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The Handwork of Folkloristic-Ethnological Knowledge: The Viewpoint of Samuli Paulaharju's Drawings

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ABSTRACT

In this article, folklore collector Samuli Paulaharju's *(1875–1944) drawings serve as a point of departure for discussing material culture from the viewpoint of ethnographic practices and visual culture. The research question is: what are the most characteristic artisanal features of Paulaharju's folkloristic drawings when the relation of folklore and material culture is concerned? Thus, the objective is to discuss how folklore-related material culture is approachable in a cross-sectional way. Therefore, the examination is based on multimodal analysis and specifically on the issue of interlacements in folklore. The analysis discovers how object, process, interior, mixed-technique, diagrammatic and copied drawings are used and how they emphasise special occasions and competences of folklore by means of, for instance, regularly presenting the main subject without background or using varied line types for several descriptive purposes. Thus, the results illustrate how drawing serves as a means of experimenting with observation and lines. Accordingly, besides folklore and folkloristic drawings, the results can be used for discussing the use of visual methods in ethnography, as well as contemporary material and visual culture.*

The article focuses on drawings made by Finnish folklore researcher and collector *Samuli Paulaharju* (1875–1944), whose materials include numerous folkloristic and ethnological drawings. Besides Finnish folklore research, i.e. *folklore studies* (folkloristics) and *ethnology*, cultural studies in general constitute a central framework for this paper. First and foremost, this implies that the discussion whirls around the issue of how the meaning of drawings is "constructed" in folklore research contexts (see Hall 1997, 1–11 and 15–64; Glassie 1999, 45). Accordingly, drawing and drawings are addressed from the stance of knowledge production, and the aim of the article is to discuss how drawings are involved with the descriptive folkloristic-ethnological knowledge production in Paulaharju's case.

The subject matter is dealt with from an ethnographic viewpoint, particularly from a "Writing Culture" stance, as the starting point is that ethnography "[. . .] describes processes of innovation and structuration, and is itself part of these processes" (Clifford 1986, 2–3). To be more specific, knowledge production, or "innovation" and "structuration", are examined especially from the standpoint of the relation between drawing and text. Hence, methodically, the study is based on social semiotic *multimodal analysis*, which is included within the "formalist" methods in visual research (Banks 2007, 47; see Barnard 2001, 166).

In a word, the methodological issues of studying material culture and folklore form the central frame of reference in this inquiry. However, as Tilley points out:

> We cannot adequately capture or express the powers of things in texts. All we may conceivably hope to do

> is to evoke. This is why experimentation with other ways of telling, in particular with exploiting media that can more adequately convey the synaesthetic qualities of things, in particular the use of imagery and film, must become of increasing importance to the study of material forms in the future. (Tilley 2001, 268.)

Therefore, the objective is to discuss "other" or cross-sectional ways (in a disciplinary ethnological-folkloristic sense) of telling folklore. Nowadays, for instance, the relationship between folkloristic (immaterial) and ethnological (material) research appears somewhat ambiguous, as not only specific discipline identities and differences between the two are recognised but also variations, interactions and collaboration between them are emphasised (see Korkiakangas et al. 2016, 14; Knuuttila 2011, 330–331; Virtanen & DuBois 2000, 17; Sääskilahti 1997).[1] However, here it is argued that Paulaharju's cross-disciplinary approach was somewhat exceptional already in those days when folklore studies and ethnology comprised more or less separate fields. For the above reasons – and also following Banks (2007, 21) – it is stressed that in order to ponder contemporary cultural research practices, it is important to consider whether there is something to learn from the history of visual methods.

Drawings and visual methods in ethnology

The concept of *drawing* is understood here as a "handmade" presentation following Lukkarinen's (2015, 27) definition (see Ingold 2010, 311, fn. 1). *Folkloristic drawings*, then, appear mostly amidst folklore-related texts and are made by folklore researchers or collectors (or artists). More generally, folkloristic drawings are produced when researchers ask their informants to draw something (see Virtanen 1972). Besides, museum collections include material objects with drawings (such as wall carvings) or photographs of them (Korhonen 1999, 323–343). In this article, however, the examination concentrates on archived drawings made by Paulaharju.

Drawings comprise a topical subject matter in folklore studies in the sense that drawings are regularly touched on rather generally and within other topics, such as "memorising maps" (Makkonen 1996), "visual folkloristics", folklore-related postcard motifs (Bregenhøj 1995), "visual riddles" (Virtanen 1970, 88–89) or "children's lore" (Virtanen 1972; for the use of folkloristic drawings more generally, see Korolainen 2014).

In ethnology, besides perspective drawings and plans, drawing is used for example for measuring purposes and, at least formerly, for copying original carved images (see Korhonen 1999, 181, 312–313, 332, 341). In ethnology, drawing served as one research method among others until the beginning of the 20th century (Kupiainen 2017, 21). To put it roughly, on the one hand there is an exhaustive history of "visual ethnology" as "[. . .] Finnish ethnologists have actually carried out practices of visual ethnology since the beginning of the discipline; for example, when producing drawings, maps, photographs and films during their fieldwork trips" (Tenkanen 2010, 137). On the other hand, visual methods have been neglected, too, especially in folklore studies, as Tarkka writes: "The absence of pictorial representations giving explicit form to mythic images may well arise from the interests of the collectors of Kalevala-meter poetry: words and stories conveyed the kind of information they were after" (2012, 163). In the late 19th and early 20th century, for instance, drawings were used "folkloristically" when explaining the vernacular words in *Kalevala*. Here too, it was "words and stories" that justified the use of drawings. (Korolainen 2014.) Later on, unfortunately, the role of drawings has rarely been touched on methodologically.

Another reason for focusing merely on Paulaharju is that he is considered a talented drawer (Harju 1989, 55, 268–270; Dölle 1985). It is worth noting, though, that also artist Agathon Reinholm made similar drawings to those of Paulaharju in the 1880s due to his fieldtrips with ethnologist Axel Olai Heikel (see SKS KRA. Reinholm, Agathon. E 85:1–334. 1880; Korolainen 2014). Moreover, Paulaharju's and Reinholm's object/building drawings are commonly circulated in folkloristic dictionaries (Turunen 1981)

and in other books, as in the shortened *Kalevala* (1983). Thus, this study is based on the notion that these drawings constitute a part of the core imagery in Finnish folklore research and are involved with popularising these imageries until the recent days. However, as Reinholm's drawings are dealt with elsewhere (see Korolainen 2014), merely Paulaharju's drawings are examined in this article.

