengthy, has been provided here in full to give the reader the opportunity to study the text as a whole rather than through selected passages, and also because, to the best of the knowledge of the present author, it has not been translated into English before.

Translator's Note

Moe's monograph has posed numerous problems for the translator: not only has the Norwegian language changed significantly since 1852, but Moe wrote in a *conservative* Dano-Norwegian, even for his own time (see Foss 1923). Furthermore, many folkloristic terms that Moe uses here are no longer current, partly because the language has changed, but also because the theory of the discipline has changed so as to render them either obsolete or unsatisfactory. Many terms stem from nineteenth-century Romantic folkloristic terminology and from nationalist-influenced rhetoric, and sound awkward in English, as they would in modern Norwegian (such as "Essence", "Memory", "Pure Love"). I have chosen to keep such terms with an initial capital letter to highlight, rather than attempt to hide, this situation.

One of the most problematic words to translate has been "*Fabel*", by which Moe seems to mean, without ever defining his terms, a general and recurrent 'theme' which serves to classify folktales into groups. (I was tempted to use 'motif', but this was a later folkloric terminological development which has, furthermore, now been abandoned; 'function' seemed too specific and structuralist for this essentially Romantic text.) Moe also speaks of 'individual traits' of Fables, thus sub-dividing a general theme into elements that are more or less specific, or even unique, to a particular tale, and he uses the term 'folktale cycle' to indicate a further sub-classification of 'Fable'. Other similar lexical and technical-terminological problems have been posed by the following terms: *diktning/ folkediktning* (writing -folk- poetry/narrative), *tradisjon* (tradition), *overlevninger* (remnants), *hovedmoment, -led, -begivenhet* (main -element, -section, -event), *erindring* (memory), *maske* (mask), *begivenhetens gang* (course of events/ plot), *grundtanke, -tone* (basic idea, -tone), *foredrag* (narrative style), and *tone* (tone). Moe has consistently used the word *eventyr* which I have rendered simply as "tale" to avoid the difficulty of distinguishing (which he does not) between "folktale" and "fairytale" in English.

The text- and character formatting is in main unchanged, except that I have divided the essay into four sections for increased readability. Norwegian, Danish and Swedish titles have been translated, but not German or Italian titles, to be consistent with Moe's practice. Lastly, I have chosen to keep (in addition to their translations) the two verses and the two Old Norse quotations.

I.

When hearing our tales performed orally, or even when reading them, one might be led to believe that their origins are local. Having occupied oneself for some time with the comparison of our tales to analogous foreign traditions, however, one is left with an impression of the material and form of the tales which leaves room for many doubts. Indeed, there are Fables - or traits of Fables - which through their character seem to be quite attached to our land and our people, yet are often found among tribes very distant from us. One easily comes to doubt, therefore, that all of these traditions were actually introduced in the - more or less distant - past; nor can they, even if they have been planted in our valleys and have taken root there, be considered truly home-grown.

The more thoroughly one continues to pursue this line of study, and the wider the context in which one reads the folktales, the more likely one is to entertain at length the notion that the whole mass of this folk-poetic tradition is the common property of most European - and some Asian - peoples, with no fixed home. This applies equally here as it does in all other cases where the realm of immediacy is left behind for that of reflection, and for some time one falters between doubt and uncertainty. Here as in most cases, however, through consistent reflection, one finds oneself returning to the original belief which is then further strengthened and clarified.

II.

To demonstrate how the Fable of a whole tale, or its individual traits, have spread to many of the European countries and eventually returned to Asia, we need follow only one single - or at most a couple - of our tales. One can, for example, consider the tale-cycle: "DE TRE PRINSESSER FRA HVIDTENLAND" ("THE THREE PRINCESSES OF WHITELAND") and "SORIA MORIA SLOT" ("SORIA MORIA CASTLE") as well as "ÖSTENFOR SOLO OG VESTENFOR MAANE" ("EAST OF THE SUN AND WEST OF THE MOON"). These three Norwegian tales belong together in that they are different variations of the same Fable. The main event is clearly the same: The beloved is rescued (or nearly rescued), but through vanity (or untimely curiosity), is lost again. Only through great effort and after persistent hardships does the hero, who has lost his beloved as a result of his own offence, succeed in finding her again in some unreachable and distant castle to which only supernatural powers can procure access. But even among these three Norwegian tales the Fable is rendered differently. They are therefore divisible in two groups, one - which I would call the northern group - which consists of "The Three Princesses of Whiteland" and "Soria Moria Castle", and the other, the southern group, of "East of the Sun and West of the Moon". It will later be seen that the former group, which is based on Memories, bears traces of the myth of Sigurd Favnesbane, and is therefore less diffused outside the countries of the Germanic peoples'. The two tales in the group are so closely connected that one may regard "Soria Moria Castle" as an inferior version of "The Three Princesses of Whiteland"; nevertheless, the tales differ in their opening sections, in the type of danger to which the princesses are exposed, in the instrument with which they are saved, and lastly in the story that is recounted about how the boy is able to find the castle that is distant-beyond-any-imagination. The southern group is based on the Amor myth as it is told by Apuleius, *Asinus aureus* Lib. V. This myth tells how Psyche lives happily and contentedly in Amor's shining palace attended by an invisible female servant. These pleasures are overshadowed, however, by the longing for her beloved husband who comes to her camp only under the cover of the night's darkness. It tells about how one night, not heeding her husband's warning, anxious and confused by her envious sisters, she finally leaves the sleeper's side, lifts the cover of a hidden lamp and reaches for the sharp knife to plunge it into the breast of what she believes is a monster; at that moment, to her great surprise, she sees that it is the God of Love who has rested with her. Moved by love, she bends over to kiss the beauty when a drop of boiling oil from the lamp falls on Amor's shoulder. At this he wakes up, severely rebukes Psyche for her lack of faith, and flies away from her; she must now seek him again, experiencing underway the most terrible scenes of horror. That is why in our tale "EAST OF THE SUN AND WEST OF THE MOON" the main character is A GIRL; it is the dreadful bear-pelt, in which the Prince is trapped by a spell that he is to be rescued from; and it is her untimely curiosity, raised by her mother, that excludes the possibility of salvation because the girl does not listen to his warnings. After his disappearance she must again seek the beloved in the most distant and savage of places. In this last passage the tale follows, although in more grand and poetic form, the two tales belonging to the northern group.

It seems that the Brothers Grimm have kept these two groups of tales apart. However, this is probably not justifiable because the Fable in "East of the Sun and West of the Moon" compels the expansion of Basic Idea: THAT IN THE FACE OF THE PURE, TESTED KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE OF LOVE, ALL LOW AND WORLDLY MATTERS EVENTUALLY RECEDE, TO THE DEGREE THAT ANY DIVIDING BARRIER ALSO YIELDS TO THE POWER OF

PURE LOVE; the link between the two groups can then be perceived in this final phase. They resemble a tree-trunk which has separated into two main branches near the ground, but which will, nevertheless, always have a common root. It will later be seen how the foliage of the one main branch - in the variants of the different peoples - bends over and is intertwined into the other's, in so many different ways.

When comparing our complete tale cycle with that of a foreign poetic tradition of the same type - in most of the connections that I am aware of - both the main Fable and its individual traits are present.

In the comparable *Swedish* tradition "Det sköna slottet östan om solen och nordan om jorden" ("The Beautiful Castle East of the Sun and North of the Earth"), the tale opens with traits similar to those in the beginning of our tale "JOMFRUEN PÅ GLASBERGET" ("Maid on the Glass Mountain"), although they also resemble "DE TOLV VILDAENDER" ("The Twelve Wild Ducks"). Nonetheless they have the subsequent stories with magic elements in common with nr. 1 in the northern group: the arguing trolls, the sisters who rule over the animals, the assistance of the fish and the birds. Sure enough, the Bird Phoenix appears in the Swedish tale, but here it seems to be a non-original element that has been introduced at a later stage; the hundred-mile boots have been rendered useless and unused with the intervention of the bird. On the other hand, this tradition has the peculiarity that the "young swain", THROUGH NO FAULT OF HIS OWN, loses his beloved immediately after being reunited with her, and must again go out into the wide world to seek her.

The *Danish* tale "PRINS HVIDBJØRN" ("Prince Whitebear") is similar only to the Fable "EAST OF THE SUN AND WEST OF THE MOON", but lacks many of the latter's most poetic traits, such as the visit to the three wise women and to the Winds. Instead of accepting the assistance of the North Wind, THE PRINCESS ALLOWS HER HANDS AND FEET TO BE TIED, AND IN THAT MANNER CRAWLS OVER "THE CLEAR GLASS MOUNTAIN" TO THE CASTLE where the White bear is staying. Here the Sigurd-myth is again clearly visible and demonstrates a coincidence between the northern and the southern groups in our tale cycle.

Such a coincidence is even more visible in the variant of "*Hertugdømmerne*" ("*The Duchies*"), "DER WEISSE WOLF" which follows "East of the Sun and West of the Moon" in its main legend-theme. The opening is different only in that in the foreign tradition a king has inadvertently wandered into the hunt, and that he, only by dint of promising a small black man that he would give him the very first thing he sees on his way home, is able to convince the man to show him the way. In the shape of a white wolf, the black man fetches the king's daughter. The main difference in the following Fable lies in that in the foreign tale, thrice she impatiently asks if they are not soon at THE GLASS MOUNTAIN where the white wolf lives, and that he, ANGRY BECAUSE OF HER IMPATIENCE, THROWS HER OFF HIS BACK. Now she must seek him yet again and goes to the old wife, to the wind, to the sun and to the moon (as in "Soria Moria Castle") for information. She eats chicken soup with the others and takes the chicken bones with her. The moon brings her to THE GLASS MOUNTAIN which she crawls up by help of a ladder she has built with the chicken bones she brought along; a step is missing, and she must replace it with a joint of her little finger. If it had been available in its entirety, the "VOM GOLDENEN KLINGELKLÄNGEL", which in Müllenhoff is clearly a fragment of this tale, would probably turn out to be even closer to our own tale.

With the *Germans*, as with us, the trunk of the Fable tales is split in two: "DER KÖNIG VOM GOLDENEN BERGE" which with its variants corresponds to our northern group, and "DAS SINGENDE, SPRINGENDE LÖWENECKERCHEN" which resembles our southern group. As suggested, the Brothers Grimm have not proved any connection between these two tales; this is quite reasonable given that the two collections of northern tales which provide this link, were not yet available at the time when the Grimms' system comparative methodology was used. It has also been shown that while the Amor myth constitutes the main element in the latter German tale, some characteristics of the Germanic Sigurd-legend is similarly included in the former. But one must imagine there to be a common original *Ur*-scheme for both groups which has subsequently developed in different ways in the south and in the north by absorbing the peoples' distinctive collective mythical Memory, and that these two groups have later met and, due to their common genealogy, have grown into one another. The absorbing of one of the groups' mythical world-view into the other's is therefore neither accidental nor external, but must be regarded as an appropriation of the foreign element.

"DAS SINGENDE, SPRINGENDE, LÖWENECKERCHEN" is much further removed from Apuleius' myth than our comparable tradition, especially since the main element, the drop of wax from the burning candle, has in the German tale become a ray of light which, almost independently of the wife's offence, falls on the prince and transforms him into a dove which flies away from her. However, the rest of the Fable corresponds to our tale, and, in particular towards the end, the very same traits actually appear.

"DER KÖNIG VOM GOLDENEN BERGE" is particularly close to nr. 1 in our northern group. The beginning is undoubtedly somewhat different from our tale: it is not to A SEA TROLL, but to THE DEVIL in the guise of a small man, to whom the son is promised. A contract has been entered into with the person whose soul has been pledged. The son is blessed by a clergyman and draws a circle around himself to guarantee salvation. And yet he cannot completely escape the power of the evil one; HE IS PUT IN A SMALL SHIP WHICH THEN CAPSIZES, BUT THERE HE REMAINS UNHARMED TILL HE SAFELY reaches a foreign shore. There he meets a maid who, under a spell, has taken the form of a snake and who greets him as her saviour. In the course of rescuing her he is tortured and beaten for three consecutive nights, not daring to utter a word; the last night his head is chopped off. She is thus rescued, and heals him with the water of life. From here onwards the tale follows our own above-mentioned tale, albeit with fewer elements. They are dissimilar from each other in the opening, however; in the German tradition the hero becomes once again king of the GOLDEN mountain (where the gold and treasure are found), although we are not told if he is eventually reunited with the maid.

It will be seen that the beginning of the Norwegian tale tradition has probably been maintained in the common nordic-mythical world-view, since the boy seems to have been promised to A TROLL. But here, as well as in the German variant, the concordance with the Sigurd-myth begins only at the stage where the youth is driven away to sea. And here both traditions follow THE SAGA OF DIDRIK OF BERN, which ALONE (chapter 140 and 141) includes this particular scene. Yet the German version has, as can be expected, followed the old German legends more closely: the maid in this tale is rescued from the spell under which she has taken the form of a Dragon. Here, both Kriemhild on the Dragonstone¹ and the dragonslayer are mentioned, whilst in the Norwegian tale the maid has become THREE princesses who are rescued from sinking into the earth (or in nr. 2. from the terrible troll). This multiplication of maids could possibly reflect the tale in the Nordic myth where Sigurd vacillates between choosing BRYNHILD AND GUDRUN. The sub-elements of the tale include the slaying of trolls, and the German tale also has a miraculous sword. In a similar fashion, SIEGFRIED obtains the wonderful BALMUNG Sword which he accepts and keeps in his office as arbitrator. Strangely enough, the Norwegian tale DOES NOT include the sword-feature. Both traditions have in common the cape that makes the wearer invisible, and seem thus in both legend-cycles to resemble Sigurd's SHAPE-SHIFTING. The maid in both the Norwegian and the German variants shares one particular feature with BRYNHILD of the Nordic myths in her relation towards her rescuer, and that is the fact that she knows in advance that his leaving her will result in their shared misfortune. She then REVEALS A HATRED, CONCEALED UNDER FEIGNED FRIENDLINESS, TOWARDS HIM WHEN SHE MEETS HIM AGAIN, summoned by the power of Desire.

Despite this very strong influence of old-Germanic mythology in our northern group, however, the southern tales also appear to bear the same resemblance when one takes into account the two formerly mentioned variants of "EAST OF THE SUN AND WEST OF THE MOON". Both variants tell of the glassy-smooth mountain and the girl's climb up it, a feature which also appears in a couple of other Norwegian tales - namely those which tell about a horse with supernatural powers and the ride up A GLASS MOUNTAIN as smooth as a mirror. According to the more recent of the old-Nordic SIGURD-legends in which SIGURDDRIVA AND BRYNHILD become ONE PERSON, Sigurd rode Grane, a horse of Sleipner's lineage, through the flaming blaze surrounding BRYNHILD and woke her up, that is he rescued her. But already in BRYNHILD'S ballad (Danish ballads from the Middle Ages by Abrahamson, Rahbek and Nyerup, first part p. 132 fgg.), in which the main events of Sigurd's and Brynhild's experiences are sung, the flaming mountain is transformed into A MOUNTAIN OF GLASS:

Sivard han haver en Fole,
og den er alt saa spag;
han vandt stolt Brynhild af GLASBJERGET,
det skede om lysen Dag.

Han sagde : jeg prøver min Fole,
om jeg kunde Brynhild vinde.

.....
Saa red han bort. Den Vei var lang,
den Sti var meget værre.
Sivard han saa det GLASBJERG kjønt,
hvor Jomfruen var indspærret.

Sivard, he has a foal,
so very weak it is;
he won proud BRYNHILD of the glass-mountain,
it happened in the light of day.

He said : I shall try my foal,
if I could Brynhild win.

So away he rode. The road was long,
the path was even worse.
Sivard, he saw the beautiful glass-mountain
where the maid was imprisoned.

¹See C. Simrock: Deutsche Volksbücher III, 392.

And it is easy to see how the glittering and the reflection in glass and flames can have resulted in this change.

That of our tales which more than others reproduces traits of Sigurd's myth is "The Maid on the Glass Mountain", although, as indicated, it also has a great deal in common with the Swedes' "The Beautiful Castle East of the Sun and North of the Earth". This tradition has already been mentioned as a variant of THE NORTHERN GROUP, although the name rather points to a connection with the SOUTHERN one. It will have been noted that the Danish variant, which corresponds to our southern group, has the glittering glass mountain which the girl must climb her way up to find Prince Whitebear again. In these traits the poetical elements of the main branches seem to merge with one another and become interwoven.

We find that the tales of THE SOUTHERN GROUP reappear in the *Scots'* "THE BLACK BULL OF NORROWAY", but here - as in the Danish tales - with the feature of glass mountain.

The opening of the tale corresponds to "KARI TRÆSTAKK" ("KARI WOODENSKIRT") when the youngest of the three daughters leaves on the back of the black bull from Norway, in whose ear she finds food and drink. They ride for three days and rest during the night with the bull's brothers. At the first brother's, the maid is given an apple, at the second brother's a pear, and at the third brother's a flower with the injunction to save it until she is truly in need. Here, the Scottish tale lacks the elements relating to the iron forest and also the explanation for the repeated battles with the trolls; it only tells that the bull went away to fight with the devil, and that if whatever the maid sat on became blue it meant that they had won, whereas if it turned red, the devil was the conqueror. Moved by joy over the bull's victory, the maid is so restless that she places one leg over the other and consequently the bull is not able to find her. At this point the Scottish tale merges with "EAST OF THE SUN AND WEST OF THE MOON", but lacks the journey with the winds. She starts to search for the bull, and comes to an unscalable GLASS MOUNTAIN where she takes service with a smith for seven years to obtain a pair of iron shoes; with these she crosses the mountain to the dwelling of the Washerwoman, and is able to achieve what the washerwoman and her daughter had not been capable of, namely to wash away the bloodstains from the knight's shirts. Now, the washerwoman's daughter is to marry the knight the following day, but the maid opens up the apple and finds that it is full of gold and precious stones; she puts these to use in the same way as in "EAST OF THE SUN AND WEST OF THE MOON".

"THE RED BULL OF NORROWAY", another Scottish tale tradition, corresponds consistently with "EAST OF THE SUN AND WEST OF THE MOON". Here, by the princess extracting a drawing pin from it, the bull is transformed into a prince who is given the title Duke of Norway. During the journey on which the princess is seeking the prince, an old woman gives her three nuts and tells her to use them only when her heart is near-breaking. When the nuts are opened, they contain three tiny little women, of whom the first is carding, the second spinning, and the third weaving. In this tale too the journey with the winds is missing.

The *French* tale "La beauté et la bête" ("BEAUTY AND THE BEAST") is found in Madame DE BEAUMONT'S children's book; it proves to be based on some elements of Apuleius's Amor myth, and has thus several traits in common with our southern group.

The *Italians* too have a tale that corresponds to our southern group, namely "Lo catenaccio", Pentameron II, 9. A wife has two daughters; the youngest goes to the well for water and there meets a servant who suggests that she should go with him to a cave where he will give her beautiful gifts. She does this, and lives there for a long while in wealth and splendour. Every night someone comes to lie by her side. She visits her mother, but acting on the servant's advice does not confide in her; the visit is repeated a couple of times. Meanwhile, her mother and sister have, by the help of a witch, guessed at her magnificent life in the cave and that a handsome youth lies by her side every night. Now they advise her not to empty the evening drink which the servant brings, and as soon as her husband is asleep, to open the magic lock; she will thereby become the happiest of wives. She acts upon their advice, lights the night-candle, and sees the handsome youth next to her, whereupon which she opens the magic lock. Instantly, a horde of tiny women appear carrying the most beautiful strands of yarn. One of them lets drop a strand of yarn, and she cries unthinkingly "Dear old woman, pick up that strand of yarn!" At this the youth awakens and angrily rejects her. She travels about in the wide world seeking him, and finally arrives at a royal palace where she gives birth to a son. At night the youth appears, speaks to his newborn son and says: "he would lie in nappies woven in gold if no hens had cried." The Queen of the castle hears about this and has all the hens killed. At this the spell placed on the youth is

lifted, and the Queen recognizes in him her beloved son. In "Lo turzo d'oro"² the basic elements in the Fable of our latter-mentioned group reappear. Here too Pramatella loses the divinely handsome youth because she - not following his advice - gets up at night and lights a candle to look at him, and it is only after much sorrow and effort that she, acting upon the advice of certain women, is again returned to and united with him.

In the *Welsh* "TRANDAFIRU" we again come across the main Fable of the tale cycle from our SOUTHERN group. During the day TRANDAFIRU is a pumpkin, at night the handsomest youth. He is given the emperor's daughter to wed, but egged on by her mother, she heats the oven and pushes the pumpkin in it. He condemns her faithlessness and tells her that she will not give birth before he has once again embraced her. Good spirits carry him off to a far-away land, and the emperor's daughter, because she cannot give birth, has such terrible birth pangs that an iron hoop must be placed around her waist. In this fashion she wanders about the world looking for TRANDAFIRU. During the course of this journey she meets the holy WEDNESDAY FRIDAY AND SUNDAY who give her gifts, the first gives her a golden spinning wheel which spins pure gold, the second a golden spool, and the third a golden hen and its five chicks. As in our tale she gains access to her husband with the help of these gifts, and finds happiness again as his spouse.

