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# Sigurd Erixon on the Post-War International Scene

International Activities, European Ethnology and CIAP from 1945 to the mid 1950s

Bjarne Rogan

C'est mon rêve qu'il sera possible un beau jour de publier un atlas européen. (Sigurd Erixon, 1951/1953)<sup>1</sup>

[...] lorsqu'il s'agit d'études culturelles et de la connaissance des hommes, peu de choses me paraissent plus importantes que les comparaisons à faire entre les différentes régions et plus dignes d'intérêt que les tentatives de créer à present, après les guerres dévastatrices, des contacts et de la confiance entre les savants et entre les institutions, indépendamment de toutes frontières politiques. (Sigurd Erixon 1951a)

Why make an investigation into an individual scholar's deeds and doings, successes and setbacks abroad? Sigurd Erixon (1888–1968) held an exceptionally strong position in Swedish ethnology (cf. Arnstberg 1989, 2008), and it is largely due to his efforts that Sweden came to be seen as a vanguard of European ethnology. Between the 1930s and the late 1960s Erixon was by all standards and measures the best-known and most influential scholar internationally of European ethnology or cultural history studies.

He was far from satisfied with the state of the art in European culture history research. He saw more clearly than most others the limitations of a divided and often sectarian discipline, as well as the problems caused by the national heterogeneities in the organization and the profile of European culture history studies. His lack of charisma was largely compensated by his unbending will, and through a lifetime – his retirement years included – he pursued his goals abroad with assiduity and unflagging determination.

In an earlier article in *Arv* (Rogan 2008c) I have discussed his efforts in the 1930s to establish a platform for a unified scholarly discipline that he called European regional ethnology, a term that he had coined to embrace

the study of material culture and social life as well as that of non-material culture or folklore. His efforts unfolded on two levels: in articles that tried to outline the theoretical and methodological foundations of the discipline, and on the practical level around international projects, journals, and organizations.

The continuation of these activities after World War II is the topic of this article. In the 1950s and 1960s ethnology gained ground, not least in the Nordic countries, and sometimes to the detriment – or so it was felt by many – of folklore studies. A motive power in this development was Sigurd Erixon, or the “heavy artillery from the North”, as an apprehensive Belgian folklorist once nicknamed him.<sup>2</sup> His will to see folklore as one special branch of the broader discipline of European ethnology, to be subsumed under general ethnology or anthropology, gave him much opposition.

In this article I will follow Erixon’s international activities from the late 1940s to the mid 1950s. The text also investigates the history of the international organization CIAP – la Commission Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires – which came to be Erixon’s most important playground for promoting international cooperation. His adventures abroad in the 1960s will be pursued in a later article, the third part of this “biography of an internationalist”. Because Erixon was engaged in so many of the activities and debates of his time, he may function as a keyhole to the international history of the discipline.

## I A Glance Backwards

The interwar period had seen several attempts to establish international associations and scientific journals of ethnology and folklore. In the late 1930s there were four, partly competing, organizations.

The oldest one was CIAP, established in 1928 under the auspices of the League of Nations and strictly supervised by the League’s sub-organization of cultural politics, la Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle (Rogan 2013).<sup>3</sup> One of the challenging newcomers was a predominantly Swedish initiative. Folklorists from Northern Europe had discussed a new organization in 1934, during the London ICAES congress (see below). In 1935 Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (1887–1952) followed up by convening an international folktale congress in Lund, with Sigurd Erixon, the ULMA founder Herman Geijer (1871–1943) and around 25 other folklorists, ethnologists, and philologists present. The congress decided to work for the establishment of an association for ethnology, folklore and related linguistics of Northern, Western and Central Europe, as well as for an international journal (Rogan 2008c:70ff). Although the initiative came from the folktale researchers, it was Sigurd Erixon who managed to broaden the scope – in accordance with his conception of “European ethnology” – and

to take more or less control of the further course of events: meetings in Berlin (1936) and Brussels (1937), and congresses in Edinburgh in 1937 and Copenhagen in 1938 (*ibid.*).

However, Erixon had to face two unexpected opponents. The first one was the nazified, corrupted and aggressive German *Volkskunde*. The German *Forschungsgemeinschaft* (research council) financed the Berlin meeting in 1936, where the organization IAEEF (International Association of European Ethnology and Folklore)<sup>4</sup> was established and where it was decided to launch the new scientific journal *Folk* – the latter also financed by the Germans and published in Leipzig. As a consequence of the growing nazification of the discipline, the Germans were boycotted at the IAEEF congress in Edinburgh (1937), the whole congress being turned into a British-Scandinavian event. For the same reason, the journal *Folk* was abandoned after only two issues in 1937, when Erixon managed to found *Folk-Liv* as an alternative international journal.

The second opponent was the French-dominated rival organization, the *Congrès International de Folklore* (CIFL), led by Georges Henri Rivière (1887–1985). CIFL held its first (and last) congress in 1937. It was an important event with some 300 participants, and it was decided that CIFL should become a permanent organization. But it was clear to Rivière that the scientific leadership of European ethnology/folklore remained in the hands of the Germans and the Nordic countries – *in specie* Sweden and Sigurd Erixon. Even if Rivière seems to have been seduced by German *Volkskunde*, and especially by its progress in cartography, he chose a strategic collaboration with Erixon. They both joined forces with another newcomer, the ICAES (the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences), which had started its long series of congresses in London in 1934. ICAES had the whole world as its playground and was consequently no rival, in the stricter sense, to a new network of European ethnology.

Erixon and Rivière started reorganizing the institutional landscape at the second ICAES congress (Copenhagen 1938), where they managed to circumvent the German problem. Their two organizations established joint committees and exchanged members for their respective boards, and French and other “allies” were invited to join the board of Erixon’s new journal *Folk-Liv*. The following issue of *Folk-Liv* was proclaimed the official organ of both Erixon’s and Rivière’s organizations – IAEEF and CIFL. The Germans, among others, had wanted to host the following congress, but Erixon invited it to convene in Stockholm, in August 1940.<sup>5</sup>

In a short lapse of time, between 1935 and 1938, the two rivals had become allies, with a common scientific journal, joint scientific committees on cartography, and plans for common congresses. Both associations responded to a deeply felt need to create contacts and to raise the many regional ethnologies and folklore studies to the level of a scientific discipline, a unified



“European ethnology”. There can be no doubt, however, that the mastermind behind the efforts to establish a European (regional) ethnology was Sigurd Erixon, as shown by his theoretical and methodological articles in *Folk-Liv* in 1937–38.

We shall never know whether this fragile alliance between the French and the Nordic would have lasted, as World War II shortly afterwards effectively stopped all interaction, including Erixon’s congress of European ethnology, which was planned to be held in Stockholm in August 1940 but adjourned to 1951.

Some changes can be observed. One is a shift of focus in the late 1930s from archive issues to cartography. Centralized national archives and accessibility to texts through translations into the main European languages – von Sydow’s cherished idea – had been the starting point of the discussions, in London (1934), Lund (1935), and Edinburgh (1937). However, in Paris in 1937 and especially in Copenhagen in 1938, the main argument for international cooperation was cartography techniques and atlases – issues that interested Erixon and Rivière. At the same time, there seems to have been a mild but growing tension between folklore and ethnology. This is hardly surprising, given the fact that folklore was a well-established discipline and ethnology an upcoming intruder. The change of the name of von Sydow’s and Erixon’s international association in 1937 – from “Folklore and Ethnology” (IAFE, 1935) to “European Ethnology and Folklore” (IAEEF, 1937) – may be seen as a sign of Erixon’s strong position and ambitious strategy.

There is good reason to ask why Erixon, with his international ambitions, did not want to use CIAP as a platform for his efforts to promote the new discipline. The answer is at least threefold.

First, Erixon was certainly aware of the veto of the League of Nations on using terms like “ethnology” and “folklore” in the name of the organization, and he knew very well the League’s bureaucratic grasp of the organization (Rogan 2008c, 2013). Still a curator at Nordiska Museet, Erixon had wanted to bring along von Sydow to the founding congress of CIAP in Prague in 1928. At the request of Erixon that not only he himself but also von Sydow should be invited to give a lecture in Prague, the representative of the League of Nations had refused von Sydow’s contribution, arguing that “la poésie populaire a été écarté de nos préoccupations” – “folk poetry has been excluded from our preoccupations”.<sup>6</sup> The masters were the bureaucrats, not the scholars.

A second reason must have been the general decline of CIAP during most of the 1930s (see Rogan 2008c), a third that Germany withdrew from CIAP in 1933, as a consequence of the country’s withdrawal from the League of Nations. When Erixon’s campaign for European ethnology started in 1935, a successful result was hardly imaginable without cooperation with German *Volkskunde* – the strongest scholarly milieu in Europe. And there were still

active German scholars who were (probably) untainted by the Nazi ideology, on whom Erixon relied.

So a declining or even moribund CIAP, in the grip of international bureaucrats and with the strong German *Volkskunde* excluded, must have seemed like an impossible tool for Erixon's ambitions in this early phase. The reverse of the coin, however, is that while CIAP withered during the latter half of the 1930s, the Nazi problem became acute for his new organization IAEEF. The irony of history is that after the war it was CIAP that would become the tool for the joint efforts of Erixon and Rivière.

## II Post-war Resurrection of CIAP and Swedish Involvement

After the war no one thought of resuming the alliance, nor of reviving CIFL or IAEEF. Amazingly, only CIAP rose from the ashes. For nearly 20 years it was CIAP and its commissions that would offer a common platform for Erixon and Rivière.

The initiative to revive CIAP was taken in the early autumn of 1945, by the former CIAP Secretary General Euripides Foundoukidis (1894–1968) – who had held an administrative post in the League of Nations – and the former CIAP Deputy President Albert Marinus (1886–1979), a Belgian folklorist.

Neither Erixon nor Rivière attended the first meeting, held in Geneva in November 1945. The documents from the meeting are missing in the UNESCO archives,<sup>7</sup> but a report from the French delegate Marcel Maget (1914–1994) gives an impression of the deliberations.<sup>8</sup> The same ambiguity that had afflicted CIAP in the inter-war years persisted: The delegates wanted CIAP to be a strictly *scholarly* organization, the governmental authorities being told to abstain from appointing national representatives; on the other hand, the disciplines of “le folklore, l’ethnographie, les arts populaires” ought to play an important role for *the education* and *the mutual understanding* of peoples (*ibid.*). With a disaster like World War II freshly in mind, it is perhaps not so strange that they advocated this dual aim that many had criticized before the war.

The first congress took place in Paris two years later, in October 1947. Sweden was represented by Åke Campbell (1891–1957) and Andreas Lindblom (1889–1977), art historian and president of Nordiska Museet. From Norway, the folklorist Knut Liestøl (1881–1952) made one of his rare visits abroad. Liestøl does not seem to have been especially active. Erixon stayed home, and Rivière kept a low profile.

The congress comprised a General Assembly (GA) and a board meeting, as well as plenary sessions. New by-laws were passed, a Spanish diplomat – Salvador de Madriaga – was elected President and the Belgian Albert Marinus Deputy President. Among the three Vice Presidents was Sigurd

Erixon – elected in absentia. The two others were the Frenchman Arnold van Gennep (1873–1957) and the American Duncan Emrich (1908–1977)<sup>9</sup> – later replaced by Stith Thompson (1885–1976). And Foundoukidis continued his pre-war function as Secretary General.

The roughly 60 delegates boiled over with enthusiasm. There was a unanimous will to be a strictly scientific organization, and to escape the intervention of governmental authorities and all the traps that the old CIAP had fallen into. At the same time there was a rather naïve optimism about activities to be started: the creation and recreation of ethnological institutions after the war, the use of the discipline to reconstruct the rural zones of Europe, etc.<sup>10</sup> In addition, it was decided that the *Volkskundliche Bibliographie* should be the responsibility of CIAP, that CIAP should take on its shoulders a world-embracing catalogue of registrations of popular music, and that a new scholarly journal would be launched. At the proposal of Åke Campbell, the name of the journal would be *Laos*. Arnold van Gennep proposed that the work with an international, multi-lingual dictionary of ethnography and folklore should be started. Sigurd Erixon later became responsible for the latter two projects. The congress also discussed several aspects of atlases and cartography, another field of cooperation that would become mainly Erixon's responsibility.

In 1947 CIAP had started out on its own, with no formal relations to UNESCO. But with no funding there could be no activities, so a change of policy was necessary. In 1949 CIAP joined a group of international scientific organizations to found the UNESCO sub-organ CIPSH – *le Conseil International de Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines*. CIPSH was the link between CIAP (and similar organizations) and UNESCO. Only as a member of CIPSH could CIAP find some funding for its scholarly projects.