Paulaharju's drawings were regularly made with pencil or ink, and they include several drawing techniques, such as perspective drawings, plans and maps (see Paulaharju 2010; 2003[2]). In addition, Paulaharju made landscape and human posture drawings, as well as several copies of informants' original drawings.[3] It is also worth noting that occasionally his daughter Paula helped with the drawings (Harju 1989, 178).[4] However, the example drawings that are discussed below were made by Samuli Paulaharju himself.

Paulaharju's works and role in the academic field have been discussed widely (see Seppä 2015, 53–58; Virtanen & DuBois 2000, 32–33; Laaksonen 1999; Hakola 1974; Hautala 1954, 324). Paulaharju was active over the first four decades of the 20th century. He researched and collected folkloristic and ethnological materials from the 1920s on together with his wife Jenny, and they also edited materials together. Thus, frequently the materials were the result of this collaborative collection work. (See Harju 1989, 263–266, Virtanen & DuBois 2000, 32–33.)

Samuli Paulaharju worked full time as a drawing and craft teacher and did not hold an academic position until 1943, when he was conferred the title of professor (see Dölle 2017, 144; Harju 1989, 248–250; Simojoki 1987, 101). According to Harju (1989, 272–275), Paulaharju considered his position problematic; for example, he had difficulties in receiving funds. Moreover, when the former disciplinary histories are concerned, Hautala (1954, 324) in folkloristics, similarly to Vuorela (1977, 67) in ethnology, emphasise Paulaharju as a collector; and more contemporary researchers too, for instance Virtanen and DuBois (2000, 32–33), mention Samuli and Jenny as collectors, and they also emphasise Samuli's literal work.

Theoretical background

Material culture (in folkloristic contexts) comprises the central issue in this paper, especially in the sense that not only objects, "things and artefacts", but also symbolic meanings, customs and beliefs are taken into consideration (see Korhonen 1999, 7). In fact, the discussion is fuelled by the multidimensionality of material culture in the sense remarked by Glassie: "It is an odd term, material culture, for culture is immaterial" (1999, 41). Consequently, folklore and material culture are stressed together in a multidisciplinary manner. This is so because the aim is to investigate Paulaharju's cross-sectional approach towards description work.

As was already mentioned above, *ethnography* comprises a central viewpoint here: it is understood as a broad social research based orientation, which touches on issues such as (participant) observation (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, 1–2). Moreover, it is taken into consideration that besides the fieldwork emphasis, archive materials are also used as a source for the discussion of ethnography (see Hämeenaho & Koskinen-Koivisto 2014, 8, 12). Additionally, Clifford (1986, 3–26), when discussing the scope of the *Writing Culture* approach, emphasises for instance the *literary/rhetorical* aspects, the *partiality* of ethnographic knowledge, the *production* of texts, as well the *researcher's self-reflexivity*. Particularly, the "production" aspect is central here, as the examination focuses on how Paulaharju constructs his descriptions. The central notion is that "[t]he making of ethnography is artisanal, tied to the worldly work of writing" (Clifford 1986, 6). Thus, I am interested in the handwork or the "worldly work" of Paulaharju. In this sense, to be more specific, the research question is: *what are the most characteristic artisanal features of Paulaharju's folkloristic drawings when the relation of folklore and material culture is concerned?*

Besides anthropological and ethnographic orientations, Writing Culture is discussed widely also in folklore and visual research (see Knuuttila 2011, 333–334; Pink 2007, 147). The impacts of these discussions touch on, for example, the reflexive aspects of doing research and the construction of knowledge in general (Hämeenaho

& Koskinen-Koivisto 2014, 9–10). Furthermore, it has been argued that Writing Culture was involved with the "denaturalisation" of ethnography (Starn 2015, 12; see Banks 2007, 50–51; Spencer 2001, 444). This implies that the making of ethnography, and in this case especially Paulaharju's use of drawings, cannot be taken as a self-evident (or natural) endeavour. I do not presume, for example, that these drawings are merely used for illustration or measuring purposes.

However, this is not meant for evoking nostalgic feelings towards handwriting or drawing either. On the contrary, there is a contemporary scope in this examination, loosely following Marcus, who points out that "[. . .] challenges are once again about the forms of knowledge but have now shifted from texts as reports from the field to the production of media [. . .]" (2015, 35). Hence, drawings (also the archived ones) are understood as a matter capable of "worldly" mediating former and contemporary research practices (despite their possible media relatedness, in the sense of digital techniques for instance).

Writing Culture also raised a great deal of criticism (see Starn 2015, 2–5; Spencer 2001, 443–452). One aspect of this criticism, which relates especially to this study, is the lack of images in the original Writing Culture discussion (Clifford 2015, 25). Perhaps the most focal notion from this stance is addressed by Ingold, who noticed that "I find it extraordinary that in all the debate about "writing culture," the assumption has always been that the *graphic* part of ethnography is writing and not drawing" (Ingold 2010, 303).

However, *visual culture* is worth discussing prior to the drawings, even if briefly, because it is considered here a background orientation in terms of "[. . .] an 'anthropological' move away from art history" (Pinney 2006, 131; for visual culture in general, see Mirzoeff 1999). Hence, I am not discussing drawing/drawings specifically as (only) a visual arts related matter. In addition, visual culture can be approached in a strong (the "cultural side") and a weak (the "visual side") sense (Barnard 2001, 1–2). Here, the weak sense is central as the formal matters of the drawings are emphasised more than power, identity, gender or other (cultural) issues. I follow Seppänen (2005, 16–17), as according to him, visual culture is involved with the "product" and the "activity" related aspects of meaning production (see also Tenkanen 2010, 141). The former is emphasised as the archive drawings (products) are studied, and the latter as (the activity of) the construction of folkloristic meanings is addressed.

When more particular strands of visual research are considered, *visual anthropology* refers to anthropological research that involves visual matters in one form or another (Kupiainen 2017, 17–18; Pink 2007, 9–13; Banks 2007, 23). Instead of linking it merely to (ethnographic) film, Kupiainen (2017, 18–21) emphasises the multidimensionality of visual anthropology (such as the use of photographs or collaborative visual practises), and also drawings are mentioned from a historical stance (see Dölle 2017).[5] However, cultural anthropologist Tim Ingold discusses more specifically drawings and drawing in the contemporary anthropological context when emphasising for example a "comparative anthropology of line" (2007, 1) or a "graphic anthropology"[6] (2011b, 2; see Pink 2011, 143–156; Kupiainen 2017, 21).