The *Slavs'* "THE WITCH CORVA AND HER SERVANTS" is a variant of our northern group. This tale opens in a similar manner to the Swedes' "The Beautiful Castle East of the Sun and North of the Earth" until the beautiful MILIZA disappears after having given IWANICH a ring whose glow was to show her the way to him. Only after experiencing terrible trials is he able to reach her castle, but loses her again as a result of his curiosity. He must now serve the witch CORVA for a year and watch over her black mare and foal. He performs this act with the help of a fish, an eagle and a fox, all animals whose lives he has saved. As payment for his service he demands and obtains a foal; he then kills the wizard who has taken possession of MILIZA, and is reunited with her. The tradition is, in its individual elements, very dissimilar from our above-mentioned group, but if the plot sequence is considered as a whole, they correspond.

Among the *Hindus* we find again the Basic Idea of our tale cycle, almost identical to that of the northern group, albeit disguised in very different plot elements. In particular "THE STORY ABOUT VISHAKA". Here the courageous Brahman VIDUSHAKA, through daring and adventurous acts, wins the hand of the daughter of king ADITYASENA when he saves her from the murderous sword of a priest in the temple of DURGA³. An invisible voice calls him back to this temple at the end of the month, and BHADRA, A VIDYADHARI MAID⁴, is then revealed to him and gives herself in marriage to the handsome and courageous man according to the Gandharver laws⁵; she is subsequently raised to a superhuman existence. But BHADRA's girl-friend reveals to her that the VIDYADHARAS are angry about her co-habitation with a human, and advises her to flee to the coast of the eastern ocean where the state KARKOTAKA is found, to cross the holy stream SITODA over which no immortal being can cross, and to climb the great mount UDAYA, where the SIDHAS live and where the VIDYADHARAS dare not set foot. There she is to have a rendezvous with her beloved husband. His relentless courage and the greatest perseverance is required to reach this place. On the way there, he marries twice by conquering a RAKSHASA⁶ with his magic sword; the Rakshasa usually murders any man who dares to marry two daughters of the king. In the same way, he wins the merchant's daughter and half her kingdom from him. The conquered RAKSHASA carries him over the stream and right up to the foot of the mountain. He does not dare to climb up it, but waits next to a beautiful lake till the BHADRA'S maiden comes to fetch her bathwater. NOW HE DROPS THE RING SHE GAVE HIM AT THEIR FAREWELL INTO THE MAIDEN'S JUG; BHADRA RECOGNIZES IT, and sends her maids after him. First she lets him be led to bathe, and then has him led to her. "Having arrived, VIDUSHAKA sees BHADRA as a piece of ripe and refreshing fruit from the tree of enduring courage, long bent towards the waiting wanderers' path; but as soon as she sees him BHADRA rises and, bringing him her welcome-offer with rich tears of happiness, and slings her arms like a wreath around his neck." Thereupon she freely dispels her magic power as "worthless grass" and gives herself wholly to him. He leads her back, on the RAKSHASA'S back, and on the way he brings both of his wives and seats them with BHADRA and himself. In this fashion, to everybody's pleasant surprise, he comes riding back with his three wives to king ADITYASENA and his first wife.

²Pentameron V, 4.

³Another name for Parvati, Siva's wife, especially as the goddess of death and destruction.

⁴Supernatural beings with the magic gift of wisdom.

⁵According to these laws a warrior is permitted to wed a woman without the permission of her parents, provided that she herself consents.

⁶The Rakshasas are evil creatures, fiendish gods who are often at war with Vishnu. They willingly disturb the offerings of the pious hermits.

"THE STORY ABOUT SKATIVEGA, THE VIDYADHAR KING" is another story, interwoven with numerous episodic tales, which is also close to our tale cycle. According to this tradition the Brahman SAKTIDEVA, after having been witness to the most miraculous events, releases the three VIDYADHARAS, daughters of the ruler in "the golden city", from a spell which has transformed them into human shape. He himself subsequently becomes raised in status to the king of the VIDYADHARAS, under the name SAKTIVEGA, and marries these three and their eldest sister.

The individual traits in this tradition have much in common with all three tales in our series. Thus SAKTIDEVA comes to know the way to the golden city; first to a hermit, pale and bent with old-age, secondly to his even older brother who lives 300 miles from the former, and finally, in the same errand, to the fisher-king SATYAVRATA on a distant island in the ocean. In this Indian tale too, the hero must yet again seek the rescued VIDYADHARAS, with whom he has already for some time lived a happy worldly existence after these three had returned to the golden city. It is strange that both Hindu tales are the only ones that have three princesses, just like the tradition in our northern group. Could one here venture to claim a reflection of the earliest history of our tribe⁷?

The *Arabs'* "THE LOVE-STORY OF PRINCE KAMR ESSAMEN AND PRINCESS BEDUR" corresponds to our NORTHERN group, not in the individual trait of its Fable but in the Basic Idea underlying the event. While asleep, Kamr Essamen and the princess are brought together by spirits. THEY EXCHANGE RINGS and after having fallen asleep under the influence of the spirits' spell, the princess is taken away from him. Both become ill with longing, and finally the princess's step-brother brings Kamr Essamen to her; because of the ring HE SENDS IN TO HER SHE RECOGNIZES HIM even before having seen him. On the way to visit the prince's parents the princess's talisman is stolen by a bird which Kamr pursues in vain, and so, because of his carelessness, they are separated from each other. He finds her again only after many hardships and a long period on the Ebony island where she, dressed as a man, has lived under his name and has become king. He finds her talisman, a carnelian, which quite by chance comes into her possession again and suggests to her that Kamr is alive. She sends for him and they are reunited.

"THE STORY ABOUT HASSAN OF BASSORA AND THE PRINCESS OF WAK-WAK" is closer to the NORTHERN than the SOUTHERN group. This tale belongs to the cycle of the SWAN-SHAPE MYTHS, in which CYCLE the old-Nordic Vølunds saga is classified.

The main feature of this tale, the FLYING PELT, has nothing in common with the Norwegian tales I am familiar with, but is highly reminiscent in its event-sequence of the "Princesses of Whiteland" and "Soria Moria Castle". After being exposed to extremely dangerous situations, Hassan comes to a castle built for the spirits. Here he tricks some supernatural creatures while they are bathing, steals one of these bathers' - the princess of Wak-Wak's - garments which give him the ability to fly, and marries her. He later gives the piece of clothing to his mother to keep safe since he himself must embark on a journey. On the Sultan's orders his mother delivers the clothing to the princess who then flies away, and Hassan leaves to seek her. He arrives at the palace of the spirits, but on the way there he meets two old people who live far, far, away from each other, and who give him advice. He then meets three people arguing about their inheritance: a cape which makes the wearer invisible, a drum which only needs to be beat upon to call forth a whole legion of spirits to one's service, and a horse which carries its owner wherever he or she may desire. By the help of these magic aids, traversing the most fear-inspiring places, he comes to the sea which separates him from the flying islands, Wak-Wak. Here he meets a certain old person who by magic causes the sea to come to the land. Again, traversing more fear-inspiring places, he travels to the capital where he rescues his beloved. Being married to a mortal, her sister the Queen wishes to have her executed. The Queen sets off after him, but with his drum he calls forth the help of thousands of spirits and is thus saved and returns to Bassora.

The ARABS also have a tale that corresponds to our SOUTHERN group: "THE STORY ABOUT THE LAZY ABU MUHAMED", who loses his wife on their wedding night by forcing his way into a side-chamber, killing a hen, etc. Through these acts he allows an evil spirit to gain power over her. The spirit leads her away and only after many hardships does Abu Muhamed find her again.

⁷One could possibly venture to compare, for the present purposes, the sinking of the three princesses of Whiteland into the sand with the Vidyadharta's banishment from their heavenly life of joy to the lower, heavier human world. One could possibly even find in this Indian tale the explanation for the fact that in the two Norwegian versions there are THREE king's daughters, of which two are quite superfluous to the Fable's plot.

Finally, the *Hebrew* tradition "THE BROKEN OATHS" is, both in Fable and in its Basic Idea, reminiscent of our tale cycle; it is perhaps closest to the NORTHERN group.

In the preceding discussion, the whole Fable sequence, or the latent Basic Idea have been the basis for comparison between our tale cycle and that of foreign traditions. Even more frequently do we find however, in quite different traditions, SINGLE traits which both overlap, and are discernibly similar to each other. Among such detached traits corresponding to our northern group, a TARTAR tale can be mentioned here, a tale told in the Relations of Ssdi Kur, Quarterly Review 1819 XLI, page 106⁸. Here the son of a Khan first gains possession of a CAPE, ABOUT WHICH TWO SMALL PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING AND WHICH HAS THE QUALITY OF MAKING ITS WEARER INVISIBLE, and then of a PAIR OF BOOTS with which ONE CAN WISH ONESELF TO ANY PLACE, almost exactly like the boy in "The Three Princesses of Whiteland".

In the WELSH tale "THE DISOWNED SON", which in its Basic Idea strongly resembles our northern group, we also find the THREE DEVILS WHO FIGHT ABOUT THEIR INHERITANCE: A BATON WITH WHICH ONE CAN WISH ONESELF TO ANY PLACE ONE MIGHT DESIRE. In the same way, the hero gains possession of these things and by their help finds his wife again.

In the MONGOLIAN tale "THE CROCODILE SEEDS" which has some general resemblance to our NORTHERN group, we meet the same traits: The Khan's son who meets a flock of children standing about arguing over a cap which makes them invisible; he is asked to be arbitrator and arranges a race through which to choose a winner, but in the meantime he puts on the cape and disappears. Shortly afterwards he meets another crowd arguing about a pair of boots with which one can wish oneself anywhere. In the same manner he gains possession of these too.

In the HINDU tale "THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY PATALIPUTRA", King PUTRAKA meets three men who are arguing over a saucer which fills itself with anything the owner asks, a pair of shoes with which he can fly, and a rod with which he can draw in the sand what he wishes to happen. The King lets the men have a race about the items and meanwhile flies away with them.

Finally, similar traits appear in a certain chapbooks. Chapter 120 of Gesta Romanorum (written down in Paris around 1340) tells about a RING WITH WHICH ANY PERSON'S FAVOURS ARE WON, A NECKLACE WITH WHICH ONE CAN WISH FOR ANYTHING ONE DESIRES, AND A PIECE OF WOOD WITH WHOSE HELP ONE CAN GO EVERYWHERE.

The DANISH "FORTUNATUS" has some of the same traits. It tells about the hero of Soldanen who is given a hat with which he can wish himself anywhere. The book is of Spanish or British origin, and in its earliest form stems from the beginning of the 15th century.

We should note, finally, that precisely this trait is not found in our NORTHERN group no. 2, "SORIA MORIA CASTLE", and that even in "THE THREE PRINCESSES OF WHITELAND" it is not inextricably interwoven with the Fable: The hero makes use of the boots, but must be helped by the north wind.

In the same manner we find in those traditions that have nothing in common with our cycle's SOUTHERN group, individual traits which nevertheless belong to it, for example in THE GRIMMS' "DER EISEN-OFEN" and in the end of the PENTAMERONE'S INTRODUCTORY TALE. The essential feature of this group is to be found in the chapbook MELUSINE which tells about how Raymund tricks his wife by peeping through the keyhole of her room, whereupon she has to fly away in the shape of a worm. The correspondence is natural enough since the Idea of the above-mentioned chapbook is probably taken from APULEIUS'S Asinus Aureus. Understandably, the book is of FRENCH origin, and stems from around AD 1387.

III.

Many of you may have considered the persistent discussion of this tale cycle laborious and heavy, but I have considered it necessary in order to establish the fact that tales often have a very extended kinship. However, once this has become clear, the question arises automatically as to how similarities, FROM HINDUSTAN TO THE GREATER PARTS OF EUROPE AND UP TO OUR NORTHERN AREAS, CAN BE EXPLAINED. It is highly

⁸See Grimms' MÄRCHEN III, 172-173.

improbable that anyone would attempt to solve this puzzle by referring to the contact between individual travellers; such a connection would be so superficial that an explanation on this basis would be unacceptable. But even if one turns to the waves of mass emigration of the 4th and 5th centuries where in the collisions of such groups one wave of people was incorporated in, absorbed and enriched by another, and even if one draws upon the many connections between Europe and Asia established through the Crusades of the Middle Ages, all this would still not be a sufficient explanation. Inherent in this reasoning there is the risk of ignoring the implausibility, even impossibility, that a poetic tradition which has in this manner become known to a people (as individual narratives or as a branch of a tradition) could subsequently become diffused and established as a common tradition among the whole population. More thorough historical research could surely lead to the identification of the peoples who took part in the above-mentioned mass movements and among whom such poetic traditions are to be found, but do not actually belong to them. But what destroys this argument is the individual character and nature of the folk tales. Disregarding isolated exceptions, they appear as products which have developed from a common seed, and which therefore express themselves in analogous forms of the same Idea, ubiquitously, guided by the inner and external conditions of a people, yielding a unique result. They seem to have GROWN, organically and FROM WITHIN; one finds omissions and additions that have come about through an external, mechanical process of juxtaposition of the individual traits but not of the core content. No more can the chemical osmosis - if I am permitted to call it by this name - of one people's poetic tradition into another's serve to explain the presence of inconsistencies, or the nature of inconsistencies. It therefore becomes impossible to regard this as a STRAIGHTFORWARD LOAN which one population has received from another and at most changed a bit here and there according to their needs and desires; one must rather speak of an independent creation. This may have more, or fewer, similarities according to how close to or how distant from each other the groups are, but it almost always appears with such a sharp and decided uniqueness that it excludes the possibility of the poetic tradition having been imported. This will not be immediately apparent judging by the above comparisons of the main contents of a number of tales, the main point of which has been to point out their similarities. However, if one observes the tale's Basic Idea as it exists among individual peoples, dressed in the flesh and blood of its poetic tradition, the truth will become apparent.

One would be even more mistaken to imagine that those waves of people who settled in the later Middle Ages - whose tales being subject to many revisions have spread throughout larger parts of Europe - could have generated the surprisingly vast diffusion of the tale Fables. Thus, although the above-mentioned discussion speaks even more strongly against this reasoning, the origin of a very few tale-Fables - to be found in some chapbook or other - can be proved; where this *is* the case, however, one can be quite sure that the written book is based on the tradition, and not vice-versa. Moreover, this hypothesis would only apply to those countries where the diffusion of the book can be established; still, the extended presence of the Fable would thus remain unexplained⁹.

One is therefore obliged, WHERE THE FOLK POETIC TRADITION CORRESPONDS TO THE WIDER ENVIRONMENT, TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE REFERENCE TO THE UR-FELLOWSHIP OF AN ANCIENT ERA which the dates of history have not sufficient numerals to identify. Only in this way can the nature of the strong similarities as well as differences be explained. Furthermore, one is thus provided with a new and solid link which connects peoples, primarily smaller groups of peoples and secondly increasingly greater masses of humanity, as though they were of one blood. The diffusion of the tale cycle described above, although common for most European countries whose collections with which I have had the opportunity to acquaint myself, can therefore be divided into two groups: one is the characteristically ancient mythological fragments which are particularly frequent among the Germanic tribes; the other is based on the Amor myth and is more diffused among the Roman peoples. When this tale cycle henceforth returns to those areas of Asia which the European peoples have left behind, one finds again the main Fable in a form which often makes it difficult to say whether the poetic tradition is here closer to the northern or southern group. THE EARLIEST COMMON MEMORIES, CARRIED ALONG TO PLACES AT GREAT DISTANCES FROM EACH OTHER, HAVE AMONG THE DIFFERENT PEOPLES DEVELOPED INTO POETIC TRADITIONS WHERE THE BASIC THEME IS RETAINED. Its expression, however, is changed and modified in many ways, according to the new forms of nature, and according to the history of each of the peoples through which they have developed. But it is here necessary to distinguish between THE ORIGINAL AND ESSENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE which is at the heart of the poetic tradition and, though it is always consistent in its essence

⁹One sometimes finds elements and traits in chapbooks which have travelled around Europe and eventually arrived in the North, which correspond to our tales, and also in novels translated from French, English or of other origin. When this happens it is not because the actual words of the chapbook have been absorbed by tradition (although this may occasionally be the case), but because both book and tradition have drawn from the same source and have developed from the same legendary material.

expresses itself differently as it grows and branches out in the different soils, from another inconsequential correspondence which results from the meeting of individual traditions - where the traits of the one are amalgamated with those of the other. This latter type of similarity is quite easily distinguished from the first which has proved to be more persistent, unbendable and unchangeable; having been loosened from its roots it has lost the ability to develop further. Even if such similarities were now and then to prove to be based on common Ur-Memories, this is always, to a greater or lesser degree, arbitrary. The above analysis gives examples of both types of correspondence. I consider the above-mentioned variations of disconnected passages to belong to the latter category. This has already been suggested by Jacob Grimm in *DEUTSCHE MYTHOLOGIE* I, xxii and xxiii when he compares the poetic traditions with language, stating that this type of double similarity occurs in both of these areas of research. He shows in the same place that all European languages can be traced to the inner parts of Central Asia where the Indian and the zen language is spoken. Hand in hand with language research, the study of a people's own unique poetic tradition will to a great extent be able to contribute to leading us in the right direction CONCERNING THE CLOSER OR MORE DISTANT KINSHIP BETWEEN TRIBES AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT. It is easy to predict that it is precisely the tale which will play an important role here. Already in its opening words: "Once upon a time" (and place) it indicates a certain universality which is less closely tied to the nature of the folk and recent history than for example the legend, while on the other hand it is particularistic enough to appear to be at home on the turf on which it is told.

It is not difficult to recognize that it would be of enormous interest, in this regard, to follow the history of the tales and to prove their age among each people. One could thereby establish their independent existence in the different countries and have occasion to observe which changes, small or great, they have been subject to through the course of time. It is self-evident that a poetic tradition, which stems from oral tradition must, through subsequent generations of narrators, be subject to modifications. The ever-changing opinions among a population will necessarily, gradually and imperceptibly, be changed and rephrased; they often seem to secretly allow for, for example through tone or manner of expression, the inclusion of elements not present in the original poetic tradition, or if it was there, it had a different meaning. In main, IN THE BASIC IDEA AND IN THE MOVEMENT OF THE FABLE, one would no doubt, if one could look back on the inherited traditions of a country, probably find that they are true to themselves. But there are very few European countries that have tale collections of any significant age, and maybe *BASILE'S PENTAMERON*, written in the Neapolitan dialect around 1637, was the only one among these which, without permitting itself to rephrase or add, has absorbed and retold the traditions of the folk. Most tale collections have been restored in recent times, after the Grimm brothers opened our eyes to the beauty and the scientific merit of the poetry of the folk with their excellent *KINDER UND HAUSMÄRCHEN*. - As far as our country is concerned, the highly talented old narrators tend to refer to their fathers or grandfathers, or usually to their grandmothers, now and then adding that these people had heard the tales from *their* grandparents, or other very old people. In this fashion, however, one cannot reach so far back in time. The tale cycle with the step-mother's strained relationship with her children is, in several instances, included in our ancient literature, and in such a way as to give the impression that these tales were, also at that time, similar to the ones we know, and that they then as now served as entertainment for the simplest classes of the population. Thus it is written in the saga of *KING SVERRE*, chapter 7: "Var þvílíkast sem i fornum sögum er sagt at verit hefði, þa er konungbörn urðu fyrir stjupmædra sköpum" ("Thus it is claimed in the stories of the old sagas that the children of kings are scum to their step-mothers"), and in the Introduction to the still unpublished *Odd Munks Olaf Tryggvesøns Saga*: "Ok betre er slikt med gamni at heyra en stjupmædra sögur, er hjardarsveinar segja, er engi veit hvart satt er, er jafnan lata konunginnminstan vera i sinum frasoignum" ("Better than listening with such pleasure to the stories of step-mothers, is it to listen to what the earth itself can tell, and no one knows what is true because what the lowest of kings may tell, is equally true"). Here, the expression *SEGJA SÖGUR* (to/say tell legends) should be taken note of; in the same way, the words "*segja Sögur*" (to tell/say a legend) means, in the Telemark area and in Setesdal, to tell a tale¹⁰.