Nordic researchers had supported international cooperation in the inter-war years, but they had kept away from CIAP, and they looked with scepticism at the 1947 circus in Paris. Åke Campbell has rendered his impressions from Paris in letters to Irish colleagues, where he deplores the naivety of all the proposals and decisions – or as he writes: “the well intentioned but unwise southern Europeans”.<sup>11</sup> However, he manoeuvred as best he could to have Swedes in the different committees.

A year later Sigurd Erixon praised the many decisions of the congress, but he could not refrain from the following verdict, when he convened Swedish ethnologists to discuss the possible founding of a national CIAP commission. It was the discourse of a self-confident but experienced ethnologist:<sup>12</sup>

However, one should not exaggerate the importance of an organization like this one. We know all too well how often resolutions are passed, how much talking there is in such assemblies and how time is wasted, to the detriment of real research. I did not participate in the 1947 congress. But Åke Campbell from the Swedish side did, and I believe he made a remarkable effort and succeeded in correcting a lot of misunderstandings and misconceptions, due to the fact that to a large extent there were new-

comers, mainly from Latin America, who attended the conference in Paris, and that neither these nor the masters in Paris possessed the necessary knowledge or perspective. It became clear that scholars and especially we Northerners have an important mission to keep the dilettantes in line, to offer guidance and correction. When talking with ethnologists from various countries I have often observed a notable scepticism from the real workers in the vineyard. They find such events indifferent and keep away. But when the cat's away the mice will play. For this reason I think that one should not completely disregard this striving for new organizational forms and these possibilities to gain new contacts. In my talks with Swiss scholars this autumn I did stress these ideas and I think that some of them will change their attitude.

[...] One may ask whether Paris is a suitable place for this activity. In some respects our discipline is still in its childhood there. Possibly another place should be designated, but as long as this has not happened, as long as no other country has taken on all the work and all the costs of such a centre, and as long as Paris enjoys high esteem in public opinion, the most sensible thing for the time being is to let that city be our gathering point.

Sweden joined CIAP in 1949, with Erixon as the president of the national Swedish CIAP committee. An important motive for Erixon was the prospect of UNESCO subventions. As one of CIAP's vice presidents he participated from 1949 at the meetings in CIPSH, UNESCO's sub-organization in Paris. He also stressed the fact that post-war CIAP covered the whole field of European ethnology – in principle if not yet in practice, and not only folk art and folklore, as had been the case before the war. The scholarly projects for which CIAP actually obtained support from UNESCO in the following years were the bibliography, the dictionary of ethnological terms, the journal *Laos* and some 'specialist meetings' on cartography.

What happened after the 1947 Paris congress? The core activity was the publication of an information letter – *CIAP Information* – from 1948 onwards. No. 3/1948 contained an unsigned report on "Ethnological and Folklore Studies in Sweden". In no. 19–20 (1950) Arnold van Gennep once more launched the idea of a dictionary of ethnological terms, but this task would have a long way to go before it was accomplished in 1960, under the supervision of Erixon. The only project with a visible result was another task laid on Erixon's shoulders: the journal *Laos* – the first volume being presented at the Stockholm congress in 1951.

In other respects, CIAP continued a rather somnolent life. The CIAP information letter as well as the annual reports to CIPSH/UNESCO – both edited by Foundoukidis – took unduly much credit for the 1949 and 1950 conferences held in Geneva by the International Council of Music as well as for Stith Thompson's Mid-Centenary Congress in Bloomington, Indiana (1950) – the latter one attended by Erixon and Campbell (cf. Rogan 2012: 88).<sup>13</sup> CIAP itself, however, organized neither administrative nor scholarly reunions.

As the CIAP delegate to CIPSH, Erixon took part in the discussions on the international folktale institute in Copenhagen, the precursor to NIF

(Nordisk Institut for Folkedigtning). The institute had been proposed by Carl Wilhelm von Sydow at the eighth Nordic conference on folklife studies (Oslo, 1946), and it was established already in the spring of 1949, under the name of Institut for International Eventyrforskning, mainly through Danish funding and led by Dr Inger M. Boberg (1900–1957) (Bødker 1959). The funds were insufficient, however, and from the autumn of 1949 and the following years there were attempts to have the institute financed by CIPSH/UNESCO, through the intermediation of – and membership in – CIAP. Discussions went on between Erixon, Stith Thompson – who was responsible for the folktale section of CIAP – and the professor of philology Louis L. Hammerich in Copenhagen.<sup>14</sup> As CIAP was unable to obtain support for new activities, the folktale institute was closed in spring 1952. New efforts were made in the mid 1950s. Erixon participated in a meeting in Copenhagen in 1954 with Danish and Norwegian colleagues, where the goals and objectives were changed. The geographical scope was delimited, compared to von Sydow’s ambitious plans: The new institute would not embrace the whole world but only the Nordic countries. The idea of extensive collecting of material was abandoned, but the thematic scope was widened from folktales only to other kinds of folkloristic material (Bødker & Hammerich 1955). In 1959 the institute was reopened under the name of NIF, but this time without any involvement from CIAP.

### III 1951: Stockholm and “European and Western Ethnology”

At the joint CIAP/CIFL/ICAES congress in Copenhagen in 1938 (see Rogan 2008c:92–93), Erixon had invited European ethnologists to convene in Stockholm in August 1940. But the war stopped all international activities, and the event was postponed until 1951.

“The International Congress of Western and European Ethnology”, held in Stockholm and Uppsala in late August and early September that year, was a purely Swedish arrangement – not to say an “Erixonian event”, even if CIAP was allowed to co-sign the invitation and to hold its General Assembly at the closure of the congress. The chairman of the organizing committee and president of the congress was Erixon himself, and its secretary Albert Eskeröd (1904–1987). And in accordance with the protocol, Mrs Edit Erixon chaired the ladies’ committee. Erixon also had to take over from Eskeröd the editing of the proceedings (*Papers*, 1955).

Erixon was well prepared. Just in time before the congress he had managed to finish the first volume of the CIAP journal *Laos*, which contained a French version – “Ethnologie régionale ou folklore” (pp. 9–19) – of his main lecture at the congress, the latter entitled “Regional Ethnology or Folklore”. Erixon also had it printed beforehand in *Folk-Liv* (1950–51), in a slightly different version and under the title “An Introduction to Folklife Re-





From the opening session of the congress. From left to right: Albert Marinus (CIAP Deputy President), Sigurd Erixon (President of the congress), Salvador de Madriaga (CIAP President), Euripides Foundoukidis (CIAP General Secretary), and Stith Thompson.

Source: *Papers of the International Congress on Western and European Ethnology*, Stockholm 1951. Stockholm 1955.

search or Nordic Ethnology” (pp. 5–17). In the paper he picks up and develops several of his arguments from earlier theoretical and programmatic articles, but he has abandoned his pre-war behaviourist and functionalist ideas. Erixon now found his inspiration in American cultural anthropology or “culturology”, with its concepts of culture areas, folk culture versus mobile culture, culture centres, and ways of diffusion, acculturation, and assimilation. His references are first and foremost American cultural anthropologists. He proposes a historical and comparative study of a field that embraces urban and industrial societies, societies in transformation as well as traditional societies. He advocates a study of culture in its three dimensions (as he had already done in his 1937 article) – space, time, and social strata. And he ends with the following definition-like description of the discipline: “a comparative culture research on a regional basis, with a sociological and historical orientation and with certain psychological aspects” (p. 15). The theoretical approach is that of diffusionism, and cartography is the tool par excellence. Such was the scientific programme that he recommended for *Laos*, for CIAP and for European (regional) ethnology – and which he also advocated through the cartography commissions.

The ensuing discussion (*Papers*, pp. 41–46) turned around seemingly eternal issues such as the boundaries of the discipline, its the name and re-

lationship to neighbouring disciplines, the concept of “folk” and other terms – to which the conclusion was that a dictionary of terminology was more urgent than ever. Erixon must have had his qualms, however, when CIAP president Madriaga – historian of literature and professional diplomat – commented upon his lecture and tried to define – in front of some two hundred delegates – what folklore was about. In the printed version of the discussion, Madriaga’s strange intervention is abbreviated (*Papers*, p. 43). As can be seen from the proof text (SE 8:77), Erixon as editor deleted the following statement by Madriaga on the subject matter of the discipline:

I consider classes in a nation as natural phenomena, the people are spontaneous and traditional, the middle classes are in charge of the intelligent, technical and present, and the aristocrates [sic] are the seers, the intuitional people who see the future. It is the synthesis of these three things that make [sic] a nation.

No wonder that CIAP strove hard to gain acceptance, in addition to all its financial and practical problems!

The congress gathered around 230 participants, and more than half of them came from other countries than Sweden. In all 57 papers were given during the five days of the congress, which were followed by a three-day trip to Dalarna with Erixon as cicerone and – for those who still had time and energy left – an additional excursion to Lund and Scania under the guidance of Sigfrid Svensson (1901–1984). In the call for papers the congress committee had suggested a certain number of subjects to be treated, including ethnological and folkloristic atlases, the position of ethnology among the social sciences, problems of ethnological terminology, and publications and international cooperation – all favourite topics of Erixon’s and which he discussed in his four or five lectures and introductions. The majority of the lecturers, however, chose their subjects quite freely, varying from the Christmas tree in Norway to housing constructions in Ireland and survivals of animal sacrifices in Greece, to mention but a few. As the proceedings were published as late as 1955, only some of the 57 papers appeared in the *Papers of the International Congress of European and Western Ethnology Stockholm 1951*.

#### IV CIAP and the Swedish Reaction

Erixon obtained through CIAP a contribution from UNESCO for the publishing of the proceedings (*Papers* 1955), but he did not want the event to be regarded as a CIAP congress. One reason may have been that the range of invitations would have had to be delimited, given the difficult post-war landscape and the UNESCO relation.<sup>15</sup> Close to one thousand invitations had been sent out. Actually, only three of CIAP’s elected officers participated in Stockholm, in addition to Erixon: the President Salvador de Madriaga – who exposed his ignorance in matters of ethnology; Deputy

President Albert Marinus – who refused to communicate in any language but French; and the Secretary General Euripides Foundoukidis – who was remembered for having prepared nothing for the meeting<sup>16</sup> and who would shortly afterwards be forced to resign for irregularities (see below)

Salvador de Madriaga (1886–1978) wanted to resign as President of CIAP at the General Assembly, which took place during the congress. But why had he been elected at the CIAP congress in 1947, and why was he forced to leave soon after the Stockholm congress? These questions deserve a short answer, as his retirement would throw CIAP into a deep legitimacy crisis in the following years.

Apparently, Madriaga was the ideal formal and symbolic head of an international organization. He held a solid reputation as a diplomat, pacifist, scholar, and author, and he spoke the main languages fluently. He had very



Some of the roughly 230 delegates to the 1951 congress, gathered in front of Nordiska Museet. Source: *Papers of the International Congress on Western and European Ethnology*, Stockholm 1951. Stockholm 1955.



close connections to the League of Nations before the War – as a specialist on disarmament questions – and later to the United Nations. He had been Spanish ambassador to the United States and to France, and a delegate to the League of Nations. He had been member of the Spanish parliament and minister in the Spanish government on several occasions, but as a marked opponent to Franco he went into exile when the latter came to power in 1936. His scholarship, however, was in fields far away from ethnology. In the 1930s he held a chair of Spanish literature in Oxford, and during these years he also published several books on the psychology of nations. It is probably an echo from these works that made this Spanish aristocrat express himself so clumsily.

In addition to Madriaga's awkward participation in the debates, his opening address<sup>17</sup> at the congress disclosed all too clearly that he had had nothing to do with the discipline since his election in 1947. Erixon chose to omit the whole presidential address in the proceedings, a quite exceptional decision. A private note (SE 8:77), where he tries to interpret and rephrase the text of the address, explains why: "I think he means ...", "a series of phrases discloses his lack of competence", "the context is somewhat hazy", "to reconstruct his way of thinking", etc., are some of Erixon's comments in the margin. He even appears a little embarrassed – although flattered – when it came to the President's song of praise of the leadership of the "Swedish school" of ethnology.

The background to his wish to withdraw seems to have been a question of international politics and his Spanish citizenship, rather than a consequence of his ignorance in matters of folklore and ethnology – a fact that was impossible to ignore when he was called on to speak. Due to Spain's collaboration with the Axis powers during World War II, the United Nations had decided in 1946 that Spain should be banned from the UN and all its sub-organizations, as long as General Franco remained in power. For geopolitical and Cold War reasons, this boycott lasted only until 1952, when the UN approved of Spanish participation in its sub-organizations, and in 1955 Spain was offered full membership. In the early 1950s, however, Madriaga's formal position in the UNESCO system was probably a delicate one, in spite of (or because of?) his open opposition to the dictatorial powers of Spain. But at the CIAP General Assembly in 1951 he was persuaded into continuing, as no one of those present, and least of all Erixon, wanted to take over. Madriaga would soon afterwards hand in his resignation, however.