Besides Finnish folklore studies, drawing/drawings comprise a contradictory issue also in a broader contemporary context, as on the one hand, there is a growing interest towards drawing and drawings (see Lukkarinen 2015; Kuschnir 2011; Ingold 2011a; 2011b; 2007).[7] Occasionally, drawing is addressed as an experimental issue, as when the rhythms of the movements of hands are examined (Graham 2015) or when it is discussed how air could be observed (Yglesias 2012). Mitchell (2015, 137–151) emphasises drawing when discussing the impact of digital media on architecture. For instance, by stating that "[. . .] drawing *rules* [. . .]" he observes, to put it roughly, that also nowadays (in the digital age) architecture and design are based on drawing (ibid. 143). On the other hand, the neglect of drawing is also acknowledged within the issue of (ethnographic) fieldwork (see Ramos 2015; Taussig 2011). For instance, while discussing drawing within anthropology, Taussig points out: "But worse still than censoring certain persons as amateurs, drawing itself is censored as a second-rate activity, secondary to writing" (2011, 34). Yet another threshold towards draw-

ing appears when a lack of motivation or an inability to draw is discussed (see Ingold 2011a, 177).[8]

Research materials

The materials consist of Paulaharju's manuscripts located in the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS), which the abbreviation SKS KRA also refers to (when a reference to the materials is made in this article). The focus is on drawings that are not explicitly linked to ethnological contexts, or the "E-series" (ethnographic accounts) in SKS. Therefore, the folkloristic-ethnological "S-series" materials (indexed according to the collector) serve as the starting point. Altogether, these materials include approximately 1,200 accounts with the drawings.[9] As the building research material is excluded from this material, the preliminary material of this study consists of 55 cases that address folk beliefs and magical customs (17); plays and games (24); local history (10); or maps, archaeological findings and other unspecified issues (4).

However, the materials discussed in this article are based on a preliminary notion that *interlacements* appear as a recurring aspect in 15 descriptions of 55. The term "interlacement" could be defined from a decorative art stance following Trilling's conception that an interlace is "[. . .] the arrangement of crisscrossing bands [. . .]" (2001, 134). Here, the term is understood more broadly, as besides material objects also graphical elements or movements that are depicted in a crossing form are included in the discussion. This choice is made because the aim is to discuss a material culture subject matter that involves different kinds of drawings, and which is also linked to folklore, but not merely to one folklore genre or object type. Finally, in order to avoid repetition, the following discussion is based on six cases in which the image includes crisscrossing elements. This is so also because my scope is more formal-methodological than generalising. Accordingly, the first examples (1–3) are linked to interlaced objects. However, as interlacement is understood broadly, also diagonal objects (example 4), descriptions of crossing movements (example 5) and a pattern of crossing lines (example 6) are discussed.[10]

Paulaharju regularly collected the S-series descriptions under volumes that were organised and edited following certain schemas or locations. Consequently, the descriptions here are part of larger descriptive wholes: they include texts and drawings, occasionally also photographs as well as vignette drawings. A one-page description of each folklore specimen is common, but there are also descriptions consisting of several pages.

Another way of selecting the materials could be a focus on the process: from the field notes to the manuscripts and to the publications. However, this aspect has already been discussed formerly (see Korolainen 2014). Accordingly, I use the "raw-cut" versions (see Kupiainen 2017, 20), which are more edited than the field notes, but not as edited as those in the publications. This is a justified choice, as most of Paulaharju's drawings in SKS appear amidst manuscripts.

Research methods

Banks writes that visual research can deal with "[. . .] the creation of images by the social researcher [. . .]" and/or "[. . .] the collection and study of images produced or consumed by the subjects of the research" (2007, 6–7; see Pink 2007, 40–41, 120–121). Here, as Paulaharju's drawings are central, the analysis concentrates on the former orientation. Moreover, the methodical focus is on the *modes*: "*Mode* is a socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning. *Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack and 3D objects* are examples of modes used in representation and communication." (Kress 2010, 79; see Jewitt 2009.) In this case, then, texts and drawings are the central modes examined. It is also acknowledged that the multimodal approach can be used for discussing various types of materials: "[. . .] from works of art to entirely ordinary, banal artefacts such as maps, charts, pages of different kinds, including those of websites, etc." (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 15). Also handwritten and drawn pages are dealt with (ibid. 110–113; 151–l53). Accordingly, this examination concentrates on the composition of the "handmade" folkloristic manuscripts.[11]

From the analytical perspective, the central concept is *composition*, which according to Kress and van Leeuwen refers to "[. . .] the way in which the representational and interactive elements are made to relate to each other, the way they are integrated into a meaningful whole" (2006, 176). Thus, as I am interested in knowledge production, also the way in which Paulaharju addresses the reader is taken into consideration (see ibid. 175–210). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, 177) specify for instance "three interrelated systems": *information value*, or the "placement of the elements"; *salience*, or how the composition "attracts" the reader, and *framing*. Hence, the locations of the drawings within the texts (information value), how the drawings stand out of the documents (salience) and how the drawings are framed are examined. However, the method is used in a selective manner, and, for example, colour[12] is not addressed as it would move the focus far from the characteristics of the drawings.

In addition, the *narrative* (see Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 59–76) and *analytical processes* (ibid. 87–104) of the descriptions are dealt with. In the former case, "[. . .] narrative patterns serve to present unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements" (ibid. 59). This aspect is examined when it is discussed how lines (or *vectors*, see ibid. 63–72) are used for depicting activities, such as with the use of graphical arrows. The analytical processes, in turn, refer to a "part-whole structure" (ibid. 87). With respect to this, it is examined how Paulaharju uses different means for depicting the parts of material objects or environments. More generally, the analysis focuses firstly on the characteristic features of the drawings, and later on material and visual culture related issues. The first five examples are linked to magic and beliefs, while the last to folk games and plays.