But there are still two things which suggest that the tales have from pagan times had their home in our country. The first is the fidelity and conscientiousness with which the best narrators recount the tales, the fear they show in omitting from or adding to them, or simply changing a bit, the individual traits. This precision results in phenomenon where the tale, when it is repeated, is told in almost exactly the same way, especially concerning the MOST ESSENTIAL POINTS AND IN THE DIALOGUE. One also finds this when one lets two people

¹⁰Apart from the above-mentioned term "*soge*" (legend) and the word "*eventyr*" (tale/story) which is used mainly in the flat south-western valleys of our country, in the *HALLINGDAL* AND *VALDRES* traditions the words "*REGLE*" (story or verse) and "*RISPE*" (story or anecdote) are both used with some contempt, and the verb "*telja*" (count) also occurs as a descriptive term in our traditions; in the parish of Bergen the word "*remse*" (jingle) is occasionally used.

tell the tale, one of whom has heard it from the other. Thanks to this conscientious precision one can rest assured that the original content has not been distorted, and it seems to indicate AN INSTINCTIVE AWE FOR THE AGE AND PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE POETIC TRADITION. Therefore, if one compares the narrative style of the tales and that which ONE FINDS IN THE CHAPBOOKS, one will immediately notice the difference. In the latter, elements are removed and added; the foreign, the half-understood, is transformed, distorted and disguised, and the whole story is treated with the greatest freedom.

Internal reasons provide the second and surer piece of evidence for the venerable age of these poetic traditions. Indeed, one finds in many of them not only elements of Catholicism, but even more frequent references to heathen concepts, sometimes in its original form and other times in Christian guise. In fact, these old-mythical traits sometimes form the very core of the tale and could therefore not originate from external sources, even if one is willing to disregard the implausible hypothesis that they should have been living an existence as separate fragments in the Memory of the folk as if waiting for the opportunity to crawl into the hide of a foreign tradition stemming from another country. Judging by the age of these two types of ancient concepts, I would first like to give evidence of some of these old-mythical traditions. The pagan myths OPENLY played a part - sometimes more and sometimes less decisively - in the following tales and tale-features.

IV.

The TROLLS and the 'RISES' appear in much the same way as they do in the Eddas and in the more recent of the ancient writings. These mountain inhabitants are endowed with vast physical powers, but they are stupid and supremely naive, and therefore fooled by the cunning of human beings¹¹. They are many-headed, they are transformed into stone when the sun shines on them, they use iron rods as weapons as in the recent (or at least the old-German) writings, they throw red-hot iron rods at people as in the Eddas and in Saxo, they possess incredible treasures of gold and silver, and they undergo trials by hot iron as in the magic sagas of the Middle Ages¹². References to ELVES occur very rarely, on the other hand, probably for the reason suggested in the first note on this page. This reference seems to shine through in the tale "DUKKEN I GRÆSSET" ("The Doll in the Grass") and "TOMMELIDEN" ("Tom Thumb").

In "Gutten, som gik til Nordenvinden" ("The Lad who went to the North Wind"), "Soria Moria Castle", and "East of the Sun, West of the Moon" we find personified winds just like the Eddic dwarves EASTERN, WESTERN, SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN. In "Lillekort" ("Shortshanks"), Shortshanks is given the ship Skibladner; one could perhaps venture to suggest that the one-eyed, hunch-backed old hag resembles Odin whose divine power is revealed in the ship's manifestation¹³. The duration of the three brothers' battle in "The Three Princesses of Whiteland" could be linked to the Hjadnings in the battle of HEDIN'S AND HOGNE'S in the older Edda; in this widely-diffused trait we would probably not find, in the foreign traditions, any indication of the length of the battle. The references to the *Sigurd*-myth in "The Maid on the Glass Mountain", "The Three Princesses in Whiteland", and "Soria Moria Castle" have been mentioned, as have the old-mythical conceptions about *Grane* in "Grimsborken" ("Dapplegrim")¹⁴. Grimm suggests that "Die drei Spinnerinnen", which is analogous to our tale "De tre Mostre" ("The Three Aunts"), is based on the fate-spinning Norms (Helgakvida Hundingsbana I, 2. 3). In that particular case, the old-mythical reference was less pronounced in our tradition than in the German one, in which the three women each had their task to fulfil and all had to help SPIN. The Swedes "De tre storgummor" ("The Three Trolls") treat the theme in the same way. It seems like the Nordic peoples, perhaps because they have been subject to hard and stressful labour, have wished to create for themselves one day of toil- and anxiety-free happiness in a land of fantasy; this may also be the cause of the prince in our tale promising that his queen shall never again work. The notion of fate, however, rests at the heart of even our variant, which distributes fortune with no regard to the immortals' striving to make themselves worthy of it. "Hvorfor Bjørnen er stubrumpet" ("Why the Bear is Stumpy-tailed") reminds us, albeit vaguely, of

¹¹HUMAN BEINGS, according to the Christian world-view which declares the destruction of the *æser* (giants), came to replace the role of the gods in the battle against these monsters of the mountain.

¹²When the trolls, as happens frequently in our tales, fatten human beings in pigsties and then slaughter and eat them, this is a foreign trait which is also found in Italian and French tales and has probably been absorbed from the latter's medieval traditions into ours.

¹³When the trolls in this tale come to fetch the king's daughter on a THURSDAY EVENING, this old-mythical conception is exchanged for a Christian one where the gods are demoted to evil powers; thus Thor is the enemy of the Jætter giants, and it must therefore have been dangerous for them to approach him on that specific day.

¹⁴Perhaps one could venture to suggest a link between Askeladden's transformation in this tale and Sigurd's transformation with Gunnar.

On the other hand, the CHRISTIAN concepts have also undergone many changes, also in nuance, by having ABSORBED PAGAN ELEMENTS and merged them with their own; one example, in our tales, is that of the appearance of the DEVIL. He is never portrayed in his Christian form as the cunning Arch Enemy corrupting the human race, as the mighty lord of the dark at the mention of whom faithful souls cringe. Rather, he resembles the evil powers of heathendom - the giants - in that he is a being not bestowed with great intelligence and easily fooled by the cunning of Man; even in his own kingdom he fears the smith who has come to hell to submit to him, as stipulated in the contract. Here, the heathen element is awakened even more strongly in the power of the poetic imagination which is, furthermore, admirably suited to combine humour with a streak of terror, a trait which is deeply ingrained and visible in the Norwegian folk character.

However, CATHOLIC elements also appear in these folk poetic traditions, although much more rarely than the old-mythical concepts. Keeping in mind how much closer in time the Catholic teaching is to the narrating folk, this might seem odd, yet it also indicates the depth and intensity of the links between the Northman's Inner Life and the *Ása*-teaching. These Catholic elements appear mainly in legend-tales, where Our Lord and St. Peter wander on earth approaching humans to bestow charity on them, give them assistance, or to reprimand them. Thus one could almost venture to claim that the remaining heathen concepts have right from the very start formed a basis for all legends, and if these concepts could some day be identified, it will have to be acknowledged that most of these historic personages have in some way changed appearance and have been presented in a constantly milder and more descriptive form. Our Lord and St. Peter are thus portrayed in a manner that seems to be inspired both by Catholicism and by legendary material in "GJERTRUDSFUGLEN" ("GERTRUDES BIRD") and in part also in "THE SMITH THEY DARED NOT LET INTO HELL". In the latter tale Peter even carried the keys to heaven, thus bringing in the connection with Papism. In "VIRGIN MARY AS GODMOTHER", a lovely mild woman takes the baptized girl-child into her care and through many dangers and in many forms renders her worthy of happiness and joy. Not only the woman's name, but also her character is reminiscent of the merciful Mother of God. The peculiar clarity in the tone of this tale also seems to be a reflection of the beautiful personality of the Mother of God. The name of the Virgin Mary also appears in the children's tale "HANEN OG HØNEN I NØDDESKOVEN" ("THE COCK AND THE HEN IN THE HAZELWOOD"). When she here gives away the "red-gold band", I wonder if one might not suggest that there is a link to the golden halo of the pardoned Woman of Grace. In "MESTERTYVEN" ("THE MASTER THIEF"), we find a humorous twist on the original name of the word purgatory.

These historical concepts alone are not at all sufficient, however, to provide consistent "inner proof" of the originality of our tales; the solution to this question lies in their character and type taken as a whole. Even if they in content are the same as those of other countries, they are still not the same. They appear as bearers of our country's particular local and folk conditions. Thus the SCENE, the whole stage - on which sometimes a simple Fable develops and at other times a motley of ever-changing fantasy-evocation is constantly played out - is always set in the familiar Norwegian mountain terrain. The deep forest with the "small green clearings" where one can rest after the journey, the one blue horizon sought after the other, the moor where GRIMSBORK was bred, the large black mountain-top in whose shadow the king's palace lies, the steep, mirror-smooth mountain-side that the Ash Lad rides up, the cosy mountain gully where the old hag sits tempting the tired shepherd; these and a thousand other small features tell us that we are at home, however unusual the event may be in which we are participating. The same applies to the way of life which is shaped by this nature. The family room and its fireplace where the Ash Lad sits, the work and life therein, everything from the pine shed where Haaken Borkenskjæg walks about in his leather tunic to the king's palace where the king stands on the steps and himself gives orders to his servants, reminds us of the exceedingly simple, naive, customs of the isolated mountain valley, an alternative to which the narrator may not be able to imagine.

And yet this type of uniqueness, however intensely it is woven into our tales, is only external. The deepest and the best-hidden uniqueness, and therefore the most difficult to prove although it is most easily felt, is that which lies in the CHARACTER TYPES that appear in the tales; however much they have in common with those of closely-related peoples, they still reflect unique aspects of the Norwegian folk character. If one was in possession of the numerous, still un-collected tales that live among the people, there is no doubt that the peoples' most essential character trait would be revealed through the different character types. But even on the basis of the material presented here, a number of such traits should be demonstrable. I believe furthermore that due to the firmness and confidence with which the characters are portrayed one could venture to claim that our tales appear in a favourable light compared to those of other Germanic tribes. In this regard they can tolerate comparison even with the GRIMMS' splendid collection. However, the reason for this advantage could also be that DENMARK has very few tales and that the SWEDES have still not completed their collections; as a result, fewer character traits of these peoples' poetic tradition are apparent. This applies in particular to the comic

figures which in our tales appear with much clarity and confidence. This seems to be the case with comic tales of most countries, "precisely because the comic is so sharply delineated and slightly odd, and is therefore more easily transformed into stable masks" (Grimms Märchen, Preface S. LI). But with our tales it is probably even more so; the most important reason for this lies in their humour which develops perforce amongst a people under such hard and threatening local conditions as ours are.

Among those characters we meet in almost every tale, is "ASKEFISEN" ("ash-fart") or "ESPEN ASKEFIS" as he is also called. In our first edition we felt the need to comply with the common shyness Norwegians have towards names (in writing), and therefore chose the purely Danish name "Askepot" which, outside of the towns, is apparently not used in Norway. Although we have, in this edition too, only dared to use one of his pet names, I nevertheless feel that in this Introduction I can venture to call him by his correct name. The name is furthermore not as dangerous as it may sound; it means: HE WHO BLOWS ON THE EMBERS TO START THE FIRE and is thus a description of the humble, scorned position this figure embodies in his family: his bed is the ashes, his business, if he has any, is at most to "light the fire". For the same reason he is also called "TYRIHANS", that is, Hans who sees to the wood-fuel, and "ASKEIADDEN" - that is the clumsy, tattered lad who pokes about in the ashes. He is always the youngest of the three brothers¹⁶ and the two others therefore have the advantage of age and experience. These two, who in some cases are called PER and PAAL, despise him intensely, they mock him and ridicule him. But a hidden, higher power in him, which sometimes also allows him to resort to the use of supernatural powers external to him, nonetheless leads him - and him alone - to victory in the two trials of courage; the brothers immediately fail, and he alone wins the king's daughter and half the kingdom. In all these features, our folk-character is similar to that of the Germans' "DER DUMLING" and the Swedes' "PINKEL". Nonetheless, Askeladden distinguishes himself from both of the above-mentioned character types through the deep humility - a mark of his natural superiority - until the point in the narrative where he suddenly takes centre stage. This is all hidden underneath an inactive idleness which reaches its climax in the still-untold tale LAD-LARS ("LAZY LARS"), and underneath an undisturbed indifference to the mockery and contempt that his brothers bear towards him; this indifference has assumed an appearance of unfeeling stupidity, yet rests on a deep acknowledgement of one's own strength. He is similar to UFFE SPAGE and in a certain sense also HAMLET. One expression of his personality makes him appear slack and stupid, but at the same time he laughs confidently: "I will deceive you all when my time comes". This hidden confidence has in Askeladden partly pushed aside traits of mild kindness which "Der Dumling" is bestowed with, and of the friendly helpfulness which makes "Pinkel" ridiculous in the eyes of the brothers. By dint of Askefisen's deeply penetrating power, "Der Dumling's" childlike faith in a happy ending is transformed into self-confidence; at the same time HE never fails in battle, although his German relation sometimes does. He still manifests those more friendly traits by which he is described in the Germans' tales, such as IN "TRO". But there is, on the whole, a decided resonance of the saga character in this figure: HE IS SILENT AND SLEEPS, SEEKS PERMISSION TO PROVE HIMSELF, AND WINS¹⁷.

Similarly, another character in "THE SMITH THEY DARED NOT LET INTO HELL" distinguishes itself from the German "BRUDER LUSTIG" and "SPIELHANSEL". The good-hearted generosity and rash, almost innocent ignorance of evil and good, which are the main traits in "BRUDER LUSTIG", are not found in "THE SMITH THEY DARED NOT LET INTO HELL", whilst it is undoubtedly a highly prominent feature in the former. "BRUDER LUSTIG" is a more comic character, while our smith is more humorous. He is therefore closer to "SPIELHANSEL", but, when he fools the devil, is more boldly humorous; "SPIELHANSEL" only mocks death, and becomes quite confused when he realizes that the gates of hell are shut in his face. This is given added weight when one draws attention to the fact that it is the folk, the narrators of the tales, who have still kept the faith, not "the cultivated" people. The calm thoughtfulness which allows him to decide ON HIS OWN where to seek shelter and home - whether it be in heaven or hell - before he becomes homeless, is also a unique feature which is in full agreement with our folk character. "SPIELHANSEL", who fully abandons himself to gambling, is ethically the poorest of the three above-mentioned characters. Therefore it is quite in the order of things that "BRUDER LUSTIG", by help of a cunning trick, is able to find his way through St. Peter's door, and that "SPIELHANSEL" is driven out of heaven again and his soul divided, whilst we have no knowledge of whether or not our smith is let in through the crack in the door, the very crack created by his hammer.

¹⁶In the rural areas it is common usage to call the youngest of a flock of siblings "Askefisen", and not only among the farmers.

¹⁷Compare this to Gautrek's Saga chapter 4, where Starkad lies in the ashes and is "kolbitr"; Thorstein Svarfad, who also becomes an able and very powerful man, is also portrayed in this way from the very beginning of Svarfdola Saga chapter 1 and 2. The figure of HAMLET is already suggested in the YOUNGER EDDA, see RASK'S edition, p.126.

"THE MASTER THIEF" and "STORE PER OG VESLE PER" ("BIG PETER AND LITTLE PETER") stand reciprocally even closer to the above-mentioned 'Character Mask'. The former figure is not to be found in those Germanic tale collections that have already been published. On the other hand, in M. HAUPT'S ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DEUTSCHES ALTERTHUM, III, 292, (fgg.), we are told a tale from THÜRINGEN which in plot structure is almost equivalent to our main tale and its variants. Still, the Master Thief appears as a lighter character, more courteous and cultivated, conscious of the prevailing contempt towards his own craft; he is, furthermore, moralistic towards his old parents who have allowed him to fall into his present predicament. In *Straparola* we also find a tale called "BEDRAGEREN" ("THE BETRAYER") which, in its Fable, resembles ours. But since it is certainly not my intention to present a comparison of character types outside those of the Germanic tribes, it would therefore not be a fruitful undertaking to attempt do so here, since *Straparola's* free treatment has probably not allowed the characters to maintain their due original form. In our tale it seems, at first glance, as if all ethical considerations have been put aside, as though there was only pleasure to be taken in the CUNNING AND DEFTNESS with which the Master Thief performs his tricks. And yet, it is not so. Throughout the Fable he is made to interact with people who deserve to be hoodwinked. Thieves, the district governor, and the priest all boast of a sagacity and cunning they do not possess. Furthermore, the tax collector is, by dint of being member of "a higher authority", self-important and pompous as well as cowardly and morally inferior; the priest is stingy, hypocritical and superstitious. "LITTLE PETER" is really of the same type. It is still the element of cunning which interests us, but the ethical side of things has been pushed so far into the background that the figure takes on an aspect of cruelty. This applies in particular to that part of the Fable where he brings the brother to kill his old mother, places her corpse on a sledge, and drags it to town, whereupon he places a basket of apples between the frozen fingers and fetches the skipper to cut off her head. It is entirely due to the straightforward and credulous manner in which the tale is told, as if to suggest that it is all perfectly in the order of things, that the tale is believable and is raised to a type of grotesque humour which is not uncommon in the sagas and the epic ballads. Even the slightest attempt to soften or explain the actions would render it unpalatable. This trait, bordering on cruel boldness, is not present in the corresponding German tale "DAS BURLE", nor is it to be found in Andersen's "STORE KLAUS OG LILLE KLAUS" (BIG KLAUS AND LITTLE KLAUS); the latter, it must be remembered, is a tale adapted from the folk tradition. "LITTLE PETER" also distinguishes itself from "DAS BURLE". The latter, because he from the very first appears to be genuinely clumsy, is therefore - perhaps justly - held in contempt by his neighbours. "Little Peter", on the other hand, is throughout the entire tale aware of his own cunning and consequently, at the beginning of the tale, he really lives up to his reputation. And finally, the same crafty cunning appears in "SPURNINGEN" ("THE QUESTION"), where Askeladden makes the princess accuse him of lying in "GUTTEN, SOM FIK PRINSESSEN TIL AT LOGSTE SIG" ("THE LAD WHO MADE THE PRINCESS SPEAK"), only here the scene appears in speech, whereas it is manifested through action in the above-mentioned characters. The servant boy in the tale "PAAL ANDRESTUEN" is, broadly speaking, the same character, but the element of cunning is here presented straightforwardly as peasant shrewdness.

It is as though the milder and better character traits in this poetic tradition have been saved for the portrayal of women. To be sure, we meet bold-comic female character types, such as in "SOMME KJÆRRINGER ERE SLIGE" ("ALL WOMEN ARE ALIKE"), and in "GIDSKE", etc. In general, it can be noted, the comic effect of these characters is often achieved through the emphasis on stupidity and frivolity which is attempted portrayed as sagacity and thrift. It seems as though the narrative has aimed to depict women within the boundaries of a quieter sphere of action. The comic effect of the wife-character in "GUDBRAND I LIEN" ("GUDBRAND ON THE HILLSIDE") has, thus, been softened through the depiction of her hearty contentment with everything her husband says and does, and one is almost tempted to think how pleasant it would be if more wives were like Gudbrand's. But these female comic Masks are rare in comparison with the male ones. It is in particular towards the step-daughter, whom the step-mother and step-sisters hate and plague, that our tales are generous in their provision of pretty and mild traits. "KARI WOODENSKIRT", THE DAUGHTER OF THE FIRST MARRIAGE IN THE TALE "MANNDATTEREN" ("THE TWO STEP-SISTERS") AND IN "THE BUSHY BRIDE" all represent this character type. The girl in "THE TWO STEP-SISTERS" is fair and lovely as the day, and just as good as she is beautiful. The step-mother's and step-sisters' hate and hardness do not plant bitterness in her disposition, but only resigned sadness. Hungry and ill-clothed she is chased out into the woods to tend the animals which she pets and strokes; when she is thrown into the well because the hurds she has spun cannot hold the thread as long as her sister's flax does, she steps ever so lightly and carefully on the buckthorn-twigg fence so that the twigs should not break; she plucks the fruit of the apple tree with such care that its branches may straighten out again, and so on. When she with scolding and harsh words is driven out to the well to fetch water, she brushes, pets and kisses the ugly heads that come up to the water's mirror-smooth surface; her own sorrow and need has not lessened, but have opened her heart, given it delicacy and softness, and SHE THINKS MORE OF OTHERS THAN OF HERSELF. The bloody injustice she has suffered has not rendered her the least bit suspicious of those who offer her advice and help: with childlike trust she does what the birds bid her in their song, or what her step-mother demands or her

brothers command, even when the command is that she must throw her little dog, or even herself, into the sea. To truly awaken our deepest empathy, her fate - through sorrow and need - is dwelt upon at some length until we are quite convinced of the gentle force of her personality; at this point, however, the tale describes the glorious fruits of this strength, which are moreover of a nature that only this genre can depict. For her outer and inner gentleness to be portrayed even more clearly, the evil, wicked step-sister is placed at her side; the latter is in everything her polar opposite, in external aspect and in disposition, in action and in fate.