There was a considerable discontent with CIAP, especially among the Swedes, who were not impressed by this meeting with CIAP. At the same time, a convenient form for organizing cooperation within the field of European ethnology seemed as difficult to obtain as ever. It had been a central issue among the 'Europeanists' at the third ICAES congress, in Brussels in 1948. And the question was pursued in Stockholm in 1951. One of the main

issues was the relationship to anthropology: Should European ethnology be a section, and thus just a theme, at the anthropological congresses (ICAES)? And should CIAP and the anthropological organization merge under the CISPH (UNESCO) umbrella, as UNESCO wanted?

Erixon gave his points of view and led the discussions on all these questions.<sup>18</sup> As for counting ethnology (with folklore included) as a branch of anthropology, Erixon seems to have had more reservations than earlier – and later. He put forward some arguments about anthropology's high level of generalization and classification and ethnology's historical dimension, but his main concern seems to have been the risk of being overruled in organizational and economic matters in the UNESCO system – as an appendix to anthropology. Most Swedish ethnologists held a conservative position in these questions. His colleague Sigfrid Svensson was quite outspoken on these questions.<sup>19</sup>

No less important was the question of CIAP's functioning: Was a reform feasible, or should a new organization be established? It must have been a rather disappointing debate for the CIAP officials present. It remained unsettled, according to Albert Eskeröd's official summary, "whether the activity of the CIAP should be extended, making it a means of contact in the domain of European ethnology, or whether a new organ should be created in order to support these interests in collaboration with the CIAP" (Eskeröd 1952:115).

So much for the official report. An unpublished note in Swedish,<sup>20</sup> probably from Erixon's hand and intended only for the Swedish congress committee,<sup>21</sup> discloses that the committee had discussed several times the possibility of creating a "Permanent Scientific Council for European Ethnology". The envisaged role of CIAP would be reduced to keeping the contacts with UNESCO and the cashbox. According to the note, the idea of a new, "versatile" and "flexible" organization won the acceptance of many of the participants at the congress. Opposition from some CIAP members, however, prevented a formal proposition and vote. Erixon's verdict is clear: "That CIAP [... in its present form] should become an efficient organ for international cooperation within ethnology in Europe must be seriously questioned". In order to establish a more efficient organization, Erixon wanted – contrary to what he had advocated earlier – membership restricted to the Nordic countries, the Baltic refugees included, the British Isles, and central Europe.

Later correspondence (spring 1953, see below) revealed much discontent with the Secretary General Foundoukidis, who had neglected to prepare the necessary documents and reports to the General Assembly of CIAP. He never wrote any minutes from the meeting,<sup>22</sup> where several decisions were taken, one of which was to replace the former Board by an Executive Committee consisting of 19 persons. At least some of the subsequent antagonism

(1953, see below) was due to confusion about the decisions taken in Stockholm.

The result in 1951 was that the Swedes were charged with finding a solution to the challenge of European collaboration.<sup>23</sup> Few had faith in CIAP, and the future of European ethnology was once again placed in the hands of Sigurd Erixon, just as it had been before the outbreak of the war.

Erixon argued repeatedly for the need to revive international contacts after World War II, and he wanted to promote ethnology as a university discipline. But he needed systematic information about the complex world of ethnological institutions, teaching and research. On three occasions he launched broad inquiries, and the first one had already taken place as part of the preparations for the congress. He had asked representatives from each of the nineteen participating countries for reports on the status of the discipline in their country, to be presented at the congress. These reports, however, were extremely heterogeneous with respect to both contents and length, ranging from half a page up to some 20 pages. When in addition the printing of the proceedings was delayed several years, he refrained from publishing them. The national reports ended up in the archive of Nordiska Museet (SE 8:77).

But Erixon had gained experience from this failure. Soon after the congress he distributed a structured questionnaire to colleagues all over Europe, which resulted in much better material for statistics and comparison. The results were published in an article in CIAP's journal *Laos* in 1955 (Erixon 1955b; cf. Rogan 2012), to be discussed below. The third survey, which took place in the mid 1960s, was published as a series of short articles in the first volume of the journal *Ethnologia Europaea*.<sup>24</sup>

## V 1952: An Ardent Traveller

Erixon was, as he openly acknowledged himself, neither eloquent nor well versed in the main languages used at international meetings. At most international events French, English, and German were used for lectures and in the debates. Erixon normally spoke English, but he seems to have been fairly fluent in German.<sup>25</sup> The language question was one reason – although not the most weighty one – why he hesitated and on several occasions declined to accept the presidency of CIAP.<sup>26</sup>

Still, he set out on numerous travels abroad and participated at many congresses and reunions from the late 1940s until far into the 1960s. Most of his travels are well documented.<sup>27</sup> From some he has left personal accounts, and his many notebooks – in his almost illegible handwriting – are full of observations from these trips: seemingly unsystematic notes, details and sometimes small drawings of architecture, tools, etc. At congresses he was an omnipresent participant, often giving more than one lecture and sitting on

more than one panel or committee, if not chairing them. To a later observer Erixon appears no less zealous in the role as a traveller. To him travel was fieldwork; he was an untiring observer of the local and the vernacular on trips and excursions.

Erixon's post-war professional travels abroad were too numerous to be presented in detail. In 1947 he took a group of 20 students to Norway, in 1949 he visited Switzerland and Italy, in 1950 he went to the United States, in 1951 he made a journey through Germany, Holland, Belgium, England, and Ireland.<sup>28</sup> His travels in 1952 were of special relevance for his work with CIAP in the following years. As he left a report of these travels, 1952 may be taken as an example.<sup>29</sup>

In February he attended a meeting in the UNESCO sub-organization CIPSH in Paris, where the relation between CIAP and UNESCO was dealt with. In "this great assembly" Erixon fought for continued funding of the CIAP journal *Laos*, for the publication of the proceedings from his own 1951 congress, for enhanced support to the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie*, and for the financing of an atlas conference. At the same meeting, Alva Myrdal argued "energetically", according to Erixon, for similar support to the international sociologist association.

On his travels in Europe Erixon most often went by train or by car – if he could find a chauffeur. But on this official UNESCO mission he went by air, as he mentions especially in his report. And as was very often the case, his wife Edit accompanied him. Erixon obviously enjoyed his stay in Paris, with lunches and receptions, a luxurious hotel (he even discloses the high room price, paid by UNESCO), champagne and the like, meeting ambassadors, ministers, and even the French President. He paid a visit to Arnold van Gennep in Bourg-la-Reine, just outside Paris – to his "modest abode", as Erixon put it, probably to discuss the plans for a dictionary of ethnological terms. And he visited the archaeological, anthropological, and ethnological museums of Paris.

In June he attended the bi-annual Nordic conference of folk life studies, which took place in Odense, combined with an excursion in Denmark arranged by the Stockholm ethnologists and folklorists. Erixon's main concern in Odense was to discuss a possible organization for a European atlas of folk culture (see below).

In August and September he toured Germany and Austria, where he managed to combine three congresses, in the company of the ethnologist (and captain) Nils Strömbom and their wives. The first goal was a congress on vernacular architecture in Cloppenburg, Oldenburg in Saxony – *Tagung des Arbeitskreises für deutsche Hausforschung*, with mainly German and Dutch scholars present. Erixon was content with the congress, but even more enthusiastic about the local open-air museum and the excursions in the countryside. The social framing is commented on as follows: "Much beer was

consumed in not too luxurious restaurants.” But the most important result, according to Erixon, was the network he established with renowned scholars of vernacular architecture. There runs a line from this congress to his election a few years later as president of the CIAP commission on popular architecture.

From Cloppenburg the journey continued on “wonderful highways” through a war-devastated Germany to Passau in Bavaria, in the very south, where he marvelled to see all the signs of old-fashioned husbandry, such as the yoke of oxen. And he expresses on occasions how shocked he was to see the results of the “meaningless” and “barbarian” allied bombing of old cities and cultural heritage sites in parts of Germany.

In Passau he attended the national German congress, the eighth *Allgemeiner Volkskundlicher Kongress*. The congress gathered more than 200 participants, but apart from Austrian-born Lily Weiser-Aall from Oslo there seem to have been no other Nordic ethnologists present. To Erixon’s satisfaction, however, “the majority of the leading ethnologists” from the German-speaking world attended the congress, including several from East Germany, as well as from the whole of Central Europe. Erixon notes how the seniors among the German ethnologists were “somewhat ignored” and “pushed aside” and how the young generation was grateful that international contacts were resuming. As regards both Cloppenburg and Passau, he observes a new will to confront the old *Blut und Boden* theories and the romanticist approaches to age and origin, to the benefit of more sociological approaches. Feeling that the context was still very “German”, however, he prudently gave no paper on this occasion. But on the excursion day, when the focus was on pilgrimage sites and sumptuous Catholic churches, he could not refrain from intervening and organized a detour to a couple of local farms – one of his favourite research topics.

A couple of the sections of the congress dealt with popular costumes and folk dance (dominated by the Austrians), and there were sections on “Sociographie” and the ethnology of refugees. The latter theme caused a harsh debate, when the East German professor Wolfgang Steinitz (1905–1967) provoked the assembly with his communist points of view. This confrontation Erixon would meet again, in an even more acute form, at the CIAP congress in Arnhem in 1955 (see below).

From Passau the course was set for Vienna, where ICAES (The International Congress for the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences) arranged its fourth congress, with no fewer than 900 participants, and where he met some younger Swedish colleagues, such as Albert Eskeröd and Mats Rehnberg (1915–1984). This gigantic event, which lasted a whole week, included a regional section for Europe. Arthur Haberland (1889–1964), professor of *Volkskunde* in Vienna, had proposed to organize a CIAP meeting in connection with the ICAES congress, but once more CIAP was unable to

organize anything in its own name.<sup>30</sup> In the European section Erixon gave the opening lecture – on atlas questions, he led the discussions of how to renew the work on a European atlas and he was appointed leader of a group that was supposed to take the question of agricultural studies further. As president of the European section, Erixon was invited to the deliberations of the ICAES council, and he expresses great satisfaction with all the new personal contacts made during the congress.

The untiring traveller Erixon made the most out of the long car ride back through Austria and Germany, with visits to museums, archives and heritage sites on his way. Obviously, he enjoyed his “travel fieldwork”. Especially his contacts with a younger generation of German, Austrian, Dutch, and Swiss researchers, as well as with some East European colleagues, were important for establishing a broad international network, which would serve him in his efforts for European ethnology: for the journal *Laos*, for a European atlas of folk culture, and for the organization CIAP – or rather, a new organization that he hoped for. However, he would experience a great surprise soon after his return to Sweden.

## VI 1952–53: Stormy Weather before Namur

Early in 1952 Salvador de Madriaga understood that his days were numbered in the United Nations system. The UN General Assembly had opened for Spanish participation in its technical commissions, and Madriaga knew that it would only be a question of time before full membership for Spain was accepted and he would be *persona non grata*. His withdrawal from several UNESCO functions, the presidency of CIAP included, was grounded in “des circonstances d’un caractère politique”, as he explains in his letters of resignation.<sup>31</sup>

To his great astonishment, Erixon received a letter from Foundoukidis at the beginning of November, informing him that he had been elected President of CIAP.<sup>32</sup> And he began receiving letters addressed to him as President, from CISPH as well as from colleagues. Foundoukidis did not answer Erixon’s letters demanding an explanation.