The characteristic features of Paulaharju's folkloristic drawings

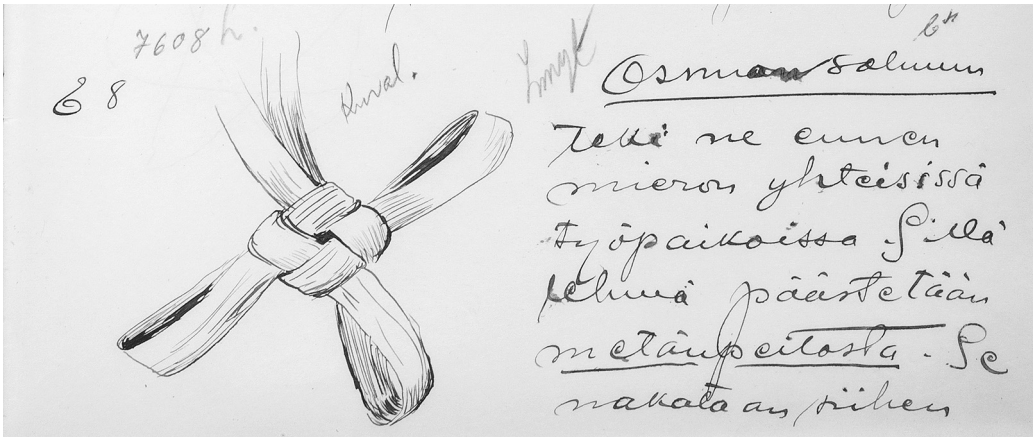
The first example is located under a volume titled "Magics and Beliefs Concerning Elves and Spirits"[13] (SKS KRA. 36:7608. 1917. Hyrynsalmi). Firstly, it is observed that the drawing is a line drawing (ink), and only moderate line shading is used for highlighting the shapes (see Picture 1). Here, as in several following cases, solely the main subject is depicted without a particular background. Banks (2007), when discussing the "figure/ground" distinction of images mentions: "In fine art or in descriptive assessments of images, the figure is the main subject of, say, a painting (for example, a vase of flowers or a bowl of fruit in a still-life) and the ground is more or less everything else [. . .]" (2007, 13). To put it in multimodal terms, as the visual elements of the drawing are reduced as described above, the drawing has high salience; consequently, the focus is on the object, and it is the "main subject" in this case.

Yet another thing to note is that the information value here, as in several following cases, is based upon the fact that the text and the drawing are physically arranged closely under the same title. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, 186–193) discuss the information value of composition and specify how "[. . .] what has been placed on the top is presented as the Ideal, and what has been placed at the bottom is put forward as the Real" (ibid. 186). Thus, the title "Turk's head knot" (*Osmansolmu*) situated on the top of the page is the Ideal element as it refers to the knot generally, while the account of the practice of magic below the title is the Real element.[14] Thus, the knot (main subject) is turned "realistic" as the text reveals that it is made of a belt.

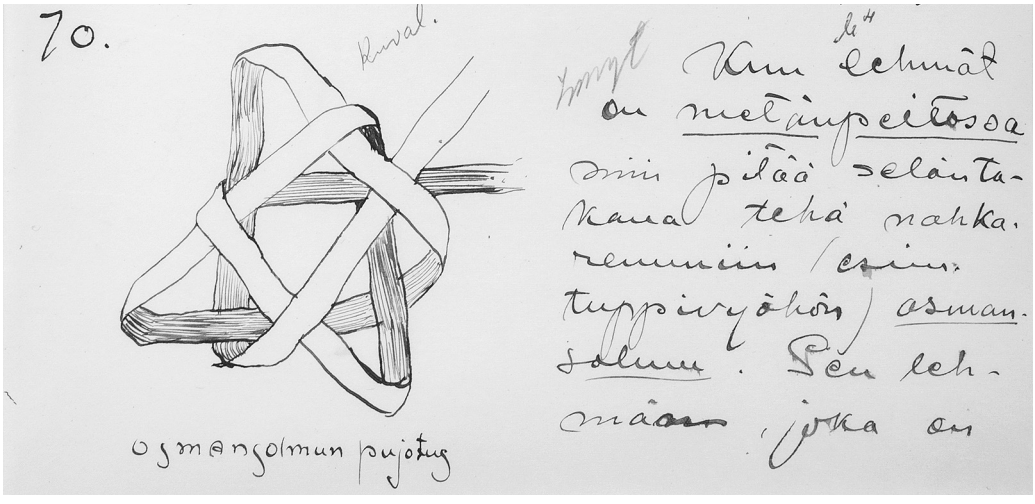
Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, 179–185) also specify how the location of elements in the left-right direction – depending on the reading direction – has an effect on the information value:

> [. . .] the elements placed on the left are presented as Given, the elements placed on the right as New. For something to be Given means that it is presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar and agreed-upon point of departure for the message. For something to be New means that it is presented as something which is not yet known, or perhaps not yet agreed upon by the viewer, hence as something to which the viewer must pay special attention. (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 181.)

In the first example, the drawing on the left is the Given and the text on the right the New



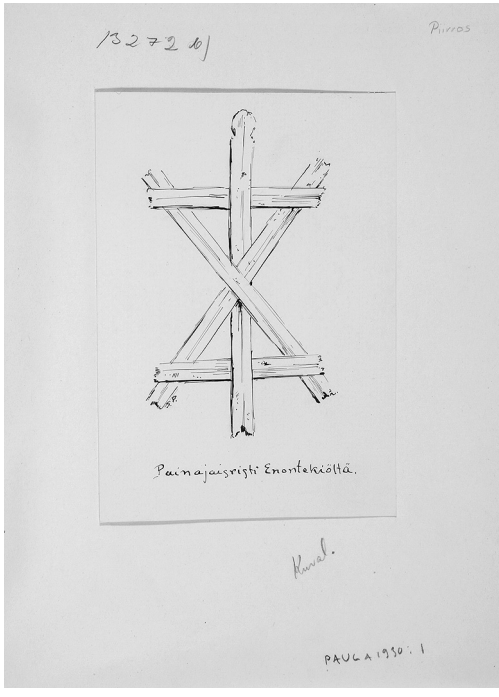
Picture 1. A detail of Paulaharju's description of a Turk's head knot (*Osmansolmu*). Picture: SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli. 36:7608. 1917. Hyrynsalmi.



Picture 2. A detail of Paulaharju's description of the tying of a Turk's head knot. Picture: SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli. 36:7610. 1915. Suomussalmi.

information. Additionally, the text consists of an account of how the knot is used in order to release the cows under the spell. Consequently, this preliminary piece of analysis shows how the drawing is simplified for emphasising the appearance of the Turk's head knot from a general (ethnological) viewpoint; however, the text stresses the magical use of the object from a more folkloristic stance, and it also presents material details (the knot is made of a belt). Here, the composition (as a whole) also includes a variation of folkloristic and ethnological aspects; however, neither of them is presumably or self-evidently prevalent at first sight.

The next case appears a few pages later in the same volume (see Picture 2). However, this time the example of the Turk's head knot originates from another location and dates back to another year. The focus is on the making of the knot, as the caption already reveals: "The tying of a Turk's head knot" (SKS KRA. 36:7610. 1915. Suomussalmi). Additionally, the loose strap appears as



Picture 3. A drawing of a nightmare cross. Picture: SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli. 46:13272b. 1930. Oulu.

the Given element, while the text (the New element) reveals that the strap structure is involved with magic. Moreover, this example follows the former description of the Turk's head knot in the volume; therefore, they are probably intended as supplemental to one another.