In OUR tales the male characters are usually drawn with sharper and more angular lines than in the tales of the people most closely related to us, thereby often repressing if not removing the milder conciliatory traits. In the same way, the above-mentioned female character role - the Man's daughter - is depicted in a finer and ethically superior manner, if not as thoroughly as in our tales. In WINTHER'S DANISH FOLKTALES, the tale finds it sufficient to relate that the step-daughter is "beautiful and good", and allows the latter feature to appear only in one concrete situation where she abstains from eating the tempting fruits outside the palace she arrives at, after having fallen down the well. Not even the Germans' step-daughter do I find as mild and good as our's. In part she lacks the CALM ACCEPTANCE OF HER FATE, AND PARTLY THE THOUGHTFUL CONCERN FOR THE WELL-BEING OF OTHERS. This can be seen in "FRAU HOLLE", where she jumps into the well out of sheer desperation and where she picks the apples of the tree because THEY ARE RIPE, NOT SO THAT THEIR BRANCHES MAY STRAIGHTEN UP AGAIN; nor, in this tale, does she carefully lay the fruit at the roots of the apple tree. Her character is developed in a more positive manner in "DIE DREI MÄNNLEIN IM WALDE", but even here she objects mildly before complying with the severe mother's command; furthermore, it is with the three small men - WITH MEN OF REASON - that she shares her bread. Her friendly concern for others is nowhere expressed as beautifully as in our tale, WHERE SHE MAKES HERSELF LIGHT-FOOTED SO AS NOT TO HARM THE TWIGS OF THE BUCKTHORN-TWIG FENCE, and nowhere is her trusting obedience as moving as WHERE SHE JUMPS INTO THE SEA BECAUSE HER BROTHER HAS TOLD HER TO DO SO.

Yet it is equally through the ENTIRE NARRATIVE MODE, the tone, the unique colour, that our tales decidedly distinguish themselves from those of other peoples, and through which they disclose the identity of the soil in which they have taken root and grown. This applies not only when they are compared to poetic traditions of more distant peoples, but also if they are held up against the Germanic ones.

The tone of the tale is everywhere naive, childlike, trusting, and presents its content with such conviction that its miraculous events are received as commonplace happenings. And yet the Basic Tone is expressed in very different ways: Among THE HINDUS, for example, concrete images oscillate between the simpler speech of the tale, whilst among THE ARABS the tone is highly developed, almost elegant, and explicitly motivated, now and then shimmering with vivid images; for both peoples the tale is structured in episodes. Among THE ITALIANS (this applies to Basile, since Straparola's narrative mode is loquacious and not of the folk), the narrative mode is fair, light, and quick-flowing. The narrative mode of THE FRENCH (D'Aulnoy) is fine to the point of elegance and - although not devoid of naiveté - is seen to be achieved artistically; the fragrance of eau de cologne can be detected in this Feland's wood. There is probably a certain degree of resemblance between the tales of THE GERMANIC PEOPLES, but the correspondence is not greater than that a well-told Norwegian tale, for example, if successfully translated into Swedish or German, would nevertheless always disclose, through its narrative mode, the identity of its home turf and vice-versa.

Judging by CAVALLIUS'S AND STEPHEN'S still-unfinished collection, THE SWEDES' narrative mode is clearly distinguishable from ours. If the above-mentioned authors had shown enough conscientiousness in collecting and arranging the tale Fables and variants so as to remove any doubt as to their desire to render the poetic tradition in an undistorted manner, as they themselves received it, I would be tempted to believe that their narrative mode was, here and there, not of the folk. Judging by the above-mentioned collection, the Swedes' narrative mode is stiffer, the narrative is more like a chronicle, persons and events are portrayed with pomp, a feature which resembles the characterization of the epic ballads but which here seems to be an added element obstructing their free movement; finally, that which is tender and sad is told with a softness that is close to sentimental. Very rarely do we find humour. To prove my point, I will quote from the following passages, chosen randomly. P. 83: "Then Vattuman, dressed in expensive clothes, put a scarlet coat across his shoulders, placed the golden crown on his head and wandered about with his animals." P. 105: "But the knight felt courageous in his golden armour and behaved with courtly manners, as though he were the highest king's son." P. 106: "But the bride wept unceasingly, her tears so hot that they burned like fire on her cheeks." P. 110: "He left with his falcons and dogs to hunt, and ended up deep in the woods." P. 117: "Still, he could not completely forget his home, sitting, as he often did, on the beach and looking out with longing at the sea whose waves travelled freely from country to country." P. 121: "The woman answered: "Master, king! it has been told to

me". P.141: "It played in his memory." P.142: "A handsome carriage came forward, drawn by handsome foals." P.202: "- and the youth served the princess in a seemly fashion and with a cheerful disposition, as was appropriate when addressing a dignified maiden." "The youth", just as much as "the princess", weeps and wails pathetically when in distress. The bold, pure-epical tone which carries the plot forward with such lucidity and without involving the sympathies of a narrator, is completely missing. Another oddity in the Swedish narrative mode which I must touch upon, is the frequent use of proverbial sayings used outside of the dialogue. One advantage of our tales is that the elements emphasized are often portrayed in verse form; such added metre and rhyme enlivens the narrative and is on many occasions a felicitous witness to the age of its transmission.

DENMARK possesses no significant collection of tales that would allow for the identification of any unique character in its narrative mode. H. C. ANDERSEN'S world-famous tales are as much a result of creation as of re-telling, and even if he has used traits of the folk tradition, these have been freely treated and adapted. M. WINTHER'S tales, which are moreover almost all excerpts, are not kept in this tone nor are they nearly as well told; as a result, they suggest the uniqueness of the Danish tales' narrative mode. Furthermore, this collection, as far as I am aware, only presents a few of C. MOLBECH'S tales written down according to the Jutlandish tradition. But although Andersen handles ideas and situations which stem from higher social environments, he nonetheless maintains a continuation with the folk through the narrative mode, a feature which renders his narrative, in this regard, somewhat closer to the tales of Öland, only they are presented in a more refined and pure costume. If this premise is accepted, one could say that the Danish narrative mode is rounder, milder, almost more participatory, its humour more childlike and lighter, than ours.

Of all the European tales published till now, there are surely none that in excellence of narrative mode are measurable with the GRIMM BROTHERS' now-told "*Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*". The uniqueness of the German tales has here been given its full due. The narrative mode is round and beautiful, without being dull or polished; the comic and humorous parts are portrayed openly and with great boldness, and yet EVERYWHERE A CONVIVIAL TONE RINGS THROUGH THE SIMPLE SPEECH. It is, I believe, this conviviality and friendliness - traits which leave one so at ease when reading these tales - that in particular distinguishes them from ours. While we read them we feel as if we are sitting snugly and comfortably in the house of a cultivated MIDDLE CLASS family listening to a wise old woman tell stories. A hint of the character of the narrative mode is to be found in the forceful, clear face of an old woman which graces the front cover like a vignette. Sure enough, in THE HIGH-GERMAN TALES, the whole tale is kept in a somewhat finer tone than in ours, but I see this as an irrelevant difference which lies not in the tale's character itself, but in the narrator's understanding of his task and in the plan they subsequently carried out. One cannot but note, when one's attention is drawn to this point, that among these tales told in the common German written book-language, there are also many tales TOLD IN THE ORAL STYLE. The narrators have made use of this freedom with confident discretion where a finer narrative style would not have permitted the full expression of the tale.

Unlike the Germanic countries' tales, ours are often described as being, in their narrative style, a CONTINUATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SAGA STYLE. By this I do not mean to suggest that the narrative is the SAME as that found in the sagas - far from it. The claim applies to the innermost character of the narrative style, not to idiom or external features. Although no remnant of that chronicle mode which is so common among the Swedes is to be found in our tales, I nevertheless believe that they are more intensely linked, in an organic bond, with the narrative style of the sagas. As a consequence, that STRAIGHTFORWARD AND RUTHLESS saga-like description, a mode of expression which stems not from brutality, but from naïveté and simplicity, appears ubiquitously in our tales. Here we find that same UNAFRAID, MAGNIFICENT HUMOUR, which - as the hero in the German tale - seems to be "dragged out of the home in order to learn to know fear"; and we find that PURE-EPICAL NARRATIVE STYLE WHOSE SOLE FUNCTION IS THE PLEASURE OF OBSERVING, dwelling equally on the sad and the terrible as on the light and the cheerful, but which seldom or never betrays the mood of the narrator through the course of events. Our tales can ALWAYS say, as did the boy who sat and wept: "I am indifferent". In those cases where a mood is captured here and there by an attentive ear, it is understood negatively rather than positively. It is not infrequent, in fact, that the tale somehow retains a softer mood, or attempts to conceal this softness, perhaps out of bashfulness, by disguising any sentimental features with humour. In such cases, therefore, a more participatory chord may be perceived beneath the surface of the cheerful narrative style. The Norwegian tale is, in comparison to the German, TOLD WITH A MANLY VOICE.

Not seldom in private, and occasionally in public, those of our tales that have been 'told' have been criticized because they were held to be too close to the mode of expression among the folk: they have been found to be coarse and raw, and many have wished the tales to be raised to a greater fineness and distinction in their presentation. For those who in this poetic tradition seek solely, or primarily, aesthetic pleasure, and whose

tastes are more sophisticated than versatile, such a wish is natural. I am nevertheless convinced that my collaborator and myself would have taken the wrong direction by following this advice. Given that it is precisely in the narrative style and narrative mode that the unique features of each country's tales are realized, while the Fable and content are often somewhat more common, then if the tale were to be raised above the field of vision of the folk in its expression and tone, it would very easily, indeed almost inevitably, lose everything that makes it Norwegian. It is precisely for the SCIENTIFIC value of the tale that it becomes so extremely important to narrate it in the manner of the FOLK. If it can be told with refinement and beauty, well and good, but this should never be allowed to occur at the expense of its uniqueness: only that form which allows for the perfect expression of its content, is aesthetically justified. At this point, as is often the case in similar situations, the objection is frequently made that the characteristic features lie in thought, not in expression. However, we often forget that in all poetic expression, the representation of thought is manifested precisely through its concrete description. Described in other terms, it would become a different concept, or be imbued with a different nuance. Provided that when re-telling the tales one does not wish to adopt the same approach that THE GRIMMS did, using partly book-language and partly dialect, it is necessary to accommodate the reproduction of what it is that the tale really carries within itself. In my opinion, the reproducing of legends in dialect is permissible, but not for tales. I take this stand because the legend is much more closely connected not only to the individual country, but usually to the individual district, and its idiom therefore often provides the narrating of legends with precisely that strong local colour they should have. The tale, however, is usually common to the whole country, and rendering it in dialect form would therefore be too limiting and would bind it to an environment which is actually more restricted than the one to which it actually belongs. As to the wider diffusion of a tale Fable outside the country, it will be acknowledged that a more common language mode than the dialect is the right choice in these cases. Those who after having studied foreign tales return to our tales, would, I believe, be largely satisfied with their style. It will be observed that the story is in some of them held on a higher level, or - as one usually calls it - in a purer manner, namely in those cases WHERE the common Fable has no unique expression in our tradition, and where the satisfactory expression of the course of events demands it. But in these cases too, the folk tell in the same way as we do.

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF INDIVIDUAL TALES FOUND IN THE ASBJØRNSEN AND MOE FOLKTALE COLLECTIONS

The information presented in appendix 2 is based on bibliographical research carried out at the University Library in Oslo, Norway. The present author has examined all the editions of the Asbjørnsen and Moe collections, as well as P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's individual collections from 1843/4 until 1941, available in the University Library (the 1841 edition is unavailable to the author). The resultant list has been cross-checked against the only existing bibliography of Asbjørnsen and Moe's tales, Gustav E. Raabe, Asbjørnsen and Moe's Eventyr og Sagn. Bibliografi, Cammermeyers Bokhandel, Oslo, 1942, which aims at being an exhaustive list of their tales from 1843-1948. In addition, some information (where indicated) stems from Henning Østberg's valuable afterword to the facsimile edition of the 1843-44 version of NF Norske Folkeeventyr, Damms Antikvariat, Oslo, 1994, pp.1-49, and from H. J. Haffner's brief bibliographical survey Asbjørnsen and Moe's Norske Folkeeventyr. En bibliografisk undersøkelse, N. W. Damm & Son, Oslo, 1942.

Organization of Appendix 2

SECTION I: P. CHR. ASBJØRNSEN AND JØRGEN MOE'S JOINT PUBLICATIONS

SECTION II: P. CHR. ASBJØRNSEN'S INDIVIDUAL PUBLICATIONS

SECTION III: P. CHR. ASBJØRNSEN AND JØRGEN MOE'S PUBLICATIONS FOR CHILDREN

Abbreviations:

PCA: Per Christian Asbjørnsen

JM: Jørgen Moe

MM: Moltke Moe

152 tales arranged thematically in 5 groups:

1. Magic tales ('wonder tales')
- 1b. Magic tales with Askeladden (youngest of three brothers)
2. Humorous tales
- 2b. Humorous tales with Askeladden
- 2c. Humorous tales with religious characters
3. Explanatory tales and religious tales
4. Animal tales
5. 'Framed' tales and legends (tales with an introductory narrator) by PCA

JM: 36 tales, PCA: 73 tales (+ 31 framed tales) = 104, MM: 3 tales, PCA and JM: 7 tales, and PCA and MM: 2

The left-hand column of each table lists the individual tales with English translations. Section I also indicates the collector/s of each tale (PCA, JM or MM). The first line at the top of each table gives the dates of publication for each edition and the number of tales in each edition in each section. Those tales found in limited selections have been marked 'b' so that the reader can identify, at a glance, whether or not a tale in year x came out as part of the NF collection or in another publication. A detailed bibliography for each section allows the reader to identify the different editions listed in the tables. In this way, the reader can look up the desired tale in the left-hand column and will immediately be able to tell when it was first published, how often it appeared, when/how often a tale appeared in collections *or* was published in separate limited selections, and which tales appeared primarily or only in the joint publications, Asbjørnsen's publications, or the publications for children

Bibliographic details

Both Asbjørnsen and Moe had published legends and tales earlier, but the 1841 pamphlet¹, a "thin, small book with a blue-green cover with no title" which exists today in only 10 copies in private possession (Haffner, 1942:7), constituted the first step in their joint publishing-venture, (see Østberg, 1994:26). The publication of this first edition had cost them considerable effort after a failed subscription campaign and the first publisher's (Guldberg & Dzwonkowski) withdrawal (see Østberg, 1994:2, Haffner, 1942:6 and Hansen, 1932:144ff). It was only when P. A. Munch reviewed the tales positively that the publisher Johan Dahl agreed to publish the NF (see Østberg, 1994:3). Although the public's immediate and overriding response to the first publication, Østberg notes, was a mixture of confusion, astonishment, pleasure and fascination, there was also an initial reaction of indignation, he claims, due to the language form: the purity of the Dano-Norwegian language was felt to be threatened (Østberg, 1994:4 and Hansen, 1932:149). However, after P. A. Munch printed another favourable review of the tales in 1844, and when the Grimms expressed their approval of the same tales, the tide turned (Østberg, 1994:4-5), so much so that in 1843 alone 800 of the 1000 copies printed were sold, and the entire stock was sold out the following year (Haffner, 1942:7). From then on the frequent republication and revision of the tales were a measure of their success and popular appreciation (ibid).

"Fællessamlingen" and "Enesamlingen"

The 1841-44 collection (ie. 1841 pamphlet + the 1843 and 1844 volumes) was coined "*Fællessamlingen*" (the "Joint Collection") to distinguish it from P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's collection of legends and tales ("*Enesamlingen*" - "The Single Collection") of 1845-1848 (see Haffner, 1942:7). As can be seen from the bibliography and the tables in Section II, Asbjørnsen established a considerable publishing record with his Norske Sagn og Huldre-eventyr. In the later versions in particular he added, to his own 'real' legends, many of the tales he himself had collected and some of Moe's tales (indicated by "*Med Bidrag fra Jørgen Moe's Reiser og Optegnelser*" - "With contributions from Jørgen Moe's travels and descriptions", ibid). In 1876 Asbjørnsen published Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Ny Samling. (Med Bidrag fra Jørgen Moe's Reiser og Optegnelser). Anden Udgave in Denmark with the Danish publishing company Gyldendal. This was the first time the collectors published their work there, and it was in this way the tales became known in Denmark (see Haffner, 1942:12). In the 1911-1914 *Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave* edition, the two collections were first published jointly, and have usually been published in this form since, usually the title Samlede Eventyr ("Collected Tales").

Illustrations

The first version to be illustrated was P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's 1879 edition (see Haffner, 1942:15). Asbjørnsen himself chose the illustrators; as well as requesting the collaboration of more

¹Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved Asbjørnsen og Moe ("Norwegian Folktales, collected by Asbjørnsen and Moe"). The second edition in 1852 was entitled Norske Folkeeventyr samlede og fortalte ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe (emphasis added) ("Norwegian Folktales collected and told by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe"), and this may indicate (as it did with the Grimms) their increased awareness of and subsequent acknowledgement of the adaptive process inherent in the collection and retelling (see Skard, 1973:45).

established artists such as Gudemand and Tide, he showed much foresight in requesting the young artists Werenskiold and Kittelsen to illustrate the forthcoming editions.²

Selection of categories:

Classification is often linked to attempts to define the genre, usually with little success. Aarne and Thompson devised a folktale index that has been used extensively, but is now becoming obsolete³, and it seems that any attempt at strict categorization and defining 'real' tales, a 'real' folktale or a 'real' fairytale, is doomed, although many useful attempts have been made, for example Bø who identifies three types of tales: animal tales, 'real tales' and 'nonsense tales' (see Bø, 1972:90-94) Ørnulf Hodne has devised a much more detailed and specific index for the Norwegian folktales (Ørnulf Hodne, 1984, The Types of the Norwegian Folktale, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo), but such attempts seem to be doomed, however, to so many exceptions and sub-categories that their usefulness can be debated beyond the realm of 'technical' folklore analyses for special purposes. Moreover, the borders between tales (fictive) and legends ('historical') is notoriously difficult to establish. Propp defined a 'true fairy tale' ('wondertale') structurally, differentiating this 'type' from other types of folktale genres such as anecdotes and animal tales or legends (Propp 1968 and 1984).

The classification in this appendix has been chosen through a combination of these methods, and does not aim to be a complete folkloristic taxonomy, nor does it adhere to any particular 'school' (except for the category 'magic tale'), but is rather meant to be an indication of both structure and content for the lay reader. Even so, many of the tales could just as well be placed in one category as another. The '*magic tale*' category follows Propp's structural function-based model, while the '*humorous tale*' category lacks the function's sequence of the magic tale, although it may have one or more of its functions, yet its main skopos seems to be to amuse (especially the short nonsense tales with no obvious plot), very often through satire and irony. I have specified, for the interest of the reader, which of the tales in these two categories feature the Ashlad. Tales such as "The Master Thief" or "The Princess Who Always had to have the Last Word" have been classified as a humorous tale, which seems to be its overriding function, yet it has clear traces of the structure of the magic tale.

The tales with *religious characters* may be both serious or amusing, but they always feature a Christian character in the main- or in a supporting role, often with clear traces of pre-Christian worldview (see Jorgenson 1933 or Christiansen 1964). An overwhelming majority of the 'religious tales' are also humorous, such as "The Story of a Priest", "The Devil and the Biliff", "The Charcoal Burner" "The Lad and the Devil", "The Parston and the Sexton", or "The Smith they Dared not let into Hell", all of the above highly satirical. Those tales that *explain the origin* of various natural or human phenomena, I have designated "originatory tales". Finally, the '*animal tales*' all have animals in their main roles (sometimes supporting human roles), but many could equally well have been classified as humorous tales; this applies to "The Hare and the Fox", "The Hen who Fell into the Brewing Tub", "The Hare who had been Married", "The Cat who was such a Terrible Glutton", as a riddle with the tale "The Hen, the Cuckoo, and the Black-Cock", or as a 'jingle'tale such as "The Three Billy Goats who went to Pasture to get Fat" or "The Pancake"..

² See Haffner, 1942:16; see also Borgen 1978 and Evensberget 1982.

³ Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, 1987, The Types of the Folktale, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki.

Section I: P. Christian Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe's joint publications

There were two main editions of Asbjørnsen and Moe's joint NF publications:

1. *The 1843-1844 edition Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Første Deel and Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved P. C Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Anden Deels Første Hefte was republished in 1852 with five new tales and in 1866 with another six tales. The 1866 edition was then republished, with the same selection of tales, in 1868, 1874, 1896, 1899, 1904 and 1914 (two editions).*
2. *The 1911 and 1914i editions Norske Kunstneres Billedudgave. Folke og Huldre Eventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Efter Asbjørnsen egne udvalg. Hundredeaarsudgaven (parts 1 and 2) of was republished in 1928i, 1932, 1936 (i-ii), 1939, 1940 and 1941.*

In addition, the 1896-1905 editon Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe and the 1936iii edition Norske Folkeeventyr. Av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe contain yet a different selection of tales (1896-1905 is in effect a PCA collection and a children's collection put together, details given in the bibliograpy below).

Given the number of variations in the selection of tales for the two 'series', each and every edition (from 1843-1941) has been listed in the bibliography with any information regarding variation in respect to the first edition in the series. For sections I-II each single editon, rather than just the series, has also been included in the table so that the reader can easily identify in which years a particular tale was published.