It finally turned out that in the “interregnum” period after Madriaga, the Secretary General Foundoukidis had acted more or less like a president of CIAP, probably a habit he had acquired during the long “absentee presidency” of Madriaga. On the proposal of Albert Marinus, Deputy President of CIAP, Foundoukidis had asked the opinion of the other members by correspondence and then simply proclaimed Erixon President, without asking him whether he consented. Marinus was furious, both about the informal procedure of “the election” and in general because “Mr Foundoukidis has not yet understood that CIAP is not his personal affair”.<sup>33</sup> It is clear from these letters and the subsequent correspondence that there were much antag-





Albert Marinus (1886–1979), Belgian folklorist. He was an active participant at the Prague congress in 1928, and later served CIAP as board member through the difficult 1930s, and after the war as its Deputy President. He organized the Namur conference in 1953. Photo: Collection de la Fondation Albert Marinus, Brussels.

onism and personal dislikes among the central actors in CIAP. Foundoukidis was criticized for taking decisions on behalf of the Executive Committee, for neglecting to report and for non-transparency in his dispositions. Marinus insinuated – with good reasons – that Foundoukidis tried to outmanoeuvre him; Robert Wildhaber and Paul Geiger – Swiss editors of the *Volkskundliche Bibliographie* – accused Foundoukidis in matters of economy; the president of the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, Ernst Baumann, called him “ein grosser Betrüger”.<sup>34</sup> But Arnold van Gennep – the grand old man among the vice presidents – defended every single disposition of Foundoukidis’.<sup>35</sup>

It became clear, during spring and summer 1953, that it was Foundoukidis who had “appointed” Erixon as delegate to CIPSH/UNESCO and “promoted” van Gennep to the position of Deputy President of the Executive Committee – both functions that should probably have been filled by Marinus. But the lack of minutes from earlier meetings – due to Foundoukidis’ special way of working – gave room for confusion and different interpretations.

Erixon, who wanted to control events in European ethnology, felt very uncomfortable with this antagonism. He, who most of all would have liked

to found a new scientific organization, had suddenly been appointed president – against his will – of a chaotic and bureaucratic organization in which he had little faith. He sought advice where best he could. His letter to Alf Sommerfelt – Norwegian professor of linguistics, who had served for years as chairman of CIPSH but – to Erixon’s grief – was about to resign, discloses Erixon’s doubts and hesitation.<sup>36</sup> He felt isolated in the periphery of Europe and with little or no contact with a secretary general far away; there was hardly any money for travelling; he was about to retire the following year and would thus be deprived of his administrative apparatus; and he “lacked the necessary eloquence (in several languages) that I find indispensable for this position”.<sup>37</sup> It was not only a question of eloquence, but also of the costs of translation, as Erixon had most of his outgoing letters in German and French translated, as well as the incoming letters in French. His administrative helper Mrs Margit Stoye must have translated thousands of letters.

Erixon decided not to accept the “election”, but to regard it as a “tentative proposal”. His position was that first of all CIAP had to be reorganized and given new by-laws. Afterwards one could discuss who ought to become its officers. But Erixon was the favourite candidate of several CIAP members, not least of Arnold van Gennep, who feared to see the conservative folklorist Marinus in that position.<sup>38</sup>

In the meantime Interim President Albert Marinus worked hard to find the necessary funding for a CIAP conference, where questions of organization and new elections could be discussed – and certainly also where the Executive Board of CIAP could confront its Secretary General. Marinus did most of the preparatory work, but all the time in contact with Erixon. As CIAP had been founded in 1928, the conference was also supposed to be a celebration of its 25th anniversary.<sup>39</sup>

Foundoukidis actively sabotaged the conference, and not only the planning and practical work. For the year 1951 Foundoukidis had sent the accounts of CIAP to UNESCO for auditing only after several warnings. And in June 1953 he had still not presented the accounts for 1952. As a consequence, UNESCO threatened to withdraw its financial support to CIAP, including support to the Namur conference.<sup>40</sup>

When it was clear that Marinus had secured a sufficient economic basis for the conference, Erixon took over the strategic part of the planning.<sup>41</sup> He wanted a restricted group of scholars to meet, and not a big congress. Marinus had wanted it to be both an administrative meeting and a scientific conference, as UNESCO would support only the scholarly part. He had proposed as themes both symbols and the question of races. Erixon could accept symbols, although “a very wide topic”, but he discarded the question of races – a theme for which ethnology was “not yet ripe”.<sup>42</sup> The scholarly programme ended up with a session on cartography, which was Erixon’s choice.



The quarrel escalated during the summer months of 1953. Arnold van Gennep and Albert Marinus were scarcely on speaking terms, but wrote long letters and sent copies to Erixon. The following quotation from one of Marinus' many letters to van Gennep will suffice to indicate the temperature of the debate and Marinus' feeling of ownership of CIAP: "Don't forget that I have founded CIAP. You will remember the report that I presented in Prague, and the battle that followed. I consider CIAP a little like my own child and I consider it my duty to deliver CIAP from the situation in which it is caught up now."<sup>43</sup> Van Gennep finally invoked his "freedom of action" ("*toute liberté d'action*"), by which he meant that he would do his best to stop the conference. Marinus responded by threatening "to sully the name" of van Gennep in the public opinion ("*de vous écablouser*"). He repeated his accusations against Foundoukidis, and he pleaded the support of Erixon "with the authority that he [Erixon] enjoyed among all the folklorists".<sup>44</sup>

Erixon profoundly disliked the situation and expressed his great dismay with "the schism" revealed by the correspondence, adding that he was in serious doubt whether it would be possible to reorganize CIAP under these conditions.<sup>45</sup> Marinus responded with another long and detailed report on how Foundoukidis constantly kept CIAP's treasurer Pierre-Louis Duchartre uninformed and refused to have the CIAP accounts audited, how suspicions were arising among the UN officials, and ended with allegations of embezzlement. Actually, a long series of letters from the UNESCO audition department during the years 1950 to 1953 documents that UNESCO demanded from Foundoukidis a better account of the expenses.<sup>46</sup> On the other side, van Gennep continued his letters to Erixon, expressing his views on Marinus' dictatorial ambitions as well as on his lack of scholarly authority. And Foundoukidis did all he possibly could, formally-legally and financially, to prevent the conference from taking place.

Erixon did what he could to calm the stormy waters.<sup>47</sup> He knew very well that the Secretary General was the target of criticism from most sides, and from the UNESCO officials as well. And he expressed his fears of a scission of the organization. But he stressed that there was as yet no real proof of embezzlement on the part of the Secretary General, and he underscored the fact that the secretary's job was voluntary and unpaid work. He was also well aware of the quarrelsomeness and pedantry of the Interim President, who in every second letter – which for periods also meant every second day – demanded the resignation of Foundoukidis. Or in Erixon's own words: "I have never seen clashes like ours; it is extremely difficult to see things clearly only through correspondence." Erixon answered letters all through July and August 1953, from his summer place "at the seaside". In this voluminous correspondence Erixon shows himself as an arbiter and a diplomat, and he did not side with either of the factions – or rather: Both parties felt that he

was their man. In a letter to his Norwegian colleague Nils Lid, professor of ethnology in Oslo, he discloses his personal opinion: He fears that the antagonism between Marinus and Foundoukidis might have as a consequence that UNESCO would drop the subventions to CIAP, adding:<sup>48</sup>

Neither Foundoukidis nor van Gennep intend to go to Namur. They regard the Namur conference as an insurgence from Marinus (who is neither Dr nor professor) [...] For the time being I cannot possibly see things otherwise than that Foundoukidis' fault comes to no more than his lust for power, in addition to the fact that he cannot in due time and in a normal way communicate within the organization nor report to his superiors in CIPSH. But all this is deplorable, and I wonder who and from where we could find another Secretary General.

But Erixon was more intent than ever on finding another candidate for the presidency than himself – or Marinus, who would never win the acceptance of the membership. In July he came up with a new name: Reidar Th. Christiansen, professor of folklore at the University of Oslo.<sup>49</sup>

Parallel to the conference planning, Erixon worked hard to prepare volume II of *Laos* for printing, and he managed to get the volume out by the end of the summer, just in time for the conference. It was a race against time also because UNESCO threatened to withdraw the allocation to both *Laos* and the dictionary, as both projects were delayed. It cannot have been much of a summer holiday for Erixon!

In August the flow of letters continued and the tone grew sharper, not least in the letters from Marinus, to the extent that Erixon refused to discuss the problems through correspondence. But who was actually Euripides Foundoukidis, the protagonist of the following paragraph? He was both a lawyer and an art historian, with a broad academic training. He made an impressive administrative career in the League of Nations, and from 1931 he was appointed Secretary General of OIM (Organisation Internationale des Musées), the forerunner of ICOM, a position that he lost in 1946, during the transmission from the League to UNESCO and from OIM to ICOM. Even if forgotten today, he was a key figure in international museum and culture politics between the wars, with an extensive publication list on heritage topics.<sup>50</sup>

## VII 1953: Namur and a Controversial Secretary General

The conference lasted from 7 to 12 September – a whole week from Monday morning to Saturday evening, followed by a two-day excursion in the Ardennes – and gathered around 80 persons. Sigurd and Edit Erixon arrived with the Strömboms, with the latter's car and driver. After the conference Erixon prolonged his journey with a couple of days in northern France together with Marcel Maget “pour étudier les musées et la culture rurale”, as he wrote to Arnold van Gennep.<sup>51</sup> He even went to Épernay (Campagne-

Ardennes) to check a Swedish mural painting that van Gennep had told him about.<sup>52</sup>

The conference was organized around three activities, in addition to a one-day excursion to le Musée de la Vie Wallonne: a seminar on cartography and atlas questions, meetings of CIAP's General Assembly – where the most important topics were the international bibliography, the journal *Laos*, and the dictionary of ethnological terms, and first and foremost: meetings of CIAP's Executive Committee, to discuss a reorganization of CIAP and the problems created by the Secretary General. The latter meetings were so time-consuming that several topics that were announced had to be dropped, such as Marinus' proposal for an international research project on symbols and Paul Delarue's plans for closer international cooperation on documentation and research in fairy tales – two topics that were not Erixon's first choice. Even Erixon – omnipresent and always hardworking – protested one evening, when someone proposed to continue the discussions after dinner: How would he find time to prepare his two reports on *Laos* and the dictionary for the final General Assembly?

A report from the conference published by the national Belgian folklore commission – *Conférence de Namur 7 au 12 Septembre 1953* – contains detailed minutes from the seminar on cartography and from the discussions of the General Assembly, as well as the minutes from the meetings of the Executive Committee. Although the meetings of the latter committee were the longest ones and lasted more than two days, the minutes are succinct and do not reveal what happened. The decisions and votes are rendered, but not the discussions on the most difficult issue – notably the behaviour and the activities of the Secretary General. One whole day and a couple of shorter sessions were used to discuss “des questions d'organisation intérieure” and “problèmes d'ordre intérieur”.

However, there is a more detailed report – marked “Confidentiel” and distributed only to the members of the General Assembly<sup>53</sup> – and also stenographic reports from most of the deliberations.<sup>54</sup> In addition to the members of the Executive Committee some other persons were present: Georges Henri Rivière, whose assistance Erixon relied upon for a reorganization of CIAP, and – quite exceptionally – an observer from UNESCO. A couple of other folklorists were also summoned, in order to explain their grievances against the Secretary General.

The editing of the confidential report to the members of the GA, based on the stenographic reports, was a “sad task”, according to Rivière.<sup>55</sup> From the very start, Foundoukidis was attacked by Interim President Marinus, who stated time and again that he would withdraw from CIAP if the Secretary General were not discharged. For many hours, accusations against Foundoukidis were presented and discussed. Parts of the discussion are not known, as Foundoukidis at one point ordered the stenographers to leave the



Winand Roukens and Georges Henri Rivière. Roukens was the director of the Dutch national open-air museum in Arnhem, which would host the important 1955 congress in Arnhem. Rivière was the director of the French national museum of popular culture in Paris and a close collaborator of Sigurd Erixon in the 1950s, when CIAP was reorganized. Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41337 (detail from photo).

room. But more than a hundred pages of stenographed discussions is more than enough to give an impression of a man who defended himself extremely well and who turned an interrogation into a discussion.

Foundoukidis turned out to be a formidable adversary to Marinus. His tactic was to set the one up against the other and to turn the arguments around. He eloquently presented the chaotic situation of CIAP as a result of the antagonism between Marinus and van Genneep. Trained as a lawyer and with thirty years of experience from international administration, he argued both cunningly and shrewdly about the legal status of the presidencies of the mother organization CIAP (Marinus' interim position) and of the Executive Committee (van Genneep's claimed position). He pleaded convincingly the

services he had done for CIAP over many years, and especially its resurrection after World War II, and he underscored the fact that the function as Secretary General was unpaid. And he pointed out formal flaws of procedure that forced the Executive Committee to withdraw several accusations and prevented a vote on the subject of his dismissal.