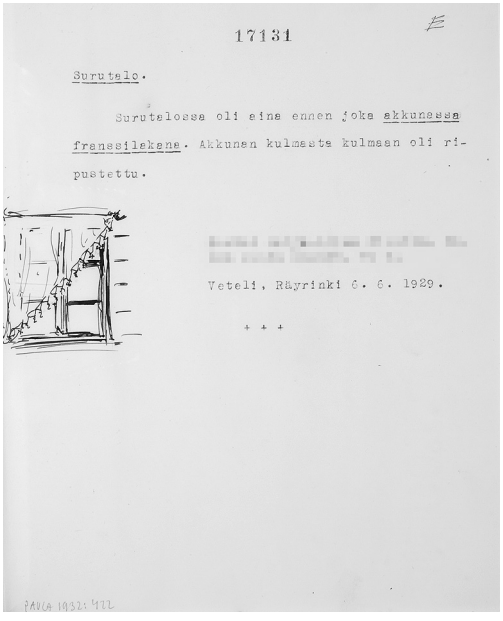
As in the first example, the background of the drawing is "empty." However, the main subject (of the drawing) is different. Here, the focus is on the strap and its position (high salience). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, 97) separate several features of the analytical processes, and the one that is worth noting here is the "disengagement" of the visual elements: Paulaharju disengages the "interlacement" by presenting the strap in an untightened form. Due to this, he is able to "add air" inside the strap structure and provide a view inside the knot. Consequently, this drawing emphasises the process (structure) more than the mere object as in the first example.

The next example introduces a wooden cross, called a "nightmare cross" (see Picture 3), which originates from a completely another volume consisting of dozens of descriptions from various locations concerning the issue of "nightmares". Here, the concept of *nightmare* refers to restless cows. Typically, these descriptions reveal that such cows settle down if, for instance, crosses, the pages of a Bible or matches are placed near them.[15]

Here too, the object is depicted without background, and thus it possesses high salience, which is even further amplified as the picture is placed on a separate page following the main title page of the volume. Hence, the drawing serves as an "introductory picture" for the descriptions that follow. Moreover, the caption connects the drawing and the texts, even though there are no other direct references to the drawing in the following texts. Accordingly, the drawing is an illustrative one.

Additionally, the material context of the making of the drawings, or the "image/picture" distinction is observable above: "The picture is a material object, a thing you can burn or break or tear. An image is what appears in a picture, and what survives its destruction–in memory, in narrative, in copies and traces in other media." (Mitchell 2015, 16.) Here, the material picture (drawing) – originally made on a separate piece of cardboard – is glued to the page. This also highlights the construction work of the description and indicates that the composition of this volume was the result of careful consideration. Here, it is also worth noting that Paulaharju made several versions of the drawings, as also another version of this nightmare cross drawing appears in Paulaharju's (1923, 222) book on Northern Finland.[16]

The following example (see Picture 4) focuses on a diagonally structured object instead of a material interlacement as such. However, a crossing element is manifested, as a sheet "crisscrosses" a window. The description is found in a volume in which Paulaharju discusses several customs related to death. The text says: "A Grieving House. In the old days, *franssi* sheets were hung on every window in a grieving house. They were hung from one window corner to the other." (SKS KRA. 53:17131. [1929]1932, Veteli.)



17131

Surutelo.

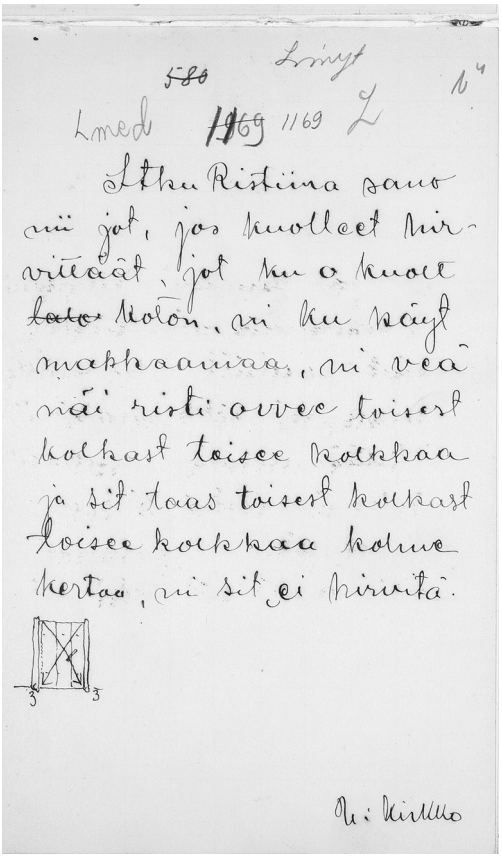
Surutelossa oli aina ennen joka akkunassa fransilakana. Akkunan kulmasta kulmaan oli ripustettu.

Veteli, Räyrinki 6. 6. 1929.

+ + +

PAULA 1932: 472

Picture 4. A description of a "*franssi* sheet". (The informant's personal details have been blurred by the author.) Picture: SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli. 53:17131. [1929]1932. Veteli.



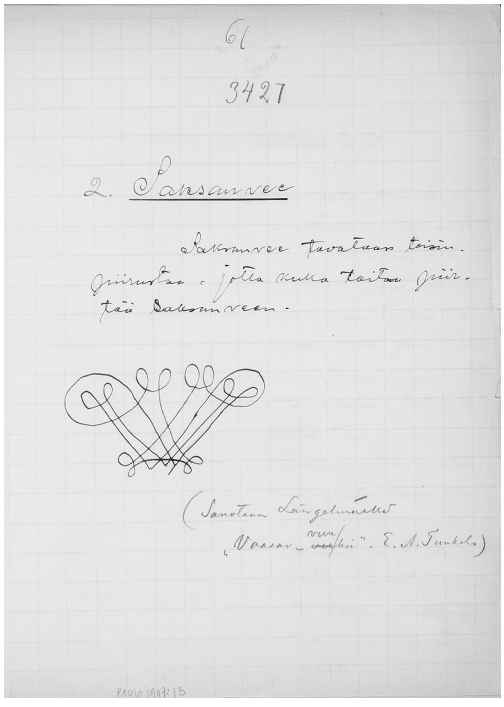
Picture 5. A description of a death-related belief. Picture: SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli. 6:1169. 1903. Uusikirkko.