FROM THE FOLLOWING COLLECTIONS:

1. **1843-1844** Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Første Deel, part one, Christiania, Johan Dahl, 1843 and Norske Folkeeventyr samlede ved P. C Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Anden Deels Første Hefte, part two, volume one, Johan Dahl, Christiania, 1844 (the two parts were published in one volume; the second volume of part 2 was never published). Contains 52 tales (41 in part 1 and 12 in part 2, altogether 53); individual collector not indicated for each single tale. No preface.
2. **1852** Norske Folkeeventyr samlede og fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Anden Forøgede Udgave, second (enlarged) edition, Johan Dahls Forlag, Christiania, 1852. Contains the 53 tales from 1843/44 and 5 more tales ("Store-Peer og Vesle-Peer", "Lurvehætte", "Bruskebruden", "Bonde Veirsky" and "Det blaae Baand"; altogether 58), individual collector (PCA, JM or MM) indicated. Contains a preface, Jørgen Moe's lengthy Introduction (only found in this edition), and brief comments in note form on some of the individual tales (eg., place of origin, informants, etc.); with a dedication to the Grimms: "The fairy tales of this mountain country are dedicated by the publishers to the creators of the Germanic fairy tale tradition, the Brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm".
3. **1866** Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Tredie Udgave, third edition, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania, 1866 (collector indicated). Contains new preface and preface to the second (1852) edition. Contains the same 58 tales as the 1852 edition with the addition of "Den rætfærdige Firskilling" and "Far sjøl i Stua" (altogether 60).
4. **1868** Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Fjerde Udgave, fourth edition, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania, 1868 (postdated from 1867). Contains the same selection of 60 tales as in the 1866 edition; with preface.
5. **1874** Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Femte Udgave, fifth edition, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania, 1874. Contains the same selection of 60 tales as in the 1866 edition (collector indicated) and short prefaces to the second, third and fourth editions; republished four times in 1874, reaching 10,000 copies.
6. **1896** Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. C. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Fællessamlingen, (vol. II = 1899), edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1896 in the series *Norske Klassikere i Udvalg*, vol. VII, series editors

Arne Løchen and Moltke Moe. Contains the same selection of 60 tales as in the 1866 edition (collector indicated), biographical information, and a short preface and afterword by Moltke Moe.

7. **1896-1905** Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe, collection of 22 pamphlets (sold on subscription) published between 1896 to 1905, bound together in hard cover in two volumes (I has 34 tales, II has 38, altogether 72 tales), Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1896-1905. The first volume (pamphlets 1-12, 36 tales) constitutes Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr i Udvalg by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, dedicated to the painter Hans Gude; it also has a glossary. The second volume is of Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe (equivalent to the 1883, 1884 and 1887 editions of the children's version of NF, effectively vols. 1-3 of the main series of the children's version); it also includes a very short editor's preface by Moltke Moe, bibliographic information about and vignettes of the collectors, and a glossary. Collector indicated.

8. **1899** Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Fællessamlingen, (vol. 1 = 1896), edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co.'s Forlag, Christiania, 1899, in the series *Norske Klassikere i Udvalg* vol. VIII, series editors Arne Løchen and Moltke Moe. Contains the same 60 tales as 1896.

9. **1904** Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Fællessamlingen. I, part one, and Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Fællessamlingen. II (2 vols. in 1), part two, seventh edition, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania, 1904. Contains 60 tales (with significant orthographical changes), preface to sixth edition and new preface by Moltke Moe, as well as biographical details and vignettes of the collectors. 26 tales in Part 1 and 34 in Part 2; parts 1-2 together constitute the same selection of tales as the 1866 edition. Collector indicated.

10. **1911** Norske Kunstneres Billedudgave. Folke og Huldre Eventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Efter Asbjørnsen egne udvalg. Hundredeaarsudgaven. I Bind, vol. 1 (vol. 2 = 1914i), edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1911 (postdated 1914). Contains 35 tales; collector indicated. This constitutes the first edition (volume 1) of *Norske Kunstneres Billedudgave* ("Norwegian Artist's Illustrated Edition"); the second volume was first published in 1914. The *Norske Kunstneres Billedudgave* contains consistently the same selection of tales in the various editions (2 or 3 volumes). This first volume has the same selection of tales as P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's Norske Folke- og Huldreeventyr of 1879, with the addition of a new tale: "Fiskersønnene" first published in *Dyhwads Folke Kalender for 1882*. It contains a poem by Jørgen Moe to Jacob Aall, a lengthy introduction by Anders Krogvig, a preface by Moltke Moe, a glossary, and a short afterword by Anders Krogvig; entitled the 'hundred-year edition' in commemoration of the births of Asbjørnsen (1812) and Moe (1813).

11. **1914j** Norske Kunstneres Billedudgave. Folke og Huldre Eventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Efter Asbjørnsen egne udvalg. Hundredeaarsudgaven. II Bind, vol. 2 (vol. 1 = 1911), edited by Moltke Moe, short afterword by Anders Krogvig, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1914. Contains 59 tales; collector indicated. This is the second edition (volume 2) of *Norske Kunstneres Billedudgave* and constitutes Eventyrbog for Børn I-III (1883-1887) and Udvalgte Eventyr of 1906. Contains a facsimile of the subscription edition of this volume (vols. 1-2 also appeared as a series of 36 illustrated pamphlets for subscription published, once only, in a limited number).

12. **1914jii** Norske Folk-Eventyr fortalte av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke-Utgave. II: Norske Folkeeventyr, (vol. I = Asbjørnsen's separate publication), eighth edition, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania, 1914. Contains a short preface by Anders Krogvig (from the 1899 version) and 61 tales - the same selection of tales as in the 1866 edition with the addition of the tale "Prinsessen som ingen kunde maalbinde" (collector indicated). (Two versions of the "Folke-utgave" - in two separate volumes and in one single volume - were published in 1914).

13. **1914jiii** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Norske Huldreeventyr og Norske Folkeeventyr. Folke-Utgave I: Norske Huldreeventyr and Norske Folk-Eventyr fortalte av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke-Utgave. II: Norske Folkeeventyr (2 vols. in 1), edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania, 1914. Contains 90 tales (61 in I and 29 in II).

14. **1928j** P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke og Huldre Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedudgave. Første Bind and P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke og Huldre Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedudgave. Andet Bind (2 vols. in one), Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1928. Edited and preface by Moltke Moe and afterword by Jan Jørgen Alnæs and Knut Liestøl; contains 94 tales (I = 35, II = 59) and a glossary; collector indicated. Republication of 1911-

1914 "Hundredeaarsudgaven" but omitting much of the former's glossary, Moe's poem, and Krogvig's afterword; in addition it contains a vignette of Moltke Moe and an afterword by an Jan Jørgen Alnæs and Knut Liestøl.

15. **1928ii** P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Eventyr, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1928, in the series *Norges Nasjonallitteratur*, vol. 5.

16. **1932** P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke og Huldre Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave. Første Bind, and P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke og Huldre Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave. Annet Bind (2 vols. in one), Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1932. Contains a preface by Moltke Moe; the same selection of (94) tales as in the 1928i edition.

17. **1936i** P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Samlede Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave, 3 vols., Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1936. Contains a preface by Moltke Moe, an afterword by Jan Jørgen Alnæs and Knut Liestøl, and a glossary; the same selection of (94) tales as in the 1928i edition.

18. **1936ii** Eventyr ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, Jørgen Moe og Moltke Moe. I: Eventyr, *nynorsk* version and preface by Knut Liestøl, Det norske samlaget, Oslo, 1936, in the series *Norsk Folkediktning*; contains the same selection of (94) tales as in the 1928i edition.

19. **1936iii** Norske Folkeeventyr. Av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe, new collection, Mittet & Co, Oslo, 1936; Contains 16 tales.

20. **1939** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Eventyr. Illustrert av norske kunstnere, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1939; contains the same selection of (94) tales as in the 1928i edition.

21. **1940** P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Samlede Eventyr. Jubileumsutgave 1840-1940. Norske kunstneres billedutgave, 3 vols., Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1940; contains the same selection of (94) tales as in the 1928i edition.

22. **1941** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Eventyr. Med illustrasjoner av norske kunstnere, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1941; contains the same selection of (94) tales as in the 1928i edition.

b. Selections/individual tales by Asbjørnsen and Moe:

1b. **1846** Norsk Folke-Kalender for 1847 (postdated); 2 tales.

2b. **1873** "Gutten og Fanden" af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe's Folkeeventyr, P. F. Steensballes Boghandel, Christiania, 1873; 1 tale.

3b **1915i** Espen Askeladd :: Tyrihans :: Soria Moria Slot. Tekster til Eventyrleker. Asbjørnsen og Moe. Norske Folke-Eventyr, Mittet & Co. Kunstforlag, Christiania, 1915; 3 tales.

4b. **1915ii** Hans og Grethe - Rødhætte - De Tre Bukkene Bruse. Tekster til Eventyrleker. Asbjørnsen og Moe. Norske Folke-Eventyr, Mittet & Co. Kunstforlag, Christiania, 1915; 1 tale.

5b. **1919** P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Norske Folke- og Huldreeventyr, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Christiania, 1919 in the series *Skoleutgaver av norske forfattere*, series ed. Joh. Hertzberg; 12 tales.

6b. **1934** Tre eventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Satt med rettskrivningen av 21. desember 1917; private print in 10 copies at Reistad & Sønns Boktrykkeri, Oslo, 1934; 3 tales.

7b. **1936** Asbjørnsen og Moe. 12 eventyr, N. W. Damm & Søn, Oslo, 1936; 12 tales.

8b. **1937** Eventyr ved Asbjørnsen, Moe, Vang, Aasen, Ross, Løland o.fl. II. Eventyr, *nynorsk* version by Knut Liestøl, in the series *Norsk Folkediktning*, Det norske samlaget, Oslo, 1937; 18 tales.

9b. **1939** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Soria Moria slott og andre eventyr, *nynorsk* version by Knut Liestøl, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1939.

	1843	1844	1846	1852	1866	1868	1873	1874	1896	1896 1905	1899	1904	1911	1914	1914	1914	1914	1915	1915	1919	1928	1928	1932	1934	1936	1936	1936	
KLOKKEREN I BYGDEN VAAR <i>The Town Sexton</i>																												
MANDEN, SOM SKULDE STELLE HJEMME <i>The Husband who was to Mind the House</i>		*																										
MESTERIVYEN <i>The Master Thief</i>																												
OM GITTEN, SOM GIK TIL NORDENVINDEN OG KREVEDE MELET IGJEN <i>The Lad who went to the North Wind to Reclaim his Flour</i>	*																											
PANDEKAGEN <i>The Pancake</i>																												
PAUL ANDRESTUEN <i>Paul Andrestuen</i>	*																											
SJU ARGAMMAL GRAIT <i>Seven Year-old Porridge</i>																												
SKRINET MED DET RARE I <i>The Box with the Funny Thing in it</i>																												
SMØRBUK <i>Buttercup</i>		*																										
SOMME KJÆRRINGER ERE SLIGE <i>All Women are Alike</i>	*																											
STABURSNØGELLEN I RØKKEHOVEDET <i>The Key in the Distaff</i>										*																		
TOMMELIDEN <i>Tom Thumb</i>		*																										
"TSJ! PUS, VIL DU NED AV BORDET!" <i>"Shoo, Pussy! Come Down from the Table!"</i>														*											*			

4. ANIMAL TALES	1843	1844	1846	1852	1866	1868	1873	1874	1896	1896 1905	1899	1904	1911	1914	1914	1914	1914	1915	1915	1919	1928	1928	1932	1934	1936	1936	1936
BANISE BRAKAR <i>Brakar the Bear</i> PCA										*														*			*
BJØRNEN OG REVEN <i>The Bear and the Fox</i> JM	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1. Hvorfor Bjørnen er stubrumpet <i>Why the Bear is Stumpy-tailed</i>																											
2. Ræven snyder Bjørnen for Julekosten <i>The Fox Cheats the Bear of his Christmas Dinner</i>																											
BJØRNEN OG REVEN <i>The Bear and the Fox</i> PCA										*				*									*	*	*	*	*
1. Slip Granrod og tag i Revetød <i>Let go of the Root and Catch Reynard's Foot</i>																											
2. De vædde om Flesk og Humlebol <i>They're Betting on Pork and a Bees-Nest</i>																											
3. De skulle have Aker i Sameie <i>They Wanted Joint Ownership of the Field</i>																											
4. Mikkel vilde smage hestekjød <i>When Reynard Wanted to Taste Horsemeat</i>																											
BJØRNEN SOM SKULLE TIL DOVRE <i>The Bear Who was to Go to Dovre</i> PCA																											
DE TRE BUKKENE BRUSE, SOM SKULDE GAÆ TI SÆTERS OG GJØRE SIG FEDE <i>The Three Billy-Goats Who Went to Pasture to Get Fat</i> PCA																											
GRISEN, OG LEVEMÅDEN HANS <i>The Pig's Lifestyle</i> MM																											
HANEN, GJØGEN OG AARHANEN <i>The Cock, the Cuckoo, and the Black-Cock</i> JM	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
HANEN OG HØNEN <i>The Cock and the Hen</i> JM	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
HANEN OG HØNEN I NØDDESKOVEN <i>The Cock and the Hen in the Hazelwood</i> JM	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
HANEN OG REVEN <i>The Cock and the Fox</i> PCA and JM										*				*									*	*	*	*	*

	1843	1844	1846	1852	1866	1868	1873	1874	1896	1896 1905	1899	1904	1911	1914	1914	1914	1914	1915	1915	1919	1928	1928	1932	1934	1936	1936	1936	
HANEN, SOM FALDT I BRYGGEKARRET <i>The Hen Who Fell Into the Brewing Tub</i> PCA and JM																												
HAREN, SOM HADDE VÆRET GIFT <i>The Hare who had been Married</i> PCA										*				*								*		*		*		
HJEMMISEN OG FJELDVIISEN <i>The House Mouse and the Country Mouse</i> PCA and JM																						*		*		*		
HVER SYNES BEDST OM SINE EGNE BØRN <i>One's Own Children are Always Prettiest</i> JM				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
HØNEN, SOM SKULDE TIL DOVERFJELD, FOR AT IKKE ALLVERDEN SKULDE FORGAAE <i>The Cock and the Hen that went to the Dove Mountain to Save the World</i> PCA				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
REVE-ENKA <i>The Fox's Widow</i> MM																												
REVEN SOM GJÆTER <i>The Fox as Herdsman</i> PCA		*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
VEL GJORT OG ILDE LØNNET <i>Well Done and Ill Paid</i> PCA		*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
VÆRDEN LØNNER IKKE ANDERLEDES <i>Such is the World's Reward</i> PCA									*	*			*	*								*	*	*	*	*	*	*
VÆDEREN OG GRISEN SOM SKULDE TIL SKOV OG BO FOR SIG SELV <i>The Ram and the Pig Who Went into the Woods to Live by Themselves</i> PCA and JM									*	*			*	*								*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Section II: P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's individual publications

There were six main series of the PCA collection:

- 1 The 'first collection' of 1845 Norse Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Første Samling was republished with an additional five tales in 1859.
- 2 The 'second collection' of 1848 Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Anden Samling was republished in 1866 with two new tales.
- 3 The 1859 and 1866 editions (collections 1 and 2) were subsequently put together in the 1870 edition as Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Tredje Udgave. The 1870 edition was republished in 1914 (ii), 1932 and 1934.
- 4 The 1871 edition Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Ny Samling (Med Bidrag fra JØRGEN MOES Reiser og Optegnelser) was republished in 1876 and in 1914 (i).
- 5 The 1879 edition Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr i Udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen was republished in 1896, 1909-1910 and 1909-1913.
- 6 The 1906 edition Udvalgte folkeeventyr. Ny Samling was republished in 1907 i - vol. 1) and ii.

As in section I, each individual edition has been listed in the bibliography as well as in the tables.

FROM THE FOLLOWING COLLECTIONS:

1. **1845** Norse Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Første Samling, first collection, (no publisher mentioned, published at Asbjørnsen's own expense, see Haffner 1942), Christiania, 1845. Contains 14 tales, short preface by Asbjørnsen, glossary, and musical notation for a folksong.
2. **1848** Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Anden Samling, second collection, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania, 1848. Contains 7 tales and glossary, short preface.
3. **1859** Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. I. Anden forøgede Udgave, second (enlarged) edition, P. F Steensballes Forlag, Christiania, 1859. Contains 19 tales and the short prefaces of the first and second editions; republication of collection I 1845 with 5 new tales.
4. **1866** Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Anden Samling. Anden forøgede Udgave, P. F Steensballes Forlag, Christiania, 1866. Contains 9 tales, short preface by Asbjørnsen, glossary, and musical notation for a song; republication of collection II 1848 with two new tales.
5. **1870** Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Tredje Udgave, third edition, P. F Steensballe, Christiania, 1870. Contains 23 tales (collections I = 14 and II = 7 and 6 more tales, altogether 27 tales), a short preface by Asbjørnsen, and a glossary.
6. **1871** Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Ny Samling (Med Bidrag fra JØRGEN MOES Reiser og Optegnelser), new collection (with contributions from Jorgen Moe), Jacob Dybwad, Christiania, 1871. Contains 45 tales, a short preface by Asbjørnsen and a short commentary on selected tales.
7. **1876** Norske Folke-Eventyr, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Ny Samling. (Med Bidrag fra JØRGEN MOES Reiser og Optegnelser). Anden Udgave, second edition, Gyldendalske Boghandel (F. Hegel), Copenhagen, 1876; first of Asbjørnsen's collection to be published in Copenhagen. Contains 50 tales, the same 45 as the 1871 edition with the addition of five tales (50 tales altogether); also contains preface to the first edition.

8. **1879** Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr i Udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, first edition, new collection, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag (F. Hegel & Søn), Copenhagen, 1879; contains 34 tales, comments about the illustrations and the artists, vignettes of the artists, and a glossary; dedicated to the painter Hans Gude. First illustrated edition.
9. **1896** Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr. I Udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1896. A republication of 1879, contains the same 34 tales as the 1879 edition, vignettes, information about the collectors, glossary, and in addition a very short preface by Moltke Moe.
10. **1906** Udvalgte folkeeventyr. Ny Samling, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1906, in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede Eventyr*. Contains 21 tales.
11. **1907i** Udvalgte Folkeeventyr. Ny Samling, new collection; edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1907 (postdated from 1906). Contains the same 21 tales as 1906, and a short preface by Moltke Moe; in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's illustrerede Eventyr* (reprinted in the same form the same year).
12. **1907ii** Udvalgte Folkeeventyr. Første Samling. Andet Oplag I and Udvalgte Folkeeventyr. Første Samling. Andet Oplag II (2 vols. in 1), edited with a short preface by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1907; contains 11 tales; in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede Eventyr*. Contains the same 21 tales (I = 11, II = 11) as 1907i Ny Samling.
13. **1909-1910** Norske Folke- og huldre-eventyr i udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Tredje Oplag. I-IV, 4 vols., edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1909-1910 (vol. 1 dated 1909, vol. 2 1909, vol. 3 1909 and vol. 4 1910). Contains 34 tales. Contains the same 34 tales as the 1879 edition.
14. **1909-1913** Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr i Udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Tredje Oplag. I-IV (4 vols. in one) edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1909. Contains the same 34 tales as the 1879 edition.
15. **1914i** Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalt av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Ny Samling. Med Bidrag fra Jørgen Moes Reiser og Optegnelser. Tredje Udgave, third edition, edited by Moltke Moe and Anders Krogvig, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1914. Contains 55 tales (the 45 tales of 1871 with the five included in 1876 edition as well as five new tales), biographical information about the collectors and commentary on selected tales (especially information about place of origin and where known, informants).
16. **1914ii** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Norske Huldreeventyr og Norske Folkeeventyr. Folke-Utgave. Bind I: Norske Huldreeventyr; Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn fortalte av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Fjerde Udgave (vol. II = joint Asbjørnsen and Moe Publication 1914), fourth edition, edited by Moltke Moe and Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1914. Contains both 1845 and 1848 collections (29 tales in all); constitutes effectively the 1870 edition with two new tales; it also has a preface by Anders Krogvig, two short poems (a Finnish proverb and a quote from *Kalevala*), and a commentary on selected tales (place of narration, comments/observations on places mentioned in the narrative, etc.).
17. **1932** Norske huldre-eventyr og folke-sagn, edited by Moltke Moe and Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, 1932. Contains the same 23 tales as the 1870 edition.
18. **1934** P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn, with a short preface by Jan Jørgen Alnæs and Knut Liestøl, H. Aschehoug & Co, Oslo, 1934. Contains the same 23 tales as the 1870 edition.
- ^a *Individual tales/limited selections published by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen*
- 1b. **1833** Norske Børne-Eventyr samlede af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen beg. 8. 2. 1833, unpublished note-book (although Asbjørnsen has written 1838 on the cover page, researchers have concluded that the correct date is almost certainly 1833; see Østberg, 1994:29); 3 tales.
- 2b. **1838** Nor. en Billedbog for den norske Ungdom. Indeholdende: Store og Gode Handlinger af Nordmænd; Norske Folkesagn og Eventyr, Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, Christiania, 1838; 4 tales.
- 3b. **1843** Nor. en Billedbog for den norske Ungdom. Indeholdende: Store og Gode Handlinger af Nordmænd; Norske Folkesagn og Eventyr, Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, Christiania, 1843; 3 tales.