Erixon's short interventions are marked by doubts and hesitation, and he clearly showed some sympathy for Foundoukidis during the discussions. The greatest problem for Foundoukidis, however, was to defend himself against the accusations of embezzlement in the transfer of money between UNESCO and Switzerland, money allocated to the *Internationale Volkshundliche Bibliographie* but administered through CIAP. As UNESCO had given notice of a special audit of CIAP's finances, the GA decided to proceed themselves immediately to an audit for the years 1951–53. Marinus's position as Interim President was confirmed until next GA, to take place in 1954, but Foundoukidis was not discharged. The minutes are silent about his destiny, but he actually sent a letter of resignation on the closing day of the conference – addressed to van Gennepe, whom he regarded as the legal president of the Executive Committee. And later in the autumn he sent a letter of withdrawal from CIAP – to Rivière.<sup>56</sup>

Erixon later disclosed in a letter to Stith Thompson (who had not been present)<sup>57</sup> that “It soon became clear that Mr. Foundoukidis could not remain secretary general and I was asked to persuade him to resign, which he also did”.<sup>58</sup> But Erixon felt he had to go to Paris after the conference and convince his old friend van Gennepe that it had been necessary for CIAP – as “a compromise” – to have Foundoukidis removed as Secretary General. Erixon adds that the dismissal of Foundoukidis helped CIAP in the following negotiations with CIPSH on new subventions from UNESCO – “In other case [sic] they would have refused to recommend our applications” (ibid.).

During the week in Namur, Erixon was everywhere. He discussed cartography, international journals, and the dictionary, and he participated in all the administrative meetings. It is no exaggeration to say that he played a key role everywhere and was respected by everyone. All parties – Marinus, Foundoukidis, van Gennepe, and Rivière included – wanted him as President of CIAP. He declined, however, but in letters to van Gennepe he kept the door ajar – he wanted to see first what would be his situation after retirement, and what would come out of the reorganization of CIAP.

Erixon accepted the task of serving as Secretary General, with the assistance of Rivière, until the next meeting, which was planned in Paris the following spring. On one important point Marinus was wing-clipped as President. It was Erixon, instead of the President, who was assigned to represent CIAP in international forums. So only one month later, in late October, Erixon was back in Paris, to defend CIAP's interests at the CIPSH (UNESCO) meeting.

## VIII 1954: Paris and Reorganization of CIAP

Georges Henri Rivière (1897–1985), the director of the Le Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris and Erixon’s confidential colleague since the 1930s (cf. Rogan 2008c) had been charged by the General Assembly in Namur to work out a proposal for new by-laws and a reorganization of CIAP. Rivière had declined to be elected a member of the Executive Committee, but he had accepted a position as “Technical counsellor” to CIAP, probably at the request of Erixon, who knew him as a skilful organizer and a person “au courant de toutes nos affaires”.<sup>59</sup> The French member of the committee and CIAP’s treasurer, Pierre-Louis Duchartre (1894–1983), had been charged with clarifying the economic situation after Foundoukidis and to present a financial report. Duchartre was Vice President of the French national folklore commission, which van Gennep chaired.

The two Frenchmen worked on their tasks during the winter and spring of 1954, in order to organize a General Assembly in Paris, while Erixon took care of the relations to UNESCO. The GA was to be combined with a meeting of CIAP’s cartographic commission, “an expert meeting” for which Erixon had obtained support from UNESCO. Duchartre worked hard to get the necessary documentation from Foundoukidis, but with few or no results (see below), but Rivière presented a draft for a reorganized CIAP in April.<sup>60</sup> Rivière was the architect behind a new structure and new by-laws, but the grey eminence who approved and sanctioned was Erixon. Both of them knew well the UNESCO system and its requirements. In his letters Rivière did not hide the hard labour and the amount of correspondence it took to organize a general assembly and elections for an international organization that had formally collapsed. According to the CIPSH/UNESCO requirements the formal basis of CIAP was to be national committees, but there were only two such ones: the Swedish and the Belgian. Rivière was in regular contact with interim President Marinus and Erixon during the spring, and as the meeting approached there came a new optimism in his letters. “Now everything is running smoothly [... we are moving towards] a genuinely democratic way of functioning”, he stated several times; “Great news. The allocations for 1954 will soon be transferred to CIAP: bibliography, dictionary, cartography, fairy tales, ploughs”.<sup>61</sup> The only disappointment was that UNESCO had stopped the support to the journal *Laos*.

A circular explaining the current work and the proposed reorganization, signed by Marinus, Duchartre, Erixon, and Rivière, was distributed in April. The text (ibid.) clarifies how the decisions from Namur had been followed up, the plans for the following years, and the details of the forthcoming GA – including the problems of reconstructing the membership list before the convocation, as no such list existed in the archive after Foundoukidis.

As for the forthcoming election, Rivière insisted once again on Erixon’s



candidacy as President, but Erixon declined again and reintroduced Reidar Th. Christiansen. However, they agreed upon Marinus as Deputy President once more, with one Vice President from the American continent and another from Asia. CIAP was to be a worldwide organization. And Rivière presented a new candidate for the position of Secretary General: the Portuguese Jorge Dias (1907–1973), professor of anthropology in Coimbra.

The convocation,<sup>62</sup> signed by van Gennep, Erixon, and Rivière, was distributed in early May. The meeting of the cartography specialists, led by Erixon, took place on 1–2 July, and the GA on 3 July. The main items on the GA agenda were the financial report and the annual reports for the preceding years, new by-laws, a three-year programme and the election of the board. Concerning the reports, the signatories of the convocation – with reference to the chaos of the preceding years – stated that “We do hope that they will be followed up by a firm will to assure CIAP a democratic functioning, rather than a reawakening of the quarrels”.

There are no stenographic reports from this meeting, only detailed minutes.<sup>63</sup> Everything seems to have run smoothly, however, with 18 countries represented. In his report on the preceding years, Marinus did not hide the reasons why so much had gone wrong. Even the financial report given by Duchartre cannot have caused too much turmoil. This long and detailed report,<sup>64</sup> with annexes – including correspondence and a protocol (*procès-verbal*) from a formal meeting with Jean d’Ormesson present, a high representative from UNESCO – was marked as confidential. And for good reason! The report leaves little doubt about systematic embezzlement of parts of CIAP’s allocations. The main victims were the Swiss folklorists who edited and administered the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie*.

New by-laws, closely following UNESCO’s requirements, as well as a set of interior regulations, were adopted.<sup>65</sup> Membership was to be based on national committees, which would each elect three members to the GA. The board was to be elected among the members of the GA. The new mode of election was a democratic victory, according to Rivière, as opposed to the former “combination of corridor politics and correspondence” and “the occult dictatorship of the secretariat”.<sup>66</sup> Rivière also explained how the aims and delimitation of CIAP were formulated in order not to challenge the pluralistic tendencies of European ethnology – hence the long list of terms for the field – and at the same time not to provoke the feelings of the “powerful and jealous anthropologists” – hence the formulation “up to the machine age”.<sup>67</sup>

For scholarly projects, financial support had to be sought from external sources, specifically UNESCO. With the recent problem of no financial basis for the secretariat freshly in mind, a modest yearly fee was imposed on the national committees. One of the few countries where the system of national committees worked in the early 1950s was Sweden, where the func-

tion of the national committee (founded by Erixon in 1947) was taken over in 1956 by *Etnologiska Sällskapet* in Stockholm – another one of Erixon’s bastions. The structure looked convincing – on paper. But the issue of national committees and yearly fees would once again be one of the main reasons for the next crisis of CIAP, as it turned out in the following years. And Erixon’s insistence on national committees would finally be one of the main stumbling blocks that led to Erixon’s defeat and the scission of the organization in 1964.

As for the elections, everything went as planned by Erixon and Rivière. Erixon got the President he wanted, Professor Reidar Th. Christiansen (1886–1971), whom he described as “a man of high standing with great experience of international relations and with especially good contacts in England, Ireland and the States. He is also a very good speaker, especially in English, and an amiable person who would be very much esteemed”.<sup>68</sup>

And Rivière got his man for the position as Secretary General, Professor Jorge Dias, in Rivière’s words “a young scholar who has solid contacts with Latin America, he speaks and writes Portuguese, Spanish, French, English and German”.<sup>69</sup> The rest of the elections went just as well. The new treasurer was Ernst Baumann (1905–1955), President of the Swiss folklore society and a key person for the *Volkskundliche Bibliographie*. As Vice President from the American continent was elected Stith Thompson, professor at Indiana University, Bloomington. He was Erixon’s and Rivière’s candidate, against whom van Gennep proposed the Canadian folklorist Marius Barbeau. Barbeau (1883–1969) was considered ‘the founder’ of Canadian folklore, but his contacts with European ethnology were far behind those of Stith Thompson. As for the Vice President from Asia, there was no candidate – and this position would remain vacant. And Erixon himself got the position he wanted, as one of eight board members.

The Paris meeting had ‘a happy ending’, and for CIAP as well as for Erixon the future of European ethnology looked bright. Erixon had got his man as president and placed himself in a withdrawn but important position. Things were “running smoothly” and optimism reigned before the next and most important congress ever for CIAP, in Arnhem the following year.

## IX Laos – a Short-Lived Journal

Little has been said so far about the scholarly projects, of which the one that had advanced fairly well was the journal. The question of an international journal for ethnology and folklore had been a recurrent issue since the early 1930s. Scholars in general travelled far less than today (Erixon was an exception), there were far fewer international meetings, and for most scholars the main medium for contact was one-to-one correspondence. So the need for a “mass communication medium” of a more scholarly quality than just



a newsletter was strongly felt. CIAP had never succeeded in launching a journal before the war, and the IAEEF journal *Folk* – in the main the work of Erixon – had had to close after only one year (1937), due to the Nazi pressure on international ethnology (Rogan 2008c). When the idea was picked up again at the CIAP congress of 1947, it was Åke Campbell who proposed the name *Laos* – that is, “folk” in Greek. The English version of the subtitle was *Comparative Studies of Folklore and Regional Ethnology*.

UNESCO gave a first grant to the journal after CIAP’s affiliation to CIPSH in 1949. In April 1950 Erixon told Gösta Berg (1903–1993) at Nordiska Museet that he had been asked to take on the editorship and find a publisher for a new international journal, and he asked for support from the museum and if Berg would agree to be assistant editor.<sup>70</sup> It ended up with Arnold van Gennep, Stith Thompson, and E. Foundoukidis on the editorial board of the two first volumes, but it was Erixon who did all the work. The journal was planned as a yearbook and was published in 1951, 1952, and 1955.

The subtitle of the journal – in three languages – stresses the comparative aspect of the discipline. As for the name of the discipline, it discloses national differences. The French name is written with an *or* – “folklore ou ethnologie régionale” – probably because “folklore”, which had been the general name until 1945, had a bad reputation after the war and was just being replaced by “ethnologie”.<sup>71</sup> The English name is “folklore” and “regional ethnology”, a consequence of the fact that Erixon encountered much opposition in his efforts to regard “ethnology” as the comprehensive term for a unified discipline. The German name was “Volkskunde”, a corollary of the opposition in the German-speaking world to leave the dichotomy “Volkskunde – Völkerkunde”. The qualifying “regional” before ethnology was Erixon’s idea, which he had proposed in 1937 (Erixon 1937) and now elaborated further in the opening article of the first volume of *Laos* – “Ethnologie régionale ou folklore”. This question of nomenclature would be a central issue at the Arnhem/Amsterdam meetings in 1955.

The contents of *Laos* differed somewhat from that of other international journals like *Folk-Liv*, or the discontinued *Acta Ethnologica* or *Folk* (see Rogan 2008c), with their clear scholarly profiles, i.e. original articles presenting new findings, preferably based on methodological and theoretical considerations. Erixon wanted articles that rather

expose more briefly, but concisely, one of the main ideas or some of the most remarkable results of [the authors’] research, without putting too much weight on communicating novelties or being too argumentative [... but to] focus on the author’s present research activities and to communicate the state of the art in diverse fields, and especially matters of principal or methodological interest. (Erixon 1951a:8)

Purely administrative and practical topics were excluded from *Laos* from the start, but texts on international events and debate were welcomed.

Erixon clearly tries to balance the need for a scholarly journal with a wider impact than his own *Folk-Liv*, the need for contact and communication on ongoing research in different countries and related (sub)disciplines, and UNESCO's requirements – which prioritized communication on international projects and in principle did not support purely scientific journals.<sup>72</sup>

Volumes I (1951) and II (1952) answer more or less all these needs and requirements, but with a clear preponderance of short thematic articles and overviews. Among the thematic articles we find Sigfrid Svensson on his diffusionist studies on dress modes etc., Nils Lid on myths and witchcraft in the high north, Leopold Schmith on the distribution of some legends, Åke Campbell on the Swedish folk culture atlas, Jorge Dias on Portuguese and Spanish ploughs, Stith Thompson on the star husband tale, Arnold van Gennep on popular customs, Branimir Bratanić on the one-sided plough in Europe, Gustav Ränk on Baltic farmhouses, Julio Caro Baroja on the windmills in Spain, to mention some of the contributions, not to mention the articles by Erixon himself – on windmills, on social groups and occupations, on metaphorical language, and other topics. There are also quite a few overviews, such as Kustaa Vilkkuna on Finno-Ugrian ethnography, Arthur Haberlandt on trends and goals of Austrian *Volkskunde*, Axel Steensberg on recent agricultural research in Denmark, Helmut Petri on contemporary German ethnology, Ernst Manker on ethnographical investigations on the Lapps, etc. The volumes give a succinct impression of contemporary folkloristic and ethnological research.