The connection between the drawing and the text is based on the composition in which the drawing is located closely under the text. The window is the most recognisable element because the window and its corners are mentioned in the text and also because apart from the sketchy windowpanes, only a part of the log wall is depicted. This also indicates, contrary to the former cases, that the window is depicted with the background. However, there is only a metonymic hint of the log wall (short lines on the sides).

In addition, "[t]he frontal angle is the angle of maximum involvement. It is oriented towards action." (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 145.) Hence, the overall emphasis of the action here is on the customs instead of the window details, for instance. In other words, the drawing shows how the sheet is hung on the window (Real/Given), while the text explains why it is hung there (Ideal/New).

The fifth example (see Picture 5) illustrates magic-related crisscrossing movements. The description is located in a volume that includes several accounts of healing. In this case, the focus is on alleviating the fear of death (SKS KRA. 6:1169. 1903. Uusikirkko). Several representational means are combined in this mixed-technique drawing: First, there is the frame and the boards that depict something like a hatch or a deck. Eventually, they seem to depict a door because a "door" is mentioned in the text. Secondly, the arrows add an abstract (diagrammatic) element to the drawing.

This time, the analytical processes are worth noting especially in the following sense: "Many analytical visuals have low modality, from the naturalistic point of view. Too much life-likeness, too



Picture 6. A description of a drawing game, the "Lansauvee." Picture: SKS KRA. Paulaharju, Samuli. 16:3427. 1907. Kurikka.

much detail, would distract from their analytical purpose." (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 88.) Here, the arrows possess a "low modality", but what is their analytical purpose here? At first sight, they seem to perplex the image, as it is not clear what the drawing as a whole brings into focus – the measures of the door?

Hence, another aspect of the narrative processes is worth noting here: "In abstract images such as diagrams, narrative processes are realized by abstract graphic elements – for instance, lines with an explicit indicator of directionality, usually an arrowhead" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 59). Following this line of thinking, the arrowheads in Paulaharju's drawing indicate only generally that directionality is involved. However, the arrows refer to the movement instead of the measures of the door, since the text explains that the cross is drawn in the air three times. Accordingly, the text above the picture constitutes the Ideal element, while the drawing, the Real element, shows how the action should be conducted in practice. Moreover, the focus is more on the magical activity than on the material object because the drawing depicts the door and the movements from a frontal angle (without background). Thus, the door comprises the central material issue as a location for the magical action.

Also the collection work of folklore materials is observable here: the expression "like this" in the text refers to an interview situation. Besides, the text starts with the expression "Crying Ristiina told", which also emphasises the narrative aspect. Therefore, Paulaharju's approach is more analytical compared to the impressionistic tone of the *franssi* sheet. However, it is not as "finished" (analytically), as with the Turk's head knot, in which, due to the analytical processing, the traces of the collecting work are fewer (cf. examples 1 and 2).

The last example focuses on a drawing game (see Picture 6). Paulaharju's account here is part of a volume in which several folk games and plays are discussed: "There is a habit of drawing the *Lansauvee* every now and then. [In order to find out] who succeeds in drawing the *Lansauvee*." (SKS KRA. 16:3427. 1907. Kurikka.) Here, the text remains at the general level; only the French-sounding name *Lansauvee* indicates that the game originates from abroad.[17]

The drawing consists of an ink line that forms a roughly symmetrical curl. The drawing is located immediately on the left under the text; hence, it is assumed that the drawing depicts the *Lansauvee* pattern, similar to the one the informants have used. Drawing a copy comprises a mechanical or a free-hand practice depending on whether the image is copied through paper or made based on eyesight. As was mentioned earlier, Paulaharju made various copies, but in the case of the *Lansauvee*, copying must have demanded special effort because of the complicatedness of the pattern (even if it was copied through paper). Here, making a copy is equivalent to the actual game.

To summarise: the materials have been selected so that the drawings illustrate a variety of characteristics: above, the emphasis was on objects (1, 3), processes (2, 5), interiors (4) and graphic patterns (6). Besides representative images, also

mixed-technique, diagrammatic and copied drawings were used. Moreover, the analysis reveals a variety of viewpoints: firstly, there was the focus on substantial matters, whether they appeared as folkloristic-ethnological or related to the making of the descriptions. In other cases (3, 4), however, the orientation was more illustrative (general) or impressionistic. Also aspects connected to folklore collecting and editing were observable. Finally, there was also a variation in how participatory the viewpoints in the drawings were: from more co-narrative to participatory viewpoints.

The characteristic features of the drawings and the relation of folklore and material culture

What aspects of the relation of folklore and material culture does the analysis present then? First, the analysis reveals that everyday objects were used in special occasions mainly in relation to dairy farming, death-related beliefs or folk plays. Thus, the results bring forward rich contextual aspects, although the analytical emphasis has been somewhat formal. In order to clarify the relation of these drawings and the richness of the contexts they refer to, the following discussion explicates general contextual distinctions emphasised within material culture studies, namely following Glassie, who discusses that

> [o]ne way to schematize the contextual variety, to arrange the categories of information within which artifacts absorb significance, is to envision contexts as a series of occasions belonging to three master classes — creation, communication, and consumption — that cumulatively recapitulate the life history of the artifact (Glassie 1999, 48).

There are no difficulties in finding these "master classes" contexts above: in the cases of the Turk's head knot and the *Lansauvee*, the creation context, the making of magic and playing, was emphasised. The *franssi* sheet, in turn, presents the communication context, assuming that the sheet functions as a message to outsiders. In the Turk's head knot example, the consumption context is realised, as the text (a Real element) provides information regarding the magic, but also of the material details, as the knot is made of a belt. Moreover, in the case of the *franssi* sheet, according to the description, all the windows in the building are half-covered during the mourning time. Thus, the consumption aspect, when understood broadly, prevails, since the *franssi* sheet must have decreased the amount of light coming in from the window.

However, the descriptions did not address such consumption contexts as how one's clothes were tied if one's belt was in the stall, what occurred after the magic was completed, what was done with used trellis works, or how people remembered complicated patterns such as the *Lansauvee*. To itemise these aspects is not to criticise Paulaharju's descriptions, but to remind how the descriptions are focused, and in Paulaharju's case, especially, that the creation context seems to serve as the core for the descriptions. It is possible to think, of course, that partly this dates back to Paulaharju's childhood home and studying times in which handicraft played a significant role. Here, it is also worth remembering that Paulaharju's regular position was a woodwork and drawing teacher. (See Harju 1989, 23, 39–40, 260, 268.) Thus, it is no wonder that Paulaharju had an eye for practical handicraft (artisanal) matters.