4b. 1844 En særdeles munter og underholdende Historie om Huusmandssønden, der blev en saa udspekulert Skjælm, for ved Prøver i sin Kunst at faae Amtmandens Datter til Kone at han ei alene stjal Stegen af Spiddet hos hendes Hr. Fader og alt Guld og Sølv fra Præsten Hr. Lars, samt 12 Heste, medens Rytterne sad paa dem, men tillige Særken af Kroppen paa Amtmandens Frue, det gjorde de Halunk, m.m. som denne lystige Historie indeholder. Avtrykk av Mestertyven fortalt av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen (later entitled "Mestertyven"), copy published by Jacob Behrend, Copenhagen, 1844; 1 tale.

5b. 1847 "Hjemmet og Vandringen." En Aarbog for 1847, published by P. Christian Asbjørnsen, Christiania, 1847; 1 tale.

6b. 1850 Juletræet for 1850. En samling af norske Folke- og Børne-Eventyr, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen (contains 8 NE tales as well as one other tale which was not included in the later collections), A. Dzwonkowskis Forlag, Christiania, 1850; 8 tales.

7b. 1851 Juletræet for 1851. Norske Eventyr og Folke-Sagn fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen (contains 10 tales of which only three were NE tales), A. Dzwonkowskis Forlag, Christiania, 1851; 3 tales.

8b. 1852 Jule-Træet for 1852. Nogle norske Folkesagn i Erindringer fra en Reise i Ægypten, af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen (2 tales, one NE), A. Dzwonkowskis Forlag, Christiania, 1852; 1 tale.

9b. 1853 Norsk illustrert Kalender 1853; 2 tales.

10b. 1854 Norsk Illustrert Kalender 1854; 1 tale.

11b. 1855 Norsk illustrert Kalender 1855; 3 tales.

12b. 1865 Nor, en Billedbog for den norske Ungdom. Indeholdende: Store og Gode Handlinger af Nordmænd; Norske Folkeeventyr og Sagn, N. W. Damm, Christiania, 1865; 3 tales.

13b. 1866i "Verden lønner ikke anderledes". Norske Folkeæventyr ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen ". I: Fortællinger og Vers for Store og Smaa, edited by Chr. Richardt and G. Røde, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Copenhagen, 1866; 1 tale.

14b. 1866ii "Hanen og Ræven, norsk folkeeventyr, af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen " I: "Vintergrønt". Nye Fortællinger og Digte, danske, norske og svenske udgivne af Chr. Richardt, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1866; 1 tale.

15b. 1866iii Juletræet 1866. Norske Folke- og Børne-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen (this volume was reprinted twice during 1866, with the same selection of tales), A. Dzwonkowskis Forlag, Christiania, 1866; 14 tales.

16b. 1879i "Veslefrikk med Felen." Af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, H.L. Brækstad/Alb. Cammermeyer, Christiania, 1879, in the series *Alb. Cammermeyers Serie af nye Billedbøger*, (three small books containing one tale each were published in this series in 1879 - same illustrator, format, etc.); 1 tale.

17b. 1879ii "Gutten, som gik til Nordenvinden paa Krav." Af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, H.L. Brækstad/Alb. Cammermeyer, Christiania, 1879 in the series *Alb. Cammermeyers Serie af nye Billedbøger*; 1 tale.

18b. 1879iii "Pandekagen." Af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, H.L. Brækstad/Alb. Cammermeyer, Christiania, 1879 in the series *Alb. Cammermeyers Serie af nye Billedbøger*; 1 tale.

19b. 1879iv Nordisk Eventyrskat, edited by R. T. Prichett and Clifford Merton, Alb. Cammermeyer, Christiania, 1879; 3 tales.

20b. 1879-1880 Illustrert Tidende. Skildringer af Nutidens Begivenheder og Personligheder af videnskabelige, kunstneriske og industrielle Frembringelser samt Fortællinger, Reisebeskrivelser m.m. Norske Folke- og Huldre-Æventyr i Udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen (vol. XXI-1879/1880, no. 1045); 3 tales.

21b. 1880-1881 Ude og Hjemme. Nordisk illustrert Ugeblad. Norsk Folkediktning. Meddelt af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen (vol. 4-1880/1881, no. 205); 3 tales.

22b. 1882 Dybwads Illustrerede Folkekalender for 1882 (published 1883; contains the same tales as in 1880-1881 edition); 3 tales.

23b. 1883-1884i Ude og Hjemme. Nordisk Illustrert Ugeblad (vol. 7-1883/1884, no. 317); 1 tale.

- 24b. 1883-1884ii** *Illustrert Tidende. Skildringer af Nutidens Begivenheder og Personligheder af videnskabelige, kunstneriske og industrielle Frembringelser samt Fortællinger, Reisebeskrivelser m.m.* (vol. XXV-1883/1884, no. 1258); 1 tale.
- 25b. 1886-1887** *Nordstjernen. Illustrert Ugeblad* (vol. 1886-1887); 1 tale.
- 26b. 1896** "Manden som skulde stille Hjemme" af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1896; 1 tale.
- 27b. 1909** "Mestertyven. En særdeles munter og underholdende Historie om Husmandssønden, der blev en saa udspekulert Skjælm, for ved Prover i sin Kundskab faa Amtmandens Datter til Kone, at han ei alene stjal Stegen af Spiddet hos hendes Hr. Fader og alt Guld og Solv fra Præsten, Hr. Lars samt 12 Heste, medens Rytterne sad paa dem, men tillige Særken af Kroppen paa Amtmandens Frue, det gjorde denne Halunk, m.m., som denne lystige Historie indeholder (later entitled "Mestertyven"), Bogtr. Ellewsen, Trondheim, 1909; 1 tale.
- 28b. 1921i** "Peik. Eventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen", published at Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag on commission for Peik chocolate factory, Christiania, 1921 (this version from P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's Ny Samling of 1871); 1 tale.
- 29b. 1921ii** "Peik. Eventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen" edited by Moltke Moe; *landsmål* version by Knut Liestøl, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Christiania, 1921; 1 tale.
- 30b. 1922i** *Norske Hjem, 1922. Norske folkeeventyr i billeder med tekst efter tegninger av Jan Lunde*; 10 tales.
- 31b. 1922i** *Norske folkeeventyr i billeder med tekst efter tegninger av Jan Lunde*; also published by Bladkompaniet, Christiania, 1922; 10 tales (in a comic-book format).

Section II. cont.

	1876	1879	1879	1879	1879	1879	1879	1879	1879	1879	1880	1880	1882	1883	1883	1886	1896	1906	1907	1907	1909	1909	1909	1909	1909	1909	1913	1914	1914	1921	1921	1922b	1922b	1932	1934
VENNERI LIV OG DØD <i>Friends in Life and Death</i>	*													bi	bii			*																	
VESLE ÅSE GASEPIKE <i>Little Åse the Goose-girl</i>		*																*																	
ØSTENFOR SOL OG VESTENFOR MÅNE <i>East of the Sun and West of the Moon</i>		*																*																	

Ib. Magic Tales with Askeladden:	1876	1879	1879	1879	1879	1879	1879	1879	1879	1879	1880	1880	1882	1883	1883	1886	1896	1896	1906	1907	1907	1909	1909	1909	1909	1909	1913	1914	1914	1921	1921b	1922	1922	1932	1934	
ASKELADDEN OG DE GODE HJÆLPERE <i>The Ash Lad and the Good Helpers</i>	*																																			
DE SYV FOLENE <i>The Seven Fools</i>																																				
DUKKEN I GRESSET <i>Doll in the Grass</i>																																				
GJÆTE KONGENS HARER <i>Minding the King's Hares</i>	*	*															*																			
GULDSLOTTET, SOM HANG I LUFTEN <i>The Golden Castle that Hung in the Air</i>	*																	*																		
JOMFRUEN PÅ GLASSBERGET <i>Maid on the Glass Hill</i>																																				
ASKELADDEN SOM STJAL SØLVENDENE TIL TROLLET <i>The Ash Lad who Stole the Troll's Silver Ducks</i>																																				
OM RISEN SOM IKKE HAVDE NOGET HJERTE <i>PÅA SIG</i> <i>The Giant who Had no Heart</i>		*															*																			
PER, PÅL OG ESPEN ASKELADDEN <i>Per, Paul and Espen the Ash Lad</i>																																				
RØDEREN OG ASKELADDEN <i>The Ash Lad and the Red Fox</i>	*																																			
TRE CITRONER, ET EVENTYR <i>Three Lemons, a Tale</i>	*																																			
TYRHANS, SOM FIK KONGSDATTEREN TIL AT LEE <i>Tyrhans, Who Made the Princess Laugh</i>	*	*															*																			

**PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL**

Section III: P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe's publications for children

The main series of the children's version of NF was published in three separate collections in 1883, 1884 and 1887, and these have subsequently been republished in the same selections. In addition, two new collections appeared in 1909 and 1910 (the latter is referred to as the "New Collection"). Since there is no variation in the selection of tales other than that mentioned here, only the first three standard collections, the 1909 collection, and the "New Collection" have been included in the table. Although the selection of tales for the children's version is considerably smaller than the adult versions (63 out of 152), all the tales have been listed in the table so that the reader can more easily and more quickly identify not only which tales were included, but also which were excluded.

FROM THE FOLLOWING COLLECTIONS:

1. 1883 Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. I, first collection, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1883. Contains 17 tales. The full collection is contained in three volumes published from 1883 to 1887; all with glossary.
2. 1884 Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. II, second collection, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1884. Contains 11 tales.
3. 1887 Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. III, third collection, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1887. Contains 10 tales and glossary.
4. 1898 Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Andet Oplag. I, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen, 1898. Contains 17 tales (as in 1883, first collection).
5. 1903i Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Andet Oplag. II, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Copenhagen, 1903. Contains 11 tales (as in 1884, second collection).
6. 1903ii Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Andet Oplag. III, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Copenhagen, 1903. Contains 11 tales (as in 1887, third collection).
7. 1905 Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Andet Oplag, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1905. Contains 17 tales (as 1883, first collection).
8. 1906 P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Norske Folkeeventyr. Eventyrbog for Børn, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1906. Contains 38 tales (I-III).
9. 1908i Eventyrbok for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. I Samling. Tredie Oplag, vol 1., first collection, edited and short preface by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1908. Contains 17 tales (as 1883, first collection; the 3 1908 collections are republications of the 1883-1887 collection 1-3, and form P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Udvalgte Folkeeventyr); glossary in first and second volumes; all 3 volumes in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede Eventyr*.
10. 1908ii Eventyrbok for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. II Samling. Tredie Oplag, second collection, vol. 2, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1908. Contains 11 tales (as 1884, second collection).
11. 1908iii Eventyrbok for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. III Samling Andet Oplag, third collection, volume 3, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1908. Contains 10 tales (as 1887, third collection).
12. 1908 iv Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe (I Samling. II Samling. III Samling), edited and short preface by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Copenhagen, 1908. Contains 38 tales (as 1883-1887 collection 1-3 in a single volume; is 1908i-iii), in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede Eventyr*).
13. 1909 Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr, new collection, edited with short preface by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1909. Contains 14 tales.

14. **1910i** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1910. Contains the same selection of 14 tales as the 1909 edition.
15. **1910ii** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye Barne-eventyr, new collection, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1910. Contains 11 tales: reprinted 4 times in 1910 alone.
16. **1915** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr, edited with a short preface by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1915; contains the same selection of 14 tales as the 1909 edition.
17. **1917i** Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1917, special selection and republication of the NF "Hundredearsudgaven" (1911). Contains the same selection of tales of 38 as in the 1908iv edition (vols. I-III of the main series).
18. **1917ii** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr. Tredie Oplag, edited with a short preface by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. Christiania, 1917; contains the same selection of 14 tales as the 1909 edition.
19. **1917iii** Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe I, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1917. Contains 17 tales (as 1883).
20. **1917iv** Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe II, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, 1917. Contains 11 tales (as 1884).
21. **1919i** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1919. Contains the same selection of 14 tales as in the 1909 edition.
22. **1919ii** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye Barne-eventyr, new collection, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1919. Contains the same selection of 11 tales as the 1910ii edition.
23. **1920** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr. Landsmålsutgave, nynorsk edition, edited by Moltke Moe, language revised and short preface by Knut Liestøl, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1920; contains the same 14 tales of the 1909 edition.
24. **1921** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye Barne-eventyr. Landsmålsutgave, nynorsk edition, edited by Moltke Moe, language revised by Knut Liestøl, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1921. Contains the same 11 tales as the 1910ii edition.
25. **1922i** Eventyrbok for Barn. Norske folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. I. Samling. Sjette Oplag, edited by Moltke Moe, short preface by Moltke Moe and Anders Krogvig, vol. 1, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Christiania, 1922. Contains 17 tales (as in 1883, first collection). The 1922, 1923, 1923 (vols. I-III) series are republications of collections 1-3 1883-1887; in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerte Eventyr*.
26. **1922ii** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye Barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe with a short preface by Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania, 1922. Contains the same 11 tales as the 1910ii edition.
27. **1923i** Eventyrbok for Barn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. II Samling. Sjette Oplag, edited by Moltke Moe, vol. 2, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Christiania, 1923 (vol. I = 1922). Contains 11 tales (as in 1884, second collection).
28. **1923ii** Eventyrbok for Barn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. III Samling. Sjette Oplag, edited by Moltke Moe, vol. 3, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Christiania, 1923. Contains 10 tales (as in 1887, third collection).
29. **1923iii** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr. Femte Oplag, fifth edition, edited with a short preface by Moltke Moe and Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania, 1923; contains the same selection of 14 tales as the 1909 edition.
30. **1927i** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye Barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe with a brief prefatory note by Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1927. Contains the same 11 tales as the 1910ii edition.

31. **1927ii** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye Barne-eventyr. Fjerde Oplag, fourth edition, edited by Moltke Moe, Det Mallingske Boktrykkeri, Oslo, 1927. Contains the same 11 tales as the 1910ii edition.
32. **1930** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr. Sjette Oplag, sixth edition, edited with a short preface by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1930; contains the same selection of 14 tales as the 1909 edition.
33. **1939** Asbjørnsen og Moe. Rike Per Kremmer og andre eventyr for barn. 2. samling, edited by Jan Jørgen Alnæs, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1939. Contains the same 11 tales as the 1910ii edition.

1. Magic tales	1883	1884	1887	1909	1910
	17	11	10	14	11
BONDE VEIRSKJÆG <i>Farmer Weathersky</i>			*		
BUSKEBRUDEN <i>The Bushy Bride</i>					*
DE TOLV VILDÆNDER <i>The Twelve Wild Ducks</i>		*			
DE TRE KONGSDØTRE SOM BLEVE INDTAGNE I BERGET or HØNEN TRIPPER I BERGET <i>The Three Princesses who were Taken into the Mountain or The Hen in the Mountain</i>				*	
DE TRE MOSTRE <i>The Three Aunts</i>				*	
DE TRE KONGSDØTRE I BERGET DET BLAA <i>The Three Princesses in the Mountain-in-the-Blue</i>			*		
DE TRE PRINSESSER I HVITTENLAND <i>The Three Princesses of Whiteland</i>				*	
DEN GRØNNE RIDDER <i>The Green Knight</i>					
DEN RETFÆRDIGE FIRSKILLING <i>The Honest Penny</i>					*
DET BLÅ BÅNDET <i>The Blue Belt</i>					
DET HAR INGEN NØD MED DEN SOM ALLE KVINNFOLK ER GLAD I <i>He whom Women Love, Suffers no Need</i>					
ENKESØNNEN <i>The Widow's Son</i>					
FISKERSØNNENE <i>The Fisherman's Sons</i>					
FUGL DAM <i>Big Bird Dan</i>		*			
FØLGESVENDEN <i>The Companion</i>			*		
GRIMSBORKEN <i>Dapplegrim</i>					*
GULDFUGLEN <i>The Golden Bird</i>	*				
GULLFELA <i>The Golden Fiddle</i>					
GUTTEN SOM GJORDE SEG TIL LØVE, FALK OG MAUR <i>The Lad who Turned Himself into a Lion, a Falcon, and an Ant</i>					
GUTTEN SOM SKULLE TJENE TRE ÅR UTEN LØNN <i>The Lad who was to Take Service without Pay for Three Years</i>					
GUTTEN SOM VILDE FRI TIL DATTER TIL MOR I KROGEN <i>The Lad who Wanted to Propose to the Wife's Daughter</i>			*		
HERREPER <i>Squire Per</i>	*				
HÅKEN BORKENSKJEGG <i>Håkon Grizzlebeard</i>					
IKKE KJØRENDE OG IKKE RIDENDE <i>Not Driving and not Riding</i>					
JOMFRU MARIA SOM GUDMOR <i>Virgin Mary as Godmother</i>				*	
KARI TRÆSTAKK <i>Katie Woodenskirt</i>				*	
KJÆRESTEN I SKOGEN <i>Lovers in the Woods</i>					
KRAMBUGUTTEN MED GAMMELOSTLASTEN <i>The Grocer's Boy who Went to Sell Cheese</i>					
KVITEBJØRN KONG VALEMON <i>White Bear King Valemon</i>					
LILLEKORT <i>Shortshanks</i>					*
LURVEHÆTTE <i>Tatterhood</i>					*
MANDDATTEREN OG KJÆRRINGDATTEREN <i>The Two Step-Sisters</i>	*				

	1883	1884	1887	1909	1910
MESTERMØ <i>The Master Maid</i>					
RIKE PER KRÆMMER <i>Rich Peter the Pedlar</i>					*
SORIA MORIA SLOT <i>Soria Moria Castle</i>		*			
STORE-PER OG VESLE-PER <i>Big Peter and Little Peter</i>					
TOBAKKSGUTTEN <i>The Tobacco-Boy</i>					
TRO OG UTRO <i>True and Untrue</i>					*
VENNER I LIV OG DØD <i>Friends in Life and Death</i>					
VESLE ÅSE GÅSEPIKE <i>Little Åse the Goose-girl</i>					
ØSTENFOR SOL OG VESTENFOR MÅNE <i>East of the Sun and West of the Moon</i>					

Ib. Magic tales with Askeladden:	1883	1884	1887	1909	1910
ASKELOADDEN OG DE GODE HJÆLPERNE <i>The Ash Lad and the Good Helpers</i>		*			
DE SYV FOLERNE <i>The Seven Foals</i>				*	
DUKKEN I GRÆSET <i>The Doll in the Grass</i>	*				
GJETE KONGENS HÆRER <i>Minding the King's Hares</i>					
GULLSLOTTET SOM HANG I LUFTEN <i>The Golden Castle that Hung in the Air</i>					
JOMFRUEN PÅ GLASBERGET <i>The Maid on the Glass Hill</i>				*	
ASKELOADDEN SOM STJAL SØLVÆNDERNE, SENGETEPPET, OG GULDHARPEN TIL TROLLET <i>The Ash Lad who Stole the Troll's Silver Ducks</i>				*	
RISEN SOM IKKE HADDE NOE HJERTET PÅ SEG <i>The Giant who Had no Heart</i>					
PER OG PAAL OG ESPEN ASKELOADD <i>Per, Paul and Espen the Ash Lad</i>				*	
RØDREV OG ASKELOADDEN <i>The Ash Lad and the Red Fox</i>					
TRE SITRNER <i>Three Lemons</i>					
TYRIHANS SOM FIKK KONGSDATTEREN TIL Å LE <i>Tyrihans, Who Made the Princess Laugh</i>					