This profile of *Laos* caused some mild criticism and debate within CIAP, as some – especially Marinus – found that it was not international enough, in the sense that it presented a series of *national* themes instead of genuinely *transnational* research. Erixon's response was that the first two volumes represented several parallel studies that gave room for comparative insights, and he stated – obviously annoyed by Marinus' naivety – that CIAP had never yet managed to launch any really international research projects – with the possible exception of a future European atlas of folk culture. And he repeatedly invited Marinus himself to publish something “international”, which the latter never did.<sup>73</sup>

However, the profile of *Laos* changed with volume III (1955), but in a somewhat different direction. Erixon was in regular contact with UNESCO in the intermediate years, having serious problems with the financing of the journal<sup>74</sup> – which was partly due to the neglect and omissions of Foundoukidis. Volume III does not contain articles on national topics, but exclusively articles, reports, and minutes concerning international activities – such as atlas questions, CIAP's commissions, conferences, the bibliography, and the dictionary, etc. – “in accordance with the wishes expressed by UNESCO”.<sup>75</sup> In this volume Erixon had no fewer than six contributions: on

the dictionary of ethnological terms, on cartography, on conferences and CIAP commissions, on the teaching of ethnology in Sweden, as well as a broad and thorough survey of “The Position of Regional Ethnology and Folklore at the European Universities: An International Inquiry”.

The latter article was based on a questionnaire that Erixon had sent out in the autumn of 1953 to colleagues all over Europe, as a consequence of the failure at the Stockholm 1951 congress to make an inventory of the state of ethnology in European academic institutions (see above). The survey is incomplete with regard to Eastern Europe, as communication was very difficult, but covers the rest of Europe well. In total there were around 50 universities teaching folklore and folk-life studies in Europe in the early 1950s, with around 40 professors or docents and 15 full-time university teachers – in addition to an unknown number behind the Iron Curtain. A line of division in Erixon’s statistics is whether the subject comprises both material and mental culture, or whether the two are taught separately – as in Finland, Denmark and Norway as well as in East German universities. In most of Europe, however, “the whole subject” was being taught. The overall pattern is that separate chairs belong to the north and east, and combined chairs to the rest of Europe. The “big brother” in Europe was Germany, with no fewer than 19 university departments in East and West Germany. The survey also lists some research institutions without obligation to teach, mostly archives and “commissions”.<sup>76</sup> For Erixon, this inventory was not intended as a historiographical study, but as an indispensable tool on the road towards a unified “regional European ethnology”.

However important this volume – and this article – is for the present-day historiography of the discipline, Erixon acknowledged that the profile forced upon *Laos* by CIPSH rendered the journal less valuable to a number of readers and made it all the more dependent economically on its benefactor (Erixon 1955a:7). The number of subscriptions was low, and the Swedish publisher Almqvist & Wiksell suffered a considerable loss as the UNESCO grant was modest and sales very low. Volume I was printed in 725 copies, but only 43 were sold, the rest given away. As the result for 1952 was not much better, the publisher had to stop the journal.<sup>77</sup> There was also another factor of a practical kind that contributed to the discontinuation of *Laos*, notably the very common practice of exchange of free copies between institutions. Many institutes and libraries wanted it, but not so many were willing to pay for subscriptions. Even if Erixon’s institute in Stockholm supported the journal, it had to appear independent of national interests, which excluded this form of “barter economy” with Stockholm as a basis. Furthermore, Stockholm already had all the other relevant journals in exchange of *Folk-Liv*.

## X IVB – an International Bibliography

The *Volkskundliche Bibliographie* had been a Swiss-German project since 1917. It was initiated by John Meier (1864–1953), German philologist and *Volkskundler* who held chairs first in Basle and then in Freiburg am Breisgau. Its first editor was Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer (1864–1936), professor in Basle from 1900. From 1935 his successor in Basle, Paul Geiger (1887–1952) took over. Until World War II the bibliography was a predominantly Germanist project, focussing on literature on German culture and on German-speaking Europe. Such was also the case for the first volume after the war (for the years 1937–1938), published by the German national folklore society, the Verband Deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde (Wildhaber 1951). The contents of this volume is described by Robert Wildhaber as “politically highly explosive and perhaps not always of a high standard, but which still will be enormously interesting – looked from a historical, objective and neutral point of view” (*Actes de la conférence de Namur*, p. 25).

At the first CIAP congress (Paris 1947, see above), an agreement was reached between CIAP and the German and Swiss societies of *Volkskunde*. For the “reconstruction” after the war of the science of European ethnology/*Volkskunde*, an international bibliography was felt to be indispensable. And there was a common understanding that an international bibliography could be published only by an international organization. CIAP took over the formal responsibility for the bibliography, but with the editorial work still done in Switzerland, under the auspices of the Swiss national society, the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde. The following volume, published by Paul Geiger in 1949 (for the years 1939–1941), included “international” in its title and clearly signalled the change of policy – as regards its contents as well as the language areas now covered: *Bibliographie Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires. International Folklore Bibliography. Volkskundliche Bibliographie*. This volume, however, did not keep the desired standard, due to the illness of Paul Geiger (*ibid.*, p. 26). In 1951 appeared the volume for the years 1942–1947, with Robert Wildhaber (1902–82), the director of the Swiss *Volkskunde* museum in Basle, as co-editor. Wildhaber took over the next volume alone and remained the editor of the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie (IVB)*, as it came to be called, until 1977.

Erixon was never deeply involved in the bibliography, but from 1949 onwards he led the negotiations with CIPSH to assure economic support for its publication from UNESCO. This allocation was always insufficient but never threatened, however – in the way that the support to *Laos* and the ethnological dictionary was – as UNESCO’s policy was to encourage disciplinary bibliographies. But in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when CIAP was in a chaotic state from an organizational point of view, the Swiss editors had



Robert Wildhaber, the long-time editor of *I/B*, on an excursion to Sils-Chiavenna, Engadine, Switzerland, in 1970. Photo Klaus Beitzl/SIEF website (detail from photo).

to work on their own, with hardly any contact with CIAP and with the pecuniary problems caused by Foundoukidis' dispositions.

Geiger had fallen ill soon after the transition in 1947 and Wildhaber had to front a series of difficult decisions when he took over the editorship. The transition from a predominantly German to an international bibliography was not done overnight. Wildhaber had to find national collaborators in as many European countries as possible, preferably all. In very many cases there was not one single national collaborator or institution that could cover a whole country or the whole field of disciplinary specialities, so several collaborators were needed in many countries. And should the geographical area be expanded to ethnology and folklore outside of Europe – for a truly *international* bibliography? Wildhaber was of the opinion that the overseas countries that had been influenced by European culture could not be excluded, so he extended his network of collaborators to North and South America and South Africa.

Furthermore, an international bibliography had to be selective, but in what ways? What should be the relationship to the national bibliographies that some countries were publishing? How should the classification system from the German volumes be upheld, in order to secure continuity, and at the same time be expanded and modernized in order to follow the development of the discipline? Should every title be accepted, or to what extent could the editor refuse too idiosyncratic specialities proposed by collaborators with different national biases? What was the delimitation of *Volkskunde*, European ethnology and folklore, and what should be included from closely related fields or disciplines like anthropology or ethnography, sociology, geography, history, dialectology, onomastics, etc.? (Wildhaber 1951, 1955).

During the transition phase the editor had to rely upon his own judgement and necessary approximations. It was not until the Namur meeting (1953) that the above-mentioned questions were discussed by the CIAP membership and a bibliography commission was appointed, to discuss and give advice in these matters. Ernst Baumann (Basle), the leader of the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, was elected president of the commission, and Wildhaber was (re)appointed editor. The other members were Marie-Louise Ténèze (Paris), Helmut Dölker (Stuttgart/Tübingen), and Roger Pinon (Seraing, Belgium) (*Conférence de Namur*, pp. 23–44, 114). For thirty years Wildhaber edited the *IVB*, producing fourteen thick volumes that were published regularly every second year (Brednich 1977–78).

## XI Cartography and the Question of a European Atlas

The idea of creating an international atlas of European folk culture to illustrate cultural relations and contrasts which are of significance for the understanding of the cultural evolution in Europe, has long loomed before our scholars and especially folklife researchers and folklorists. Though these may generally have concentrated upon national inventories and problems, their branch of science is nevertheless fundamentally international. Their object is cultural vegetation, so to speak, which can be comprehended only through the general distributional conditions and ways of migration.  
(Erixon 1955f)

Since the early twentieth century, diffusionist studies had invited the use of maps, from the beginning on a regional and national basis. But as the cultural elements crossed national borders, the idea of a European atlas soon came up, and in the 1930s discussions of international cooperation was on the agenda when scholars met. But there were many obstacles, as scholars in different countries often focused on different cultural elements and had developed different scales and techniques. Sigurd Erixon's most active period coincided with the peak of the cartographic investigations period, that is, from the 1930s through the 1960s, and he would become one of the main ambassadors – if not *the* main one – for European cooperation in the field. Already in the early 1930s he distributed questionnaires in Esperanto (Erixon 1955f), he led commissions and chaired conferences of the *Ständige internationale Atlasskommission* almost until his death.

At the ethnology and folklore conferences in the late 1930s, like the IAFE meeting in Berlin in 1936, the CIFL congress in Paris in 1937, and the ICAES congress in Copenhagen in 1938 (see Rogan 2008c), cartography and atlases were central topics. In 1936–37, IAFE/IAEEF – the organization where Erixon played a major role – had accepted a proposal from the *Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde*, the vanguard atlas project in Europe, to distrib-





From the Arnhem congress in 1955. Leopold Schmidt (Vienna) on the rostrum, and presiding from the left Sigurd Erixon (Stockholm), P. J. Meertens (Amsterdam), and Winand Roukens (Arnhem). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41321 (photo cut).

ute a series of questionnaires in Northern and Western Europe, with a joint atlas project in view – obviously a project with ulterior political motives. And at the CIFL congress in Paris in 1937, the French and the Germans agreed upon bilateral cooperation on atlas questions. Both projects were abandoned, however, due to the Nazi problem.

In Paris in 1937 an international Commission de Coordination des Atlas Folkloriques had also been set up, with Sigurd Erixon as president. The task was to define standards that the national projects should adopt. The committee met again in Copenhagen the following year, when an additional committee was established – this one too with Erixon as president. The latter committee had to propose questionnaires for the collection of material “suitable for cartographic treatment” in the European countries, with a view to preparing a general atlas for Europe (Erixon 1951c; Campbell 1951). A list of thirteen themes was established – on bonfires, the Christmas tree, Lucia and candle traditions, ritual flogging at annual festivals, bringing the last

corn sheaf home, the daily bread, threshing methods and implements, etc. At about the same time – in 1937, the year when the first volume of the German atlas was published, it was decided to start the work of a Swedish national atlas, under the auspices of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy and with Erixon as one of the editors.

During and after the war cartographic work continued on a national basis, but it took some time before the discussion on international atlas issues resumed. The 1938 list of thirteen themes did not lead to any tangible results, and Erixon later acknowledged that the task of a European atlas had to be approached in a different manner (Erixon 1955c).

At the 1951 Stockholm congress, “Ethnological and folkloristic atlases” was one of the themes proposed in the call for papers. Erixon and Campbell focussed on their national atlases, and some of the thematic lectures probably touched the subject. There was also a congress exhibition of national atlases in Nordiska Museet. But there was no renewal of the pre-war international committees nor any decisions about a European atlas – probably due to the internal CIAP problems. The Swedish organization committee was given free hands to take the question further, a task that Erixon pursued with zeal on his travels the following year – to the CIPSH meeting in Paris in February, to the Nordic conference in Odense in June, and to the anthropologist congress in Vienna in September (see above).

In Paris he obtained economic support for an international conference on atlas questions, to be held in 1953. The Nordic colleagues who had gathered in Odense, however, recommended “the greatest caution before taking a definite decision” on a European atlas organization (Erixon 1955c). It should be added that in the early post-war years the Nordic bi-annual conferences of folklorists and ethnologists repeatedly discussed the possibility of a Scandinavian or Nordic atlas, but with meagre results. Erixon’s close colleagues in Norway, Nils Lid and Hilmar Stigum, showed no enthusiasm, neither for a Scandinavian atlas nor even for a national atlas. The same was the case in Denmark. The Nordic discussions resulted in an agreement to publish in the Swedish atlas some maps of the distribution of “Swedish” culture elements in Finland and “Finnish” elements in Sweden.