On the other hand, the emphasis on the creation context is also linked to the very idea of interlacement, which – whether material, visual or choreographic – involves quantities of skill, creativity and cultural traditions. As Trilling argues: "This is ornamental common sense – to appreciate a pattern we need to know how it is put together – and with certain kinds of ornament, such as interlace, it is the real key to understanding" (2001, 34).[18]

Another noteworthy artisanal feature of these drawings is the practice of depicting the main subject without background. This stresses other kinds of contextual aspects than the communication–consumption–creation distinction. Again, Glassie states that "[t]he particularistic context surrounds the object in the real world; the abstracted context surrounds the competence" (1975, 115). If the real-world context is excluded from the drawings, as the examples illustrate,

then, in what sense, if any, do these descriptions address competences? The results indicate that material objects become "folkloristic" when the real-world context is altered, as was seen when a knotted belt was thrown into a stall; however, this folkloristic (abstracted) context was explicated at the textual level.

Piela (2011, 118–119) reports elsewhere that magical objects mediate between the "counter" world and "this" world, and it is the "competence" regarding the counter world that is regularly materialised in magical objects. In the above cases, "competence" is linked to the interlacements, but it is worth acknowledging (in a more historical sense) that besides aesthetic aspects, also magical or "supernatural" ones are regularly involved with interlaced objects (Trilling 2001, 145).[19]

Glassie remarks that "[c]ulture is pattern in mind, the ability to make things like sentences or houses" (1975, 17). Here, it is emphasised how interlacements bring forward competences, not only as a matter of belief and worldview (as an abstracted issue) but also as a practical artisanal matter: when the Turk's head knot examples are concerned, the question of "abilities" is apparent, as the examples raise the question of how Paulaharju knew where to look/draw. For instance, Pink (2007, 85–86) discusses how collaborating with her informants taught her what was an apt moment for taking a photograph of a bullfighting situation, and Gunn (2007) studied drawing through participant observation in artist and architect workshops. Paulaharju's descriptions here do not reveal how the informants showed him the tying of a knot; however, somehow Paulaharju had to invent a solution to what was an appropriate moment for depicting the knot.

The question of an "apt" moment for these descriptions takes us closer to the question of skill, but not only as a matter linked to abstracted competences, interlacement or drawing skill as a technical endeavour, or not even as a collaborative question as in Pink's and Gunn's cases above, but instead, here the issue of "skilled vision" illustrates the artisanal features that I am after:

> By 'skilled vision' I suggest that the ethnographer can device (and reflexively re-visit) ways to attune her vision to the many and multi-faceted native uses of the eye. This means, literally, developing new sensorial capacities, new aesthetic sensibilities and novel ways of educating attention. (Grasseni 2008, 161.)

Accordingly, the drawing skill needed for the "process drawings" such as those above (examples 2 and 5) is partly linked to abstract structural thinking, but also to educating attention. For example, when Paulaharju provides a "knotter's" viewpoint, he has had to invent a practical solution to how the strap holds the position while observing the right order for the interlacement. Thus, this is a question of the co-operation of eye and hand, or how a "[. . .] look is coordinated with skilled movement [. . .]" (Grasseni 2007, 4).[20]

In the Turk's head knot example, the hand that follows the entangled strap coordinates the look, which is just one example of an artisanal aspect of ethnographic description. It is also apparent in the other cases, as when Paulaharju considered the structure of trellis works by emphasising the details of how sticks go under each other in the drawings, or how he depicted diagonal objects or movements in their material surroundings. For instance, the arrows in the fifth example represent a visual addition, similarly to the lines depicting the translucence of the *franssi* sheet. The difference is that in the case of the *franssi* sheet, the visual addition is closer to representative narrative processes and Paulaharju's approach is impressionistic, while the arrows above the door signify a more analytical visual practice; they are closer to abstract narrative processes. Thus, there is a variation in this artisanal orientation in this sense.

Yet another way of approaching the different artisanal characteristics of the drawings is to look at the characteristics of lines. In the above drawings, the lines are regularly involved with the representation of the subject, especially when characterised by a focus on objects and interiors (the Turk's head knot (1), the door, the window). However, the lines in the drawings are not necessarily merely representational, nor are they only additional in an analytical (arrows) or expressive (transparent sheet) sense. To illustrate this, I return briefly to the *Lansauvee* example:

Ingold (2007, 39–71) discusses interlacements while explicating what kinds of features lines possess, particularly when "threads" and "traces" are concerned: according to Ingold, threads involve entanglements, as in the case of a fishing net (ibid. 41–42). As for the latter, "[. . .] the trace is any enduring mark left in or on a solid surface by a continuous movement" (ibid. 43). Consequently, the aspects of drawing skill and a trace as a line are combined in the *Lansauvee*, where on the one hand the drawing follows the original mode, but also drawing skill is emphasised owing to the focus on "success".

Conclusions

The preceding analysis explored the features of Paulaharju's drawings in the context of the relation of folklore and material culture. The results establish that object, process and interior drawings were used in a representative sense, but also mixed-technique, more diagrammatic, as well as copied drawings were used for several purposes. The most characteristic artisanal features are that the drawings deal with special occasions (competences) of folklore, and that the main subject is regularly presented without background; furthermore, a variety of different types of lines are used.

The preceding analysis does not present an exhaustive "system" of Paulaharju's folkloristic drawings, for the above features are not fixed and they overlap. In addition, the building research drawings and portraits were not included. However, the examination contributes to folklore research by addressing material and visual issues in tandem with illustrating how the variety of Paulaharju's drawings is comprehensive not only in a substantial but also in a reflexive sense. From the substantial stance, this variety was interpreted in terms of different contextual orientations and competences. The discussion highlighted artisanal means of experimenting with observation, and also with different kinds of lines. These particular aspects provide evidence for Paulaharju's cross-sectional approach towards folklore-related material culture. And as these matters were discussed in detail, the study also adds to the research of Paulaharju by expanding the methodological discussion of his drawings from earlier research.

The study contributes to material culture studies as the analysis focused on "other" or cross-sectional ways of telling about material matters in folklore research: the results explicate how drawing appears not only as an open-ended but also as a considerate means of constructing folkloristic knowledge for Paulaharju. This is an interesting notion in terms of innovation and structuration within ethnography (mentioned in the beginning), since in Paulaharju's days, in folkloristic contexts there were no similar drawing conventions to follow to those used within building research. On account of this, Paulaharju's drawings – or the "*traces of the observational gestures*", to apply Ingold's (2011a, 225) term – appear as a means of experimenting with largely unexplored description methods.