2. Humorous tales	1883	1884	1887	1909	1910
DEN SYVENDE FAR I HUSET <i>The Seventh Father of the House</i>					
DUMME MENN OG TROLL TIL KJÆRRINGER <i>Foolish Men and Scolding Wives</i>					
EN FRIERHISTORIE <i>A-Wooing</i>					*
GALE-MATTIS <i>Mad Mattis</i>					
GISKE <i>Giske</i>					
"GOD DAG, MANN!" "ØKSESKAFT!" <i>"Good Day, Fellow!" "Axe Handle!"</i>					
GUDBRAND I LIEN <i>Gudbrand on the Hill-side</i>		*			
GUTTEN SOM VILLE BLI HANDELSKAR <i>The Lad Who Wanted to Become a Merchant</i>					
HAN FAR SJØL I STUA <i>Father Himself in the House</i>	*				
HERREMANDBRUDEN <i>The Squire's Bride</i>	*				
HAARSLAA SOM ALDRIG VILDE HJEM GAA <i>Hairlock, who Would Never go Home</i>			*		
KJÆRRINGEN MOD STRØMMEN <i>The Old Woman against the Stream</i>	*				
KJETTEN PAA DOVRE <i>The Cat on Dovre Mountain</i>				*	
KJETTA SOM VAR SÅ FÆL TIL Å ETE <i>The Cat who was Such a Terrible Glutton</i>					
KLOKKEREN I BYGDA VÅR <i>The Town Sexton</i>					
MANNEN SOM SKULLE STELLE IJEMME <i>The Husband who was to Mind the House</i>					
MESTERTYVEN <i>The Master Thief</i>					
GUTTEN SOM GIKK TIL NORDENVINDEN OG KREVDE IGJEN MELET <i>The Lad who went to the North Wind to Reclaim his Flour</i>					
PANNEKAKEN <i>The Pancake</i>					
PÅL ANDRESTUA <i>Paul Andrestua</i>					
PEIK <i>Peik</i>					
SJU ÅR GAMMAL GRAUT <i>Seven Year-old Porridge</i>					
SKRINET MED DET RARE I <i>The Box with the Funny Thing in it</i>					
SMØRBUK <i>Buttercup</i>	*				
SOMME KJÆRRINGER ER SLIGE <i>All Women are Alike</i>	*				
STABURSNØGELEN I ROKKEHOVEDET <i>The Key in the Distaff</i>			*		
TOMMELITEN <i>Tom Thumb</i>					*
"TSJU PUS, VIL DU NED AV BORDET!" <i>"Shoo, Pussy! Come Down from the Table!"</i>					
VESLEFRIK MED FELEN <i>Little Freddie with his Fiddle</i>			*		

2b. Humorous tales with Askeladden	1883	1884	1887	1909	1910
ASKELOADDEN SOM FIKK PRINSESSEN TIL Å LØGSTE SEG <i>The Ash Lad who Outwitted the Princess</i>					
ASKELOADDEN SOM KAPAAD MED TROLDDET <i>The Ash Lad who had an Eating Match with the Troll</i>	*				
PRINDESSEN SOM INGEN KUNDE MAALBINDE <i>The Princess who Always had to have the Last Word</i>			*		
SPURNINGER <i>Questions</i>					

2c. Humorous tales with religious characters	1883	1884	1887	1909	1910
EN PRESTEHISTORIE <i>The Story of a Priest</i>					
FANDEN OG FUTEN <i>The Devil and the Bailiff</i>					
GUTTEN MED ØLDUNKEN <i>The Lad with the Beer Keg</i>			*		
KULLBRENNEREN <i>The Charcoal Burner</i>					
MUMLE GÅSEGG <i>Rumble-Mumble Goose-Egg</i>					
GUTTEN OG FANDEN <i>The Lad and the Devil</i>					
PRESTEN OG KLOKKEREN <i>The Parson and the Sexton</i>					
PRESTENS MOR <i>The Priest's Mother</i> <i>PCA</i>					
PRESTEPØLSE <i>The Priest's Sausage</i>					
SKIPPEREN OG GAMLE-ERIK <i>The Skipper and Old Nick</i>					
SMEDEEN SOM DE IKKE TORDE SLIPPE INN I HELVETE <i>The Smith They Dared not Let into Hell</i>					

3. Explanatory and religious tales	1883	1884	1887	1909	1910
GJERTRUDSFUGLEN <i>The Woodpecker</i> Explanatory	*				
JOMFRU MARIA OG SVALEN <i>Virgin Mary and the Swallow</i> Explanatory		*			
KVÆRNEREN SOM STAAR OG MALER PAA HAVSENS BUND <i>The Mill that Grinds at the Bottom of the Sea</i> Explanatory	*				
VÅRHERRER OG ST. PEDER PÅ VANDRING <i>Our Lord and St. Peter a-Travelling</i> Religious					

4. Animal Tales	1883	1884	1887	1909	1910
BAMSE BRAKAR <i>Brakar the Bear</i>					
BJØRNEN OG REVEN <i>The Bear and the Fox</i> 1. Hvorfor bjørnen er stubbrumpet <i>Why the Bear is Stumpy-tailed</i> 2. Reven snyter bjørnen for julekosten <i>The Fox Cheats the Bear of his Christmas Dinner</i>					*
BJØRNEN OG RÆVEN <i>The Fox and the Bear</i> 1. Slip Granrod og tag i Rævefod <i>Let go of the Root and Catch Reynard's Foot</i> 2. De vædde om Flesk og Humlebol <i>They're Betting on Pork and a Bees-Nest</i> 3. De skulle have Ager i Sameie <i>They Wanted Joint Ownership of the Field</i> 4. Mikkel vilde smage hestekjød <i>When Reynard Wanted to Taste Horsemeat</i>		*			
BJØRNEN SOM SKULLE TIL DOVRE <i>The Bear Who was to Go to Dovre</i>					
DE TRE BUKKENE BRUSE SOM SKULLE GÅ TIL SETERS OG GJØRE SEG FETE <i>The Three Billy-Goats Who Went to Pasture to Get Fat</i>					
GRISEN OG LEVEMAATEN HANS <i>The Pig's Lifestyle</i>				*	
HANEN, GJØKEN, OG AARIHANEN <i>The Cock, the Cuckoo, and the Black-Cock</i>				*	
HANEN OG HØNEN <i>The Cock and the Hen</i>				*	
HANEN OG HØNEN I NØTTESKOGEN <i>The Cock and the Hen in the Hazelwood</i>					*
HANEN OG RÆVEN <i>The Cock and the Fox</i>		*			
HANEN SOM FALDT I BRYGGEKARRET <i>The Hen Who Fell Into the Brewing Tub</i>		*			
HAREN SOM HAVDE VÆRET GIFT <i>The Hare who had been Married</i>	*				
HJEMMUSEN OG FJELDMUSEN <i>The House Mouse and the Country Mouse</i>		*			
HVER SYNES BEDST OM SINE BØRN <i>One's Own Children are always Prettiest</i>	*				
HØNEN SOM SKULDE TIL DOVREFJELD, FORAT IKKE ALVERDEN SKULDE FORGAA <i>The Hen Who was to go to the Dovre Mountain to Save the World</i>	*				
REVE-ENKEN <i>The Fox's Widow</i>				*	
RÆVEN SOM GJÆTER <i>The Fox as Herdsman</i>	*				
VEL GJORT OG ILDE LØNNET <i>Well Done and Ill Paid</i>		*			
VERDEN LØNNER IKKE ANDERLEDES <i>Such is the World's Reward</i>			*		
VÆDEREN OG GRISEN, SOM SKULDE TILSKOVS OG BO FOR SIG SELV <i>The Ram and the Pig Who Went into the Woods to Live by Themselves</i>	*				

5. "Framed" tales and legends	1883	1884	1887	1909	1910
BERTHE TUPPENHAUGS FORTELLINGER or EN SIGNEKJÆRRINGS FORTÆLLINGER <i>Berthe Tuppenhaug's Stories or A Wise-Woman's Stories</i>					
EKEBERGKJØRERNE <i>The Ekeberg Drivers</i>					
EKEBERGKONGEN <i>The Ekeberg King</i>					
EN AFTEN I NABOGÅRDEN <i>An Evening at the Neighbour's Farm</i>					
EN AFTEN VED ANDELVEN <i>An Evening at the River And</i>					
EN AFTENSTUND I ET PROPRIETÆRKJØKKEN <i>An Evening in the Squire's Kitchen</i>					
EN GAMMELDAGS JULEAFTEN <i>An Old-Fashioned Christmas Eve</i>					
EN HALLING MED KVANNEROT <i>A Man from Halling with Angelica Root</i>					
EN NATT I NORDMARKEN <i>A Night in Nordmarken</i>					
EN SIGNEKJERRING <i>A Wise-Woman</i>					
EN SOMMERNATT PÅ KROKSKOGEN <i>A Summer Night in the Krok Forest</i>					
EN TIURLEIK I HOLLEIA <i>The Mating Game of the Wood Grouse at Holleia</i>					
EN VESTLANDSK SKOVDAL <i>A Forest Valley in the West</i>					
FRA FJELLET OG SETEREN <i>Stories from Mountain and Pasture</i>					
FRA SOGNEFJORDEN <i>From Sognefjord</i>					
GRAVERENS FORETELLINGER <i>The Sexton's Stories</i>					
HULDREÆTT <i>The Troll Lineage</i>					
HØYFJELLSBILLEDER <i>Pictures from the Mountain</i>					
1. En søndagskveld til seters <i>A Sunday Evening at the Pasture</i>					
2. Rensdyrjakt ved Rondane <i>Hunting Reindeer at Rondane</i>					
JULEBESØK I PRESTEGÅRDEN <i>A Christmas Visit to the Vicarage</i>					
JUTULEN OG JOHANNES BLESSOM <i>The Giant and John Blessom</i>					
KVERNSAGN <i>Mill Legends</i>					
LUNDEÆTTEN <i>The Lund Lineage</i>					
MATTHIAS SKYTTERS HISTORIER <i>Matthias's Shooting Stories</i>					
PLANKEKJØRERNE <i>The Timber Drivers</i>					
SMÅGUTTENE SOM TRAFF TROLLENE PÅ HEDALSSKOGEN <i>The Boys who Met the Trolls in the Hedal Woods</i>					
TATERE <i>Gypsies</i>					
TIL HAVS: To Sea					
1. Makrelldorg <i>The Mackrell Trolls</i>					
2. Skarvene fra Utrøst <i>The Ut-Røst Cormorants</i>					
3. Tuftefolk på Sandflesa <i>During the Christmas Holidays: Goblins at Sandfles or</i>					
I RUMHÆLGEN: Tuftefolk på Sandflesa <i>During the Christmas Holidays: Goblins at Sandfles</i>					

4. På høyden av Aleksandria <i>On the Heights of Alexandria</i>					
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The following table has been prepared to allow the reader to identify, at a glance, in which years each of the five editions of the children's version of *NE* were republished.

1883, 1884, 1887 are collections I, II, III of the main series. 1909 and 1910 are separate collections. For the children's editions, these tale selections have remained constant throughout.

	1883	1884	1887	1909	1910
1883	*				
1884		*			
1887			*		
1898	*				
1903i		*			
1903ii			*		
1905					
1906	*	*	*		
1908i	*				
1908ii		*			
1908iii			*		
1908iv	*	*	*		
1909				*	
1910i				*	
1910ii					*
1915				*	
1917i	*	*	*		
1917ii				*	
1917iii	*				
1917iv		*			
1919i				*	
1919ii					*
1920				*	
1921					*
1922i	*				
1922ii					*
1923i		*			
1923ii			*		
1923iii				*	
1927i					*
1927ii					*
1930				*	
1939					*

BIBLIOGRAPHY PART 1. PRIMARY SOURCES

Part 1 of the Bibliography is divided into the following sections:

I. TALES PUBLISHED JOINTLY BY P. CHR. ASBJØRNSEN AND JØRGEN MOE

- a. Collections*
- b. Asbjørnsen and Moe's joint publications for children*
- c. NF folktales by Asbjørnsen and Moe in limited selections*

II. TALES PUBLISHED SEPARATELY BY P. CHR. ASBJØRNSEN:

- a. Collections*
- b. P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's publications for children*
- c. P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's NF folktales in limited selections*
- d. Other folktales, not included in the NF collections or selections, translated or collected/written by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen*

III. OTHER PUBLICATIONS BY JØRGEN MOE: TRAVEL DESCRIPTIONS, FOLK BALLADS, POETRY AND PROSE, SELECTED WORKS

IV. SELECTED TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH

V. OTHER NORWEGIAN FOLK NARRATIVE COLLECTIONS

VI. OTHER EUROPEAN FOLK NARRATIVE COLLECTIONS

I. TALES PUBLISHED JOINTLY BY P. CHR. ASBJØRNSEN AND JØRGEN MOE

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P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1914, Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke-Utgave, eighth edition, edited by Moltke Moe and preface by Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania (two versions of Folke-utgaven were published in 1914, one in 2 volumes and one in a single volume)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1928, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke og Huldre-Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave. Første Bind and P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke og Huldre Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave. Andet Bind, edited by Jan Jørgen Alnæs and Knut Liestøl, 2 vols. (2 vols. in 1), Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1928, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Eventyr, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, vol. 5 in the series *Norges Nasjonallitteratur*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1932, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke og Huldre-Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave. Første Bind, vol. 1 and P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Folke og Huldre-Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave. Annet Bind, vol 2 (2 vols. in 1), Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1936, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Samlede Eventyr. Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave, 3 vols., Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo

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P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1936, Norske Folkeeventyr. Av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe, Mittet & Co., Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1939, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Eventyr. Illustrert av norske kunstnere, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1940, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Samlede Eventyr. Jubileumsutgave 1840-1940. Norske kunstneres billedutgave, 3 vols., Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1941, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Eventyr. Med illustrasjoner av norske kunstnere, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1982, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Samlede Eventyr, Bokklubben, Oslo (complete collection)

reprinted or facsimile editions:

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1948, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Av Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr i Originaltekster (1852 og 1870), edited with preface by Trygve Knudsen, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo (reprint of a selection of the NF tales from the 1852 and 1870 editions); contains six tales from P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1852, Norske Folkeeventyr samlede og fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Anden forøgede Udgave, Johan Dahls Forlag, Christiania and P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1870, Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Tredje Udgave, P. F. Steensballes Forlag, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1994, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Jørgen Moe. Norske Folkeeventyr, Damms Antikvariat, Oslo (facsimile edition of NF 1883-1884), afterward by Henning Ostberg

Ib. Asbjørnsen and Moe's joint publications for children

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1883, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. I, first collection, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag (F. Hegel & Søn), Copenhagen (second two volumes in this series - 1884 II and 1887 III - by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen alone)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1898, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Andet Oplag. I, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen (second and third volumes of this series - 1903 II and III - by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen alone)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1905, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Andet Oplag, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1906, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Norske Folkeeventyr. Eventyrbog for Børn, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1908, Eventyrbok for Børn. Norske folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. I Samling. Tredie Oplag, first collection, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen (second two volumes in this series - 1908 II and III - by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen alone), in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede Eventyr*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1908, Eventyrbok for Børn. Norske folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. I Samling. Tredie Oplag. Eventyrbok for Børn. Norske folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. II Samling. Tredie Oplag and Eventyrbok for Børn. Norske folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. III Samling. Tredie Oplag (3 vols. in 1 vol. = collections I-III of the main series), edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede Eventyr*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1909, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania

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P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1910, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania (four printings in 1910, in 1-2000, 3000, 4000, and 5000 copies):

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1910, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania (3rd 1000)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1910, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania (4th 1000)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1910, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania (5th 1000)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1915, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1917, Eventyrbog for børn. Norske folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe, special selected republication of the NF "Hundredearsudgaven" (1911), edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1917, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe I, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1917, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe II, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen

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P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1919, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania

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P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1921, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye barne-eventyr. Landsmålsutgave, edited by Moltke Moe, *landsmål* version revised by Knut Liestøl, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1922, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1922, Eventyrbok for barn. Norske folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. I. Samling. Sjette Oplag, first collection, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Christiania (second two volumes in this series - 1923 I and II - by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen alone) in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede Eventyr*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1923, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Barne-eventyr. Femte Oplag, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1927, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Nye barne-eventyr, edited by Moltke Moe, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo

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P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1962, Norske Folke og Huldreeventyr Ed. Ernst Sørensen, Riksmålsforbundet, Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1978, Samlede Eventyr (3 vols.), Norske Kunstneres Billedutgave, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo (first published in 1928 with main Introduction by Moltke Moe)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1982, Samlede Eventyr (2 vols.), Den Norske Bokklubben, Oslo

Ic. NF folktales by Asbjørnsen and Moe in limited selections

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1846 (postdated 1847), "Smeden, som de ikke turde slippe ind i Helvede" and "Han Fa'er sjøl i Stua" in *Norsk Folke-Kalender for 1847* (published in 1846)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1873, "Gutten og Fanden" in *Gutten og Fanden af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe's Folkeeventyr*, P. F. Steensballes Boghandel, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1915, "Espen Askelad", "Tyrihans" and "Soria Moria Slot" in *Espen Askelad :: Tyrihans :: Soria Moria Slot. Tekster til Eventyrleker*. Asbjørnsen og Moe. Norske Folke-Eventyr, Mittet & Co., Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1915, "De tre bukkene Bruse" in *Hans og Grethe - Rødhætte - De Tre Bukkene Bruse. Tekster til Eventyrleker*. Asbjørnsen og Moe. Norske Folke-Eventyr, Mittet & Co., Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1934, "Om Askeladden som stjal trollets sølvender, sengeteppe og gullbeger", "Væren og grisen som skulle til skogs og bo for sig selv" and "Mathias Skytters historier" in *Tre eventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Satt med rettskrivningen av 21. desember 1917*, private print in 10 copies printed at Reistad & Sønns Boktrykkeri, Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1919, "En gammeldags Juleaften", "Berthe Tuppenhaugs Fortællinger", "Per Gynt", "En Sommernat paa Krogskoven", "Gjertrudsfuglen", "Smeden, som de ikke torde slippe ind i Helvede", "Soria Moria Slot", "Gutten og Fanden", "Oestenfor Sol og Vestenfor Maane", "Kværnen som staar og maler paa Havsens Bund", "Han Fa'r sjøl i Stua" and "Kjærringen mod Strømmen" in *P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Jørgen Moe. Norske Folke- og Huldreeventyr*, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Christiania, published in the series *Skoleutgaver av norske forfattere*, series editor Joh. Hertzberg

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1936, "De tre bukkene Bruse", "Jomfru Maria som gudmor", "Pannekagen", "Den rettfærdige firskilling", "Veslefrikk med fela", "Gutten og fanden", "Gutten som gikk til nordenvinden", "Tro og utro", "Jomfruen på glassberget", "Ikke kjørende og ikke ridende", "Smørbukk" and "Kvernen som står og maler på havets bunn" in *Asbjørnsen og Moe. 12 eventyr*, N. W. Damm & Søn, Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1937, "Høna som skulle til Dovrefjell, så ikke all verda skulle forgåst", "Då reven var gjetar", "Reven og bjørnen", "Hanan og reven", "Heimmusa og fjellmusa", "Hanan, gauken og orren", "Dei tre bukkene Bruse som skulle på setra og gjera seg feite", "Så løner dei god-gjerningar", "Han far sjøl i stua", "Grisen og levemåten hans", "Kvar synest best om sine born", "Høna trippar i berget", "Smørbukk", "Smeden som dei ikkje torde sleppa inn i helvete", "Gutten med øldunken", "Kvitebjørn kong Valemon", "Den grøne riddaren" and "Dei tolv villendene" in *Eventyr ved Asbjørnsen, Moe, Vang, Aasen, Ross, Løland o.fl. II: Eventyr, nynorsk version revised and edited by Knut Liestøl*, Det norske samlaget, Oslo, in the series *Norsk Folkediktning*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, 1939, *Asbjørnsen og Moe. Soria Moria slott og andre eventyr, nynorsk version revised and edited by Knut Liestøl*, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo

II. TALES PUBLISHED SEPARATELY BY P. CHR. ASBJØRNSEN:

a. Collections

Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn:

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1845, Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Første Samling, first collection (no publisher given; published at Asbjørnsen's own expense), Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1848, Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Anden Samling, second collection, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1859, Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. I. Anden forøgede Udgave, second enlarged edition, P. F. Steensballes Forlag, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1866, Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Anden Samling. Anden forøgede Udgave, second collection and second enlarged edition, P. F. Steensballes Forlag, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1870, Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Tredje Udgave, P. F. Steensballe, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1871, Norske Folke-Eventyr, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Ny Samling. (Med bidrag fra JØRGEN MOES Reiser og Optegnelser), new collection with contributions from Jørgen Moe, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1876, Norske Folke-Eventyr, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Ny Samling. (Med Bidrag fra JØRGEN MOE'S Reiser og Optegnelser). Anden Udgave, second edition, Gyldendalske Boghandel (F. Hegel), Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1879, Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr i Udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, first edition, new collection, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag (F. Hegel & Søn), Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1896, Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr. I Udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1906, Udvalgte folkeeventyr. Ny samling, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede eventyr*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1907 (postdated from 1906), Udvalgte folkeeventyr. Ny Samling, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede eventyr*; republished the same year as:

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1907 (postdated from 1906), Udvalgte folkeeventyr. Ny Samling, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede eventyr*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1907, Udvalgte folkeeventyr. Første Samling - Andet Oplag. I and Udvalgte folkeeventyr. Første Samling - Andet Oplag. II, 2 vols. (2 vols. in 1), edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede eventyr*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1909-1910, Norske folke- og huldre-eventyr i udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Tredie Oplag. I-IV, 4 vols. bound in one, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen (vol. 1:1909, vol. 2:1909, vol. 3:1909, vol. 4:1910)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1909-1913, Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr i Udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen I-IV, 4 vols. bound in one, edited by Moltke Moe Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1914, Norske Folke-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Ny Samling. Med bidrag av Jørgen Moes reiser og optegnelser. Tredie Udgave, third edition, edited by Moltke Moe and Anders Krogvig, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1914, Asbjørnsen og Moe. Norske Huldreeventyr og Norske Folkeeventyr. Folke-Utgave. Bind I Norske Huldreeventyr: Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn fortalte av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Fjerde Udgave, edited by Moltke Moe and Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania (vol. II joint Asbjørnsen and Moe)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1932, Norske huldre-eventyr og folke-sagn, based on the revisions by Moltke Moe and Anders Krogvig of 1914, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1934, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn, edited and preface by Jan Jørgen Alnæs and Knut Liestøl, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo

Iib. P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's publications for children

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1884, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. II, second collection, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen (first volume - and first collection - in this series by both P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1887, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. III, third collection, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen (first volume - and first collection - in this series by both P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1903, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. II. Andet Oplag, vol. 2, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen (first volume in this series by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe together)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1903, Eventyrbog for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. III. Andet Oplag, vol. 3, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1908, Eventyrbok for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. II. Samling. tredie Oplag, second collection, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen (first volume in this series - 1908 I - by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe together), in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede Eventyr*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1908, Eventyrbok for Børn. Norske Folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. III. Samling. Andet Oplag, third collection, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, Christiania and Copenhagen, in the series *P. Chr. Asbjørnsens illustrerede Eventyr*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1923, Eventyrbok for barn. Norske folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. II. Samling, second collection, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Christiania (first volume in this series - 1922 I - by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe together)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1923, Eventyrbok for barn. Norske folkeeventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. III. Samling, third collection, edited by Moltke Moe, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Christiania

IIc. P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's NF folktales - limited selection

(contents given for NF and non-NF tales in each edition)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen (1833 but probably 1835, see Östberg, 1994), "*Solia*" (later entitled "*Jomfru Maria som Gudmor*", "*Smørbald*" (later entitled "*Smørbukk*") and "*Kari Træstak*" in Norske Børne-Eventyr samlede af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen beg. 8. 2. 1833, unpublished note-book

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1838 (postdated from 1837), "*Spillemanden*", "*Rønnau Skau*", "*Huldrebruden*", "*Hedals Kirke i Valdres*", "*Egebergkongen*", "*St. Olaf paa Ringerige*", "*Mathias Skytters Historier*", "*Guldsmeden*", "*Puselodden*", "*Kari Træstakk*", "*Dug bred dig ud! Buk gjør Penge! Kjæp slaae paa!*" and "*Somme Kjærringer ere slige!*" in Nor, en Billedbog for den norske Ungdom. Indeholdende: Store og gode Handlinger af Nordmænd; Norske Folkesagn og Eventyr, Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1843, Nor, en Billedbog for den norske Ungdom. Indeholdende: Store og gode Handlinger af Nordmænd; Norske Folkeeventyr og Sagn, second edited edition, Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, Christiania (contains the same tales as Nor 1837 with the omission of "*Rønnau Skau*", "*Huldrebruden*", "*Egebergkongen*", "*St. Olaf paa Ringerige*" and "*Guldsmeden*", and the addition of "*Sæterjenten paa Melbustad*" and "*Kløverhans*")

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1844, En særdeles munter og underholdende Historie om Huusmandssønden, der blev en saa udspekulert Skjælm, for ved Prøver i sin Kunst at faae Amtmandens Datter til Kone at han ei alene stjal Stegen af Spiddet hos hendes Hr. Fader og alt Guld og Sølv fra Præsten Hr. Lars, samt 12 Heste, medens Rytterne sad paa dem, men tillige Særken af Kroppen paa Amtmandens Frue, det gjorde den Hallunk, m.m., som denne lystige Historie indeholder. [Avtrykk av Mestertyven fortalt av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen] (later entitled "*Mestertyven*"), copy published by Jacob Behrend, Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1847, "*En Signekjærring*" in En Signekjærring. I: Hjemmet og Vandringer. "En Aarvog for 1847, published by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1850, "*Gutten, som skulde frie til Datter til Moer i Krogen*", "*Om en Gut, som gjæted en Gjed, som hedte Haarslaa, som ikke vilde hjem gaae til rette Kveldsverdstid*", "*Gutten, som byggede Bro, og som gjorde Alt det Moer hans bad ham*", "*Tyrihans, som fik Kongsdatteren til at lee*", "*Guldfæbla*", "*Bjørnen og Ræven*", "*Guldfuglen*", "*Smaagutterne, som mødte Troldene paa Hedalsskoven*" and "*Skrinet med det Rare i*" in Juletræet for 1850. En samling af norske Folke- og Børne-Eventyr, fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, A. Dzwonkowskis Forlag, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1851, Ydale. Et Vinterskrift. Udgivet af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. I, Feilberg & Landmerkes Forlag, Christiania (2 legends)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1851, "*Julereisen*", "*De Underjordiskes Gudstjeneste*", "*Om Eventyrenes og Sagnenes Oprindelse*", "*Underjordisk Hævn og Hilselod*", "*Kirken paa Brattebjergmoen*", "*Spurninger eller Gaader*", "*Askeladden, som skulde bygge Skib, der gik baade Land og Vand*", "*Gutten, som skabte sig til Løve, Falk og Myre*", "*Tuftefolket paa Sandflæsen*" and "*Tre Troldkjærringer og en Youngmand*" in Juletræet for 1851. Norske Eventyr og Folke-Sagn fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, A. Dzwonkowskis Forlag, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1852, "*På Høiden af Alexandria*" and "*I Aegypten*" in Jule-Træet for 1852. Nogle norske Folkesagn i Erindringer fra en Reise til ægypten, af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, A. Dzwonkowskis Forlag, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1853, "*Præstepølse*" and "*Præstens Moder*" in Norsk illustrert Kalender (1853)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1854, "*Tre Citroner, et Eventyr*" in Norsk Illustrert Kalender (1854)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1855, "*Guldslottet, som hang i Luften, et Eventyr, ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen*", "*Hanen, som faldt i Bryggekearet, en Børnerægle, ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen*" and "*Følgesvenden, et Eventyr, ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen*" in Norsk illustrert Kalender (1855)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1865, "Somme Kjærringer ere slige", "Dug bred dig ud! Buk gjør Penge! Kjæp slaae paa", "Puselodden", "Kari Træstak", "Kløverhans", "Mathias Skytters Historier", "Spillemanden", "Hedals Kirke i Valdres" and "Sæterjenten paa Melbustad" in Nor, en Billedbog for den norske Ungdom. Indeholdende: Store og gode Handlinger af Nordmænd; norske Folkeeventyr og Sagn, N. W. Damm, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1866, "Verden lønner ikke anderledes" in Verden lønner ikke anderledes. Norske Folkeæventyr ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. I: Fortællinger og Vers for Store og Smaa, Chr. Richardt and G. Røde, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1866, "Hanen og Ræven" in Hanen og Ræven, norsk folkeeventyr, af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. I: "Vintergrønt". Nye Fortællinger og Digte, danske, norske og svenske udgivne af Chr. Richardt, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1866, "Hjemmusen og Fjeldmusen", "'Goddag Mand!' - 'Økseskaft.'", "Hanen og Ræven", "Verden lønner ikke anderledes", "Mumle Gaaseæg", "Veslefrik med Felen", "Gjæte Kongens Harer", "Krambodguten med Gammelostlasten", "Følgesvenden", "Peik", "Kjætten som var saa fæl til at æde", "Hanen som faldt i Bryggekarret", "Pandekagen" and "Gutten med Oldunken" in Juletræet 1866. Norske Folke- og Børne-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, Jacob Dybwads Forlag, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1866, Juletræet 1866. Norske Folke- og Børne-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania (second printing, contents as in first 1866 edition)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1866, Juletræet 1866. Norske Folke- og Børne-Eventyr fortalte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania (third printing, contents as in first and second 1866 editions)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1879, "Veslefrikk med Felen." Af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, H.L. Brækstad/Alb. Cammermeyer, Christiania, in the series *Alb. Cammermeyers Serie af nye Billedbøger*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1879, "Gutten, som gik til Nordenvinden paa Krav." Af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, H.L. Brækstad/Alb. Cammermeyer, Christiania, in the series *Alb. Cammermeyers Serie af nye Billedbøger*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1879, "Pandekagen." Af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, H.L. Brækstad/Alb. Cammermeyer, Christiania, in the series *Alb. Cammermeyers Serie af nye Billedbøger*

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1879, "Pandekagen", "Gutten, som gik til Nordenvinden paa Krav" and "Veslefrik med Felen" in Nordisk Eventyrskat, edited by R. T. Pritchett and Clifford Merton, H. L. Brækstad/Alb. Cammermeyer, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1879-1880, "Smeden, som de ikke torde slippe ind i Helvede", "De tre Bukkene Bruse", and "Manden som skulde stelle Hjemme" in Illustrert Tidende. Skildringer af Nutidens Begivenheder og Personligheder af videnskabelige, kunstneriske og industrielle Frembringelser samt Fortællinger, Reisebeskrivelser m.m.: Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr i Udvalg ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen (vol. XXI-1879/1880, no. 1045)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1880-1881, "Fiskersønnerne", "Vorherre og St. Peder paa Vandring" and "En Præstehistorie" in Ude og Hjemme. Nordisk Illustrert Ugeblad. 4: Norsk Folkediktning. Meddelt af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen (1880/1881, no. 205)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1883, "Fiskersønnerne", "Vorherre og St. Peder paa Vandring" and "En Præstehistorie" in Dybwads Illustrerede Folkekalender for 1882 (published in 1883)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1883-1884, "Herremandsbruden. Aeventyr af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen" in Ude og Hjemme. Nordisk Illustrert Ugeblad (vol.7-1883/1884, no. 317)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1883-1884, "Kjærringen mod Strømmen. Fortalt af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen" in Illustrert Tidende. Skildringer af Nutidens Begivenheder og Personligheder af videnskabelige, kunstneriske og industrielle Frembringelser samt Fortællinger, Reisebeskrivelser m.m. (vol. XXV-1883/1884, no. 1258)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1886-1887, "Dumme Mænd og Trold til Kjærringer. Norsk Folkeeventyr ved P. Chr. Asbjørnsen" in *Nordstjernen. Illustrert Ugeblad* (1886-1887)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1896, "Manden som skulde stelle Hjemme. Af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1909, Mestertyven. En særdeles munter og underholdende Historie om Husmandssønden, der blev en saa udspekulert Skjælm, for ved Prøver i sin Kunskaab faa Amtmandens Datter til Kone, at han ei alene stjal Stegen af Spiddet hos hendes Hr. Fader og alt Guld og Sølv fra Præsten, Hr. Lars samt 12 Heste, medens Rytterne sad paa dem, men tillige Særken af Kroppen paa Amtmandens Frue, det gjorde denne Hallunk m. m., som denne lystige Historie indeholder (later entitled "Mestertyven"), Bogtr. Ellewsen, Trondheim

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1921, Peik. Eventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, published by Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag on commission for the Peik chocolate factory, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1921, Peik. Eventyr av P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, edited by Moltke Moe, *landsmål* version by Knut Liestøl, Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, Copenhagen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1922, "Hanan og Ræven", "Bjørnen og Ræven", "Bamse Brakar", "Manden som skulde stelle hjemme", "Gjæte kongens harer", "Kjærringa mot Strømmen", "Præsten og klokkeren", "De tre Bukkene Bruse", "Ræven som gjæter" and "Skrinet med det rare i" in *Norske Hjem 1922: Norske folkeeventyr i billeder med tekst efter tegninger av Jan Lunde*

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Ild. Other folktales, not included in the NF collections or selections, translated or collected/written by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1838 (postdated 1839), "Kløverhans" in P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. Billed-Magazin for Børn, [], Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1839, "Utaknemmlighed er Verdens Løn" (pamphlet) Christiania

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P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1851, Juletrold, udvalgte Folke- og Børne-Eventyr, oversatte af P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, A. Dzwonkowskis Forlag, Christiania (nine German and Danish folktales translated by Asbjørnsen, two of which are from Grimms' KHM)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1860, Eventyr fra fremmede Lande. Fornemmelig efter Asbjørnsen og Grässe's "Nord und Süd", P. F. Steensballe, Christiania (Asbjørnsen's translations from German of 20 international folktales from Grässe's collection "Nord und Süd", two from the Grimms' KHM, none of them Norwegian, with a short preface by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen)

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1864, De tre Bjørne eller Besøget i Bjørnестuen. Et Eventyr (translation of "The Three Little Bears"), P. F. Steensballe, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1874, Gutten med 15 Mils Støvleme, Eventyr-Geografi af Espen Askelad. Professor paa Maldiverne, P. T. Mallings Boghandels Forlag, Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1920, "Eventyr fra fremmede land. Væsentlig efter P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og Dr. Grässe's "Nord und Süd"", P. F. Steensballes Bokhandels Eftg., Christiania

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1925, De tre bjørnene eller besøket i bjørnestua. Et eventyr. P. F. Steensballes Boghandels Eftg., Oslo

III. OTHER PUBLICATIONS BY JØRGEN MOE: TRAVEL DESCRIPTIONS, FOLK BALLADS, POETRY AND PROSE:

Moe, Jørgen, 1840, En samling folkesanger og stev fra det norske folkemaalet, [no publisher given], Christiania

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Moe, Jørgen, 1851, "I brønden kjærnet" in *Smaahistorier for børn 1851*

Moe, Jørgen, 1858, Gamle Norske Folke Ballader (later completed by Moltke Moe and Knut Liestøl), [unfinished collection, no publisher], Christiania

Moe, Jørgen, 1885, "Om Fortællermaaden af Eventyr og Sagn" in *Den Constitutionelle* (1885)

Moe, Jørgen, 1914, Samlede Skrifter. Hundredeaarsudgaven I and Samlede Skrifter. Hundredeaarsudgaven II (2 vols. in 1) Ed. Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania

Moe, Jørgen, 1915, Fra det nasjonale gjennombruds tid: breve fra Jørgen Moe til P. Chr. Asbjørnsen og andre Ed. Anders Krogvig, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Christiania

IV. SELECTED TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH

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Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1859, Popular Tales from the Norse. By George Webbe Dasent, translated with an introductory essay by Sir George Webbe Dasent, Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1859, Popular Tales from the Norse. By George Webbe Dasent, translated with an introductory essay by Sir George Webbe Dasent, D. Appleton & Company, New York

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1859, Popular Tales from the Norse. By George Webbe Dasent, translated with an introductory essay by Sir George Webbe Dasent, second enlarged edition, Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1859, Popular Tales from the Norse. By George Webbe Dasent, translated with an introductory essay by Sir George Webbe Dasent, second edition, Hamilton, London

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1862, A Selection from the Norse Tales for the Use of Children. By G. W. Dasent, translated by G. W. Dasent, Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1862, Selection from Norse Tales for Children. By George Webbe Dasent, translated by G. W. Dasent, new edition, Hamilton, London

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1865, Select Popular Tales from the Norse, translated by George Webbe Dasent, new edition, Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1874, Tales from the Fjeld. A second series of popular tales, from the Norse of P. Chr. Asbjørnsen. By G. W. Dasent, author of "Tales from the Norse, etc.", translated by George Webbe Dasent, Chapman & Hall, London

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1877, Popular Tales from the Norse by George Webbe Dasent, translated with an introductory essay by George Webbe Dasent, third edition, Hamilton, London

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1879, Northern Fairy Tales. Translated from P. Chr. Asbjørnsen's Norwegian Fairy Tales and H. C. Andersen's Danish Fairy Tales by H. L. Brækstad, translated by H. L. Brækstad, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1879, Norwegian Fairy Tales by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, translated by H. L. Brækstad, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London

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Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1891, Popular Tales from the Norse by Sir George Webbe Dasent, translated with an introductory essay by George Webbe Dasent, second enlarged edition, Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh

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Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1896, Tales from the Fjeld. A series of Popular Tales from the Norse of P. Chr. Asbjørnsen by Sir George Webbe Dasent, translated by George Webbe Dasent, new edition, G. P. Putnam & Sons, New York

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1897, Fairy Tales from the Far North by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, translated by H. L. Brækstad, David Nutt, London

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1899, Fairy Tales from the Far North. By P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, translated by H. L. Brækstad, A. L. Burt Company Publishers, New York

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1903, Popular Tales from the Norse of by Sir George Webbe Dasent, translated with an introductory essay by George Webbe Dasent, new edition, David Douglas, Edinburgh

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1906, Tales for Little People. [No. 1] Princess of glass hill, and other fairy stories, translated by G. W. Dasent, edited by "Lady Kathleen", [no publisher given], London

Asbjørnsen, P. Chr. and Jørgen Moe, 1906, Tales for Little People. [No. 2] Shortshanks, The giant killer, and other fairy stories, translated by G. W. Dasent, edited by "Lady Kathleen", [no publisher given], London

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V. OTHER NORWEGIAN FOLK NARRATIVE COLLECTIONS

Bø, Olav, 1981, Norske segner: segner i utval, introduction and commentary by Olav Bø, Samlaget, Oslo

Berge, Rikard, 1909, Norsk folkedigtning: med opskrifter fra Sophus Bugges utrykte samlinger, Gyldendal, Christiania

Berge, Rikard, 1924, Norsk sogukunst: sogusgjerara og sogur. Skildringer og uppteikningar av Rikard Berge, Aschehoug, Christiania

Berge, Rikard, 1978, Magne Myhren valde ut, Noregs Boklag, Oslo, in the series *Norsk folkeminne: 4*

Braseth, Karl, 1910, Hollraøventyra, Svanøventyra: gamalt paa Sparbumaal, [no publisher given], Sparbu

Braseth, Karl, 1910, Öventyr, Sagn: gamalt paa Sparbumaal, [no publisher given], Sparbu

Christiansen, Reidar Th. (Ed.), 1964, Folktales of Norway, translated by Pat Shaw Iversen, University of Chicago Press, Chicago

Christiansen, Reidar Th., 1928, Norske Sagn, introduction by Knut Liestøl, H. Aschoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo

Christiansen, Reidar, 1946, Eventyr og sagn, Norli, Oslo

Fylling, Peder, 1942, Folkesagn, edited by Knut Liestøl, in the series *Norsk Folkeminnelags Skrifter 49*, [no publisher given], Oslo

Garborg, Arne, 1921-1925, Verker. Skriftir i samling, 7 vols., H. Aschehoug & Co., Christiania

Haukenæs, Th. S., 1884-1896, Natur, Folkeliv og Folketro i Hardanger: belyst ved Natur og Folkelivsskildringer, Eventyr, Sagn, Fortællinger osv. fra ældre og nyere tid samlet og udgivet af Th. S. Haukenæs, [no publisher given], Hardanger

Løland, Rasmus, 1895, Blodstyring og andre sogar, [no publisher given], Christiania

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Løland, Rasmus, 1905, Norsk eventyrbok. Etter uppskrifter paa folkemaalet, Det norske samlaget, Oslo

Løland, Rasmus, 1941-1942, Skrifter i samling. Forteljingar og skildringar, edited by Olav Midttun, Samlaget, Oslo

Løland, Rasmus, 1959, Kvitebjørn. Sogor, edited by Halldis Moren Vesaas, Samlaget, Oslo

Løland, Rasmus, 1961, Bjednekniven og andre soger, edited by Halldis Moren Vesaas, Samlaget, Oslo

Landstad, M. B., 1925, Norsk Folkeviser Telemarken, edited by Knut Liestøl, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard)

Liestøl, Knut, 1912, Norsk Folkeviser fra middelalderen, with introduction and commentary by Knut Liestøl and Moltke Moe, Jacob Dybwad, Christiania

Liestøl, Knut, 1920-1924, Norsk Folkevisor. Folkeutgåve, 3 vols., edited by Knut Liestøl and Moltke Moe, Dybwad, Christiania

Liestøl, Knut, 1934, Utval av norsk folkeviser til skulebruk, Dybwad, Oslo

Liestøl, Knut, 1937, Eventyr ved Asbjørnsen, Moe, Vang, Aasen, Ross, Løland o.fl., Det norske samlaget, Oslo

Liestøl, Knut, 1937, Norsk folkediktning, Noregs ungdomslag og Student-mållaget, Oslo, in the series *Norske folkeskrifter 62*

Liestøl, Knut, 1939-1959, Norsk Folkediktning. 1. Eventyr, 7 vols. (vols. 1-4 edited by Knut Liestøl, vol. 5 edited by Olav Bø and vols. 6-7 edited by Knut Liestøl and Moltke Moe; fifth edition of 1958 edited by Olav Bø and Svale Solheim), Det norske samlaget, Oslo (vol. 2 = Folkeviser, vol. 3 = Segner, vol. 4 = Rim, gåter, ordtøke, vol. 5 = Stev)

Loupedalen, Torjus, 1956, ættesoga samla og skrivi av Torjus Loupedalen, [no publisher given], Kviteseid

Lunde, Peter, 1969, Folkeminne fra Søgne, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, in the series *Norsk Folkeminnelags Skrifter*

Mauland, Torkell, 1931, Folkeminne fraa Rogaland, [no publisher given], Oslo, in the series *Norsk folkeminnelag 26*

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