In Vienna Erixon gave a lecture on the results of and plans for the Swedish atlas. As there was a general interest among many European ethnologists in agricultural implements and especially ploughs, Erixon proposed and won acceptance for a project – “on an international basis and by way of an experiment” – to map ards and ploughs as a preparation for a more general European atlas.

As for the UNESCO grant, it was decided to use the money for an “atlas expert meeting” in connection with CIAP’s General Assembly in Namur in 1953 (see above). As a preparation, Erixon published a short note in the 1952 volume of *Laos*, where he stated that knowledge of the geographic dis-





The “wonder boy” of cartography, Marcel Maget, to the right. From an excursion on the canals (Amsterdam-Volendam) in 1955, during the Arnhem-Amsterdam congress. The French delegation gathered, from the left: Georges Henri Rivière, Charles Parain, Pierre-Louis Duchartre, and Marcel Maget. Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41423 (photo cut).

tribution of various culture elements was indispensable for ethnological research – and just as indispensable as the comparative method – and proposed that the spreading of such knowledge should be one of CIAP’s foremost tasks. At the same time he published a list of questions that were suitable for cartographic treatment, and he invited the readers to do the same (Erixon 1952:116).

In Namur Erixon gathered around twenty scholars, most of them specialists in cartography, in September 1953. In accordance with the idea from Vienna, he also invited some specialists on ploughs – including Axel Steensberg (Denmark), Hilmar Stigum (Norway), Milovan Gavazzi and Branimir Bratanić (Yugoslavia), and Jorge Dias (Portugal). The latter two would become his close collaborators. The basic question for Erixon was whether the editors of the several national atlases under preparation should and could be urged to deal with specified themes and to organize their maps in ways that made comparison possible – or whether the preparation of a genuinely international atlas was possible, and – in that case – how it should be perceived.

The challenges for standardization were indeed formidable. The most advanced atlases under work were all different. In most countries purely folkloristic and linguistic elements prevailed, while material and social culture had been systematically dealt with only by few countries, one of them being Sweden. The Germans had prioritized an even distribution of informants all over the country and concentrated the investigations on certain limited periods of modern times. Sweden, on the other hand, had pri-

oritized only the most densely populated areas and had chosen the period 1850–1900, to document what was disappearing. The Swiss also had an evenly distributed network of informants, whereas the Swedish had taken as a point of departure areas where the phenomena were known to exist. The Swiss atlas had a focus on matters such as how customs and traditions were dissolving, whereas the Swedish in addition had tried to illustrate social differences. And the Austrian maps used around one hundred different scales in their representations. And so forth (Erixon 1955c; *Conference de Namur*).<sup>78</sup>

Among the additional challenges was the question of terminology, a problem that the international dictionary of ethnological terms would try to solve – but that dictionary still had a long way to go, and Erixon led a constant fight for the funding of that project. There was also doubt about the financing, as the national atlases had different benefactors and relied upon voluntary aid, often from milieus that took a national pride in the project. A European atlas would require the editors of national atlases to agree to follow the directives from an international organization, and experience had taught Erixon how nationalistic many of the national folklore and ethnology settings were.

But Erixon was convinced that an international atlas was of paramount importance, or in his own words at the Namur conference: “There is no doubt [...] that if any scientific matter might be characterized as having international significance for the science of culture, it is a European atlas” (Erixon 1955c:51). Acknowledging that CIAP, which in 1953 was in a deplorably chaotic state, would never be able to cope with an international project of this dimension, he proposed – what he had been prevented from saying in Stockholm in 1951 – that a new organization be established, or preferably “an international institute for comparative culture research and mapping” (ibid.). He envisaged international funding, preferably from CIPSH/UNESCO.

However, he realized that “our chances of finding support and understanding for such an enterprise are very small just now.” The alternative was to start with some selected themes that could be dealt with separately, notably ploughs and vernacular architecture, where much research and mapping had already been done. Erixon ended up by proposing a new commission on cartography, and a demand to UNESCO for the financing of specialist meetings, including a conference on ploughing implements. Axel Steensberg (1906–1999) volunteered to try to organize the conference in Copenhagen.

The most remarkable contribution to the debate<sup>79</sup> was delivered by the young French scholar Marcel Maget – folklorist, sociologist, and ethnographer with a strong interest in mathematics and history, now working under Rivière at the national museum in Paris<sup>80</sup> – who gave an advanced evalua-

tion of technical aspects concerning questions of scale and the use of map symbols. Maget argued convincingly *against* a too strict harmonization of scales – and *for* a “normalization” rather than a “standardization” – with reference to the different levels of analysis, the problems of presentation of density and of geographical/topographical elements. He also warned against comparison in the simple form of superposing maps of different elements instead of using geodetic references, as the geographers did, and he gave a learned exposé of geodetic squaring and the need for inclusion of geographical, hydrological and political variables. He politely warned against “des visions gigantesques” in the direction of a complete European atlas (i.e. Erixon’s dream) and he supported the idea of limited case studies that Erixon – realistically but somewhat reluctantly – had ended up with (*Conférence de Namur*: 66–74). Erixon and the audience must have been thoroughly impressed. And after the conference Erixon toured France with his new friend Marcel Maget as guide, to study rural housing and to visit local museums.

The General Assembly of CIAP established three committees at the Namur meeting: A commission for cartography questions, chaired by Erixon and with Maget as a member; a commission for rural housing, chaired by Erixon and also including Maget; and a committee for an international conference on ploughing implements, chaired by Steensberg and with Erixon as a member. It should be observed that the CIAP commissions were small, unlike the later SIEF commissions, and consisted of only appointed specialists. The cartographic commission had seven members (in addition to Erixon and Maget: Branimir Bratanić, Jorge Dias, P. J. Meertens, Richard Weiss, and Kustaa Vilkkuna).

The cartographic commission convened again the following year in Paris (1–2 July 1954), in connection with the General Assembly that reorganized CIAP. In the meantime, the conference on ploughs had taken place in Copenhagen (see below). The main lectures were given by Erixon – a general introduction (Erixon 1955g) and a survey of atlas work in European countries (Erixon 1955f), and by Maget – on technical aspects of cartography (Maget 1955). Erixon’s survey was based on a questionnaire distributed in the autumn of 1953 from the Institute of Folklife Research in Stockholm, prepared for him by Gustav Ränk (1902–1998). The survey shows that maps of distribution were commonly used in research and publications in all European countries, but only ten had projects on national atlases (already published or planned): Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, West Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland. Erixon’s ambition was to extend the survey worldwide. The questionnaire also included some questions on a possible European atlas and its organization. Some of the respondents proposed to start on a broad basis, but the majority recommended

a cautious start with a small number of carefully selected and not too complex culture elements.

Maget's lecture – "Éléments d'un projet d'harmonisation technique" (Maget 1955) – was an advanced exposé of problems concerning "la cartographie ponctuelle" or "point cartography", to the exclusion of more advanced techniques used for areas and frontiers, and covering only spatial and not temporal or social distribution. His discussion included the morphology of the symbols and the problems of scale and of background information. The text is that of a logician or mathematician playing with concepts and formulas, and it is hard to judge what might have been its impact on his colleagues. Maget's conclusion was to show the utmost prudence in the work for international harmonization, pointing to the fact that much cartographic work had turned out to be of little value for posterity. He also left his audience in doubt as to whether it was really worthwhile striving for an international atlas, given all the problems of harmonization, and asking if it was not better to have regional or national atlases, with scales that were relevant for the actual region or country, and adapted to the scientific quality of the collected material and to the research topic.

For two days the committee discussed Erixon's proposals for relevant themes for international maps and Maget's technical arguments (Erixon & Maget 1955a). It became clear that the members interpreted their mission differently. The majority, including Erixon, meant that the task was to prepare a European atlas of folk culture, whereas the minority was of the opinion that they were expected to work solely on the issue of harmonization of techniques. The time dimension posed another problem. The majority pointed to questions of chronology and differences in the dissolution of traditions, whereas Maget insisted upon the necessity to keep strictly to synchronic maps, leaving out historical strata. Compromises were reached, however, and the commission presented a number of recommendations to CIAP, which were accepted in CIAP's working programme for the years 1954–56, including a change of mission for the commission to a Permanent Commission for International Atlases (or "Die ständige internationale Atlaskommission", as came to be its name) – with the same members, and having as tasks both the question of technical harmonization and the selection of themes for international atlas projects. Among the themes proposed and accepted were first and foremost ploughing implements, but also housing, crop rotation, ceremonial bonfires, family and village organization and meals and eating habits – the two latter themes the specialities of Erixon and Maget respectively (*Laos* 1955:58–60, 174–75).

The commission would encounter severe problems in the following years. Its work – and destiny – go beyond the time frame of this presentation, but the short version is as follows: both Jorge Dias and Marcel Maget withdrew from the commission by the end of the 1950s. P. J. Meertens (1899–1985), founder of the present Meertens Institut in Amsterdam, had to take over the function of secretary, and Mathias Zender (Bonn) and Jenő Barabás (Budapest) joined the commission. Much worse, however, were the constant pecuniary problems. Even if the interest in cartography was growing and reached a peak in the 1960s, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, the commission was unable to obtain funding for meetings, neither through CIAP from UNESCO, nor from other sources, in spite of Erixon's many efforts.<sup>81</sup> The financial problems were to a large extent due to CIAP's new crisis in the late 1950s. Throughout the 1950s the commission never convened *qua* commission, but the members corresponded and met occasionally at other conferences, and normally at their own expense. Some of them met at the “Konferenz für volkswissenschaftliche Kartographie” in Linz in December 1958, a conference organized by the Gesellschaft für den Volkskundeatlas in Österreich, to work for a better coordination of the national atlas projects in Central Europe (West Germany, Yugoslavia, Austria, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary) (Bratanić & Burgstaller 1959), and at its follow-up conference organized by Professor Mathias Zender in Bonn in 1961. Mathias Zender (1907–1993) was leader of the oldest and biggest atlas project in Europe, the Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde (ADV). In spite of its age and setbacks during the war, the ADV was thoroughly modernized under Zender's leadership from 1945.

The members also met at Kurt Ranke's congress on oral literature in Kiel in August 1959, on one of the two occasions when the CIAP Board managed to convene in the latter half of the 1950s, as well as at the ICAES congress in Paris in 1960. In Kiel the CIAP Board “liberated the commission members from their responsibility for the European atlas plan as long as the necessary economic resources were not secured”.<sup>82</sup> Some scholars were not so happy with this decision, among them Erixon, and in October 1960 he managed to convene the commission in Zürich, at their own expense.<sup>83</sup> Some other specialists from Central Europe were also invited. There were different views on the question of a general atlas of Europe versus experiments on a smaller scale. Erixon, who had previously advocated a common European atlas project, now belonged to the minority who warned against a too ambitious approach – as opposed to the views of Bratanić and Zender, who thought that the national atlases could coordinate the work. Erixon still dreamed of a general atlas, but he could not envisage it without “eine koordinierende Forschungszentrale”.

In spite of the problems encountered, the commission managed to work out some questionnaires for testing out international maps. Due to the eco-

conomic problems not all of these could be sent out, and after discussions with other European colleagues it was decided to reduce the number of themes to one or two and to stick to material culture, notably ploughing implements and threshing tools and techniques. One of the reasons for sticking to material culture was the new contacts with East European scholars from the early 1960s. Furthermore, a basic blueprint map for a European atlas, including the Near East and North Africa, was developed on a scale of 1:4,000,000.<sup>84</sup>

The fairly regular conferences of the ADV in Bonn became an important venue for the commission members. The result of this situation was that the commission came to work more and more independently of CIAP, and when the scission came in 1964 and SIEF was established, the commission declared full independence.

## XII Ploughs, Agriculture and the Copenhagen Institute

In 1951–52 Milovan Gavazzi and Branimir Bratanić, both professors in Zagreb, had proposed a research project and a conference on ploughing implements (Gavazzi 1951; Bratanić 1952). Erixon wanted to combine this idea with his cartographical interests, and in Namur (1953) he had made the Executive Board of CIAP adopt a plan for a conference “for the preparation of an atlas of the different types of ploughs in Europe”, to be held in Copenhagen in 1954 (*Conference de Namur*, pp. 60–62, 116). An International Commission for Research on Ploughing Implements was appointed – again with Erixon as chairman. The reason for the choice of the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen as a venue was the broad research on agricultural history carried out in Denmark, historically but also by Axel Steensberg, and the promise of economic support from the Danish authorities (Erixon & Steensberg 1955). The conference took place in June 1954 – under the title “The International Conference for Research on Ploughing Implements” – and gathered around 35 researchers.