Of course, contemporary ethnographic, experimental or digital drawings comprise a different issue from the former folkloristic drawings. However, new and old approaches benefit each other for they can involve not only different aspects towards formal and substantial matters, but also different reflexive orientations. Ethnologists Ehn and Löfgren (2010, 8) have introduced the notion of "backyards of modernity" when discussing *waiting* or *daydreaming*, which they regard as marginal topics in contemporary ethnographic research. I have stressed how folkloristic drawings are generally located at the "backyard" of folklore research, but at the same time, how they are involved with the knowledge production of folklore.

Writing Culture and visual culture oriented discussions served as a point of departure for seeking cross-sectional aspects of description work, and Mirzoeff states that "[o]ne of the most striking features of the new visual culture is the growing tendency to visualize things that are not in themselves visual" (1999, 5). The above discussion shows that also Paulaharju had to invent descriptive solutions to addressing folklore-related material culture. Nowadays, digital and collaborative visual techniques are topical, perhaps more than ink drawings, but the developments in visual technologies do not necessarily, to loosely follow

Mitchell's (2015) discussion of drawings, erase former visual issues. In the future too, folklore researchers will most probably deal with the tension between (theoretical) abstraction and empirical (and unexpected) real-world cases. Then, if we seek "other" or cross-sectional approaches, there are neither material, disciplinary historical nor theoretical grounds for ignoring the examination of drawings in a multidimensional way.

I also followed Clifford's (1986) idea of ethnography as an artisanal endeavour when approaching former visualisations as cross-sectional descriptive-analytical experiments. Thus, the results show that there are varied ways of drawing; also former ones (although only a few of them were presented in detail here). However, the analysis does not provide another set of visual methods for contemporary research; instead, it presents different sides of the handwork or artisanal knowledge production work.

Then, how does all this add to contemporary visual and material culture research? Pink (2011), for instance, has recently experimented with "videowalking" as a drawing method. In a similar vein, it could be pondered that perhaps drawing/drawings could serve as a theoretical-methodical means for reconsidering the competences of folklore, or contemporary folklore research practice contexts: I wonder how it would be to make diagrams, patterns or more representative images by means of drawing (with a recorder or other devices). This article does not provide examples of these kinds of experiments, but it locates folklore and material culture, former materials and contemporary ideas, in the same "yard" in order to highlight examples of the variety of drawings and visuality, as well as more generally that drawing material culture challenges ethnographic imagination and handicrafts.

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NOTES

1 Archaeology is not discussed here, although it comprises one of the "original foundations" for the study of material culture (Miller 1985, 1).

2 The first book (2010) [1906] is a facsimile publication. The second, edited by Laaksonen (2003), includes two texts from Paulaharju (cf. SKS KRA. E 30–31. 1909). These recent re-editions also provide evidence for the popularity of Paulaharju's works, as well as enable a wider access to the drawings.

3 Examples: *portraits* (SKS KRA.* 117:38966. 1941. Northern Finland; 64:22414. [1915]1933. Viena-Karelia; 64:22641. [1920]1933. Kittilä), *copied drawings* (ibid. 84:30091. 1936. Karstula; 79:28316–20. [1925]1936. Utsjoki; 82:29421. [1917]1936. Kuusamo) and *copies of signatures* (ibid. 85:30455. 1936. Perho; see Paulaharju 1923, 254, 256 and 258–9). *To avoid repetition, Paulaharju's name is left out when referring to his materials. The original date is mentioned in square brackets beside the official filing year.

4 Especially materials sent to the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) after 1946 include finalised ink drawings signed by Paula Paulaharju.

5 The articles in this recent anthology of visual anthropology deal mostly with film and photographs. Hence, drawings/drawing are not addressed specifically.

6 The term "graphic anthropology" emphasised by Ingold originates from Ramos and Alonso (see Ingold 2010, 303).

7 Recent drawing-related issues in journals, such as one on "Line" (2015) in the *Journal of Visual Art Practice* 14 (1) (see Hewish 2015) and another on "Anthropology and drawing" (2016) in *Cadernos de Arte e Antropologia* 4 (2) (in Portuguese) also indicate a growing interest towards drawing.

8 Some of these aspects were discussed in the *Workshop on Ethnographic Drawing* (University of Aberdeen, October 22–23, 2015).

9 An approximation is preferred, as several drawings can be located under the same archive index marking, and as I also counted "little side sketches" as drawings; there thus are minor differences in what I consider as a drawing and what is indexed as a drawing by the archive.

10 Examples in which the crisscrossing element is controversial are not included. For instance, when Paulaharju describes how a partly split "shingle stick", including also a "crossing" stick, is used for telling fortunes, it is not included for this reason (SKS KRA. 6:863. 1903. Uusikirkko). Moreover, several descriptions of crisscrossing symbols are left out as the last example illustrates a pattern.

11 The analysis here, as in my former study, includes a specification of textual categorisations following an ethnomethodology-oriented method of *Membership Categorisation Analysis* (Korolainen 2014). This analysis is left out, as it adds little to this discussion of these drawings.
12 As Young (2006, 173) argues: "[. . .] colour is a crucial but little analysed part of understanding how material things can constitute social relations."
13 The author is responsible for the translations of the examples.
14 When the concepts *Ideal, Real, Given, New, Centre* and *Margin* are used in the multimodal analysis sense, capital letters are used following Kress and van Leeuwen.
15 Other names for similar crosses include "shingle cross" (SKS KRA. 46:13279. [1920]1930. Kittilä; see 46:13298, 13317, and 13320); "blessed shingle cross" (ibid. 46:13290. [1920]1930. Sodankylä) and "tar cross" (ibid. 46:13308. [1921]1930. Muonio).
16 There are also similar toys made of crisscrossing sticks, such as "flowers" (SKS KRA. 56:18911. [1916]1932. Vuonninen) and "mouse's pillow" (SKS KRA. 16:3572. 1907. Kurikka). For example, in the case of the flowers, the "collecting work" is not observable. Therefore, it seems as if Paulaharju embraces a co-narrative viewpoint instead of one related purely to folklore collecting or an illustrative one.
17 Another drawing game is called "Laiska-Jaakko's drawing" (SKS KRA. 16:3426. 1907. Kurikka).
18 Occasionally, magical visual symbols also include "skill symbols", patterns that demand drawing skills (see Haltsonen 1937, 74, 85).
19 Kaukonen (1965, 19, 26 and 68) also discusses the magical aspects of interlaced belts, and Haltsonen (1937, 90) magical symbols and knots. They both lean on several former sources in their discussions.
20 Vision and bodily aspects are also emphasised when the "patterning" and "ordering" of materials are concerned when studying skill in the context of knotting (Bunn 2011, 28–30; see Ingold 2011a, 223).

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