This strong interest in, not to say infatuation with, ploughs may strike a present-day observer. Why special conferences and plans for international atlases on ploughs, one may ask. Just a brief glance at ethnological publications of the first half of the twentieth century reveals an enormous interest in tools of tillage, and especially for the soil-cutting ard and the soil-turning plough. It should be observed that these tools appear in a large number of variants, depicted from the Bronze Age and described since Antiquity through the Middle Ages up to our time, in all corners of the world. They are basic instruments in the development of agriculture – mankind’s main economic basis all through the historical period. The technology is simple and easy to grasp, and they lend themselves easily to comparative studies, whether the approach is evolutionist, diffusionist or functionalist. These



tools offered an ideal access – for cultural historians, ethnologists and linguists of the historical school – to the study of interactions between ethnic groups, of contacts and of culture areas crossing political frontiers. On the basis of the mapping of formal similarities and linguistic criteria, genealogical classification systems could be worked out (Lerche & Steensberg 1980:5).

The conference is well documented through a 170-page printed report – *Research on Ploughing Implements* – which contains the correspondence of the committee preceding the conference, the atlas plans circulated beforehand to the participants, the internal discussions of the committee, the proceedings – with lectures and discussions, and the resolutions. Erixon and Steensberg had made a preliminary draft for a classification system that might be used for an international atlas of ploughing implements. It turned out, however, that the level of research was extremely varied among the different countries represented, as were also the expectations for an atlas. Bratanić argued for a universal and all-inclusive classification system that even Erixon found far too ambitious (*ibid.*: 78–88). It became clear already through the preceding correspondence that no agreement could be reached, except on the need to collect further data and the hope that the new CIAP atlas commission would come up with solutions later. One of the stumbling blocks was, once again, the lack of an international nomenclature.

The conference ended with a recommendation for the establishment of a permanent secretariat. In addition a Permanent International Committee was elected, and Sigurd Erixon was appointed to his usual position – as chairman of the committee. The committee's mandate was to “consider plans for the preparation of statistical and cartographical material etc. relating to the use and nomenclature of ploughing implements on a broad international basis”. Steensberg became its secretary, and among the members were Bratanić and Dias, as well as Paul Leser (1899–1984). As a German *Volkskundler* who had fled Nazi Germany and passed many years in Sweden, Leser ended up as professor of anthropology in Connecticut. It was Leser who would take over as chairman of the committee when Erixon died in 1968. With his 700-page *opus magnum* from 1931, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, covering plough types all over the world, he was definitely the greatest expert on ploughs and ploughing on the other side of the Atlantic.

An International Secretariat for Research on the History of Agricultural Implements, which covered a broader field than only tillage tools, was actually established in the wake of the conference. The International Secretariat was financed by the Danish Ministry of Education and housed by Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen. It was intended to function as a connecting link between researchers in different countries, to establish a library of agricultural history and an archive of agricultural implements.

The Permanent International Committee functioned as an international

council for the permanent secretariat in Copenhagen (which also had a national board of governors). This permanent committee, which organized some conferences in the 1960s under the leadership of Sigurd Erixon, should not be confused with CIAP's commission on cartography and a European atlas. Erixon chaired both the commission and the committee, and Bratanić and Dias were members of both; both were occupied by ploughing implements, and it was at times difficult to see which hat Erixon was wearing. But as the secretariat was under the jurisdiction of the Danish ministry, it could never fuse with CIAP's atlas commission under Erixon, or later with SIEF's *Gerätekommision* under Wolfgang Jacobeit – all of which took a keen interest in ploughs. There was indeed a bewildering landscape of research on ploughs!

Through the 1950s the permanent secretariat in Copenhagen distributed questionnaires, collected material, completed its archives and the library, and published a newsletter, under the leadership of Axel Steensberg (chairman) and Peter Michelsen, the later leader of the open-air museum in Lyngby (Nellemann 1960–61; Lerche 1979). As for the history and the activities of the secretariat and the committee through the 1960s and 1970s, see Lerche & Steensberg 1980:14–46.

Erixon counted the establishment of the Permanent Secretariat among one of the few victories of CIAP, or as he reported in 1961:<sup>85</sup>

Inspired by the initiative of a CIAP commission, an international research centre has been established, which now endeavours to function as an independent institution. We here see a nice example of how a good solution to such an enterprise should be carried through.

### XIII A Dictionary of Ethnological Concepts

It would take 13 years, from the conception of the idea by Arnold van Gennep at the CIAP congress in Paris in 1947, until the publication in 1960 of *General Ethnological Concepts* (Hultkrantz 1960), volume I of *International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore*. The preparation of volume II, *Folk Literature* (Bødker 1965), would take another five years. The central element of the title, *Regional European Ethnology*, tells all about the influence of Sigurd Erixon.

As little happened for some years,<sup>86</sup> van Gennep repeated his proposal in an article in *CIAP Information* in 1950 (vols. 19–20), where he presented a very ambitious sketch for an encyclopaedia-like publication entitled *Lexique International d'Ethnographie et de Folklore* – in no fewer than fifteen languages, organized not alphabetically but with a classification system like that of the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie*, and with a world-wide scope. Van Gennep himself was approaching the age of 80 and too occupied with his voluminous *Manuel de folklore français contempo-*

*rain* (1937–1958) – in 8 volumes and more than 3.500 pages – to take on the editorship.

When did Erixon take over the responsibility and turn the project into a Nordic venture? It was probably on the initiative of the entrepreneurial Secretary General Foundoukidis, who in December 1951 simply asked him to take over the management, in the wake of the discussions at the Stockholm congress in September the same year.<sup>87</sup> At the congress Erixon had given an introduction, and a more limited version of the original plan had been discussed. At the same time Erixon suddenly received in his bank account a lump sum for the publication of the dictionary. In the early spring of 1953, however, he unexpectedly learned from UNESCO that the grant was revoked and the money was claimed back, as no dictionary had been published. The reason seems to have been that Foundoukidis had informed UNESCO that the volume was ready for printing already in 1951,<sup>88</sup> and had transferred the UNESCO grant to Erixon, neglecting to inform him about the requirements. Erixon had never had any ambitions to do the work himself, and in 1953 the editorial work had not even started, nor were there yet any realistic plans for the editing! It took Erixon some rounds of negotiations with the UNESCO audit department – in the midst of the hectic planning for *Namur* – before he was granted a deferment.

Between the autumn of 1951 and summer of 1953 Erixon made great efforts to find authors for the work. He realized that it would be a very difficult task, and he expressed serious doubts as to who would be able to perform the task. His second worry was that the UNESCO grant was far too small to pay the costs of the volume he wanted.<sup>89</sup> Erixon understood that he had to rely upon Nordic forces, and he first asked Sven Liljeblad if he would take on the editorship. Liljeblad (1899–2000) gave his advice, but he wanted to remain in the United States, to finish his study of Indian cultures. On several occasions he urged Nils Lid (1890–1958), professor of ethnology in Oslo, to take the job, but Lid rejected the offer. Lid passed on the invitation to his young colleague Knut Kolsrud (1916–1989), later successor in his chair. Kolsrud was willing, but too delayed with another project.<sup>90</sup>

Erixon discussed the dictionary project at all the meetings and conferences in 1952 – in Paris, in Odense, in Vienna. In December 1952 he summoned Nils Lid, Kustaa Vilkuna, and Laurits Bødker to a planning session in Stockholm, as a ‘pre-committee’. Kustaa Vilkuna (1902–1980) was professor of ethnology/Finno-Ugrian ethnography in Helsinki. To judge from the correspondence and regular contact, Lid and Vilkuna were his closest colleagues in Norway and Finland. The endeavours to find an editor continued, and in July 1953 he announced that he had finally found the scholars he needed: Åke Hultkrantz had accepted the invitation to be the main editor and Laurits Bødker his assistant.<sup>91</sup>

Åke Hultkrantz (1920–2006) was a Swedish historian of religion and eth-

nologist, who had just presented his doctor's thesis (May 1953) and who later got a chair in comparative religion in Stockholm. His research centred on religious beliefs among North American Indians, and all through his career he had a close relationship to American culture studies. Laurits Bødker (1915–1982), a Danish folklorist who worked at Dansk Folkemindesamling and who later became director of Nordisk Institut for Folkedigtning and professor in Copenhagen, was one of the founders of modern folklore studies in Denmark.

In August 1953 it became clear that the problems with UNESCO were temporarily solved, and Erixon presented a revised plan in September in Namur, where Hultkrantz and Bødker were invited (*Conférence de Namur*, pp. 89–101). The plan had been drafted by a local committee in Stockholm, consisting of Erixon's assistants and students – Gustav Ränk, Eerik Laid, and Anna-Britta Hellbom, in addition to Hultkrantz and Bødker.

It was clear that van Gennepe's ambitious plan would be impossible to carry through, for economic, practical, and organizational reasons. The revised plan aimed at a "reference work of handbook type [...] mainly restricted to the fields of European ethnology and folklore" (*ibid.*: 94). The list of terms would be strongly reduced and restricted to theoretical concepts, there would be a focus on definitions, contents, and relations to other terms, the area should principally be Europe, the terms would be rendered in fewer languages (translations), and the language of the text should be English. The volume would appear as a systematic manual, in alphabetical order and with no thematic divisions (*ibid.*: 94–95). For once, Erixon posed an ultimatum: If the plan were not accepted in the main, someone else had to take over.

The General Assembly of CIAP sanctioned the plan and appointed an editorial committee consisting of Nils Lid, Kustaa Vilkkuna, and Sigurd Erixon as chairman. Very much of the work, however, would fall on Erixon, especially in the most intensive editing period, as Lid died in 1958 and Vilkkuna was appointed minister of education in the Finnish government the same year. The ethnologist Hilmar Stigum (1897–1976), head curator at the Norsk Folkemuseum and later professor in Oslo, replaced Lid in the committee in 1958. Stigum was less internationally oriented than the two others, or as he wrote – self-ironically – to Erixon in 1953: "[...] my colleagues back home tell me it's high time that I move beyond the Scandinavian borders".<sup>92</sup> Still Erixon persuaded him to participate in Namur in 1953 as well as in Arnhem/Amsterdam in 1955.

The work on volume I started in 1955 and lasted five years. The final plans for the project – including objectives, layout, selection of terms, the organization of the project, etc. – are described in detail in *Laos* vol. III (1955), by Erixon, Hultkrantz, and Bødker. The work was in the main done by Hultkrantz and Bødker, who appear as sole authors of their respective

volumes, but a great number of scholars in Europe and the United States were consulted by correspondence. UNESCO gave yearly grants, but far too small to keep the project on the rails, so Erixon had to seek money where he could, from his institute in Stockholm as well as from other sources.

Several problems of compilation, selection, layout, and definition were encountered as the work proceeded. One of the main problems for Hultkrantz in volume I, *General Ethnological Concepts*, was the balance between European regional ethnology (including folklore), European general ethnology and Anglo-American ethnology/anthropology. Traditional folklore and folklife studies had formed relatively few and vague concepts, due partly to their historical tendency, compared to the more functionalist and social-science-oriented British and American anthropology.

Volume I was printed in the autumn of 1960. However, the publisher Rosenkilde and Bagger did not want to release it before volume II (Bødker on *Folk Literature*) was printed. But Bødker was delayed time and again, and it was decided to release volume I in September 1961. The project leader Erixon, the main editor Hultkrantz, and the secretary Hellbom were obviously annoyed with all the problems that cropped up in Copenhagen,<sup>93</sup> until Bødker's volume finally appeared in 1965. If Hultkrantz's volume strove in vain to keep a European focus and to tone down its American bias, Bødker's volume had the opposite problem, as testified by its subtitle: *Germanic*.

One should expect that after so many vicissitudes, alterations, refusals, pecuniary and organizational problems, and not least so many years, the project leaders would be satisfied and happy that the project was finished. Hultkrantz's volume was a handy one of only 282 pages, running from "Acceptance" and "Acculturation" to "Volkstumskunde" and "Vulgas in Populo". It was much smaller than Erixon had originally planned – due to the fact that all empirical terms were left out. It was pointed out in the annual project reports (1959, 1961, 1963, 1964)<sup>94</sup> that volume I dealt with general ethnological concepts and definitions only; it was not an inventory of all the "realia" on which the disciplines of European ethnology and folklore worked. So the dictionary committee decided to do "damage repair" by planning more volumes. At the CIAP Board meeting in Kiel in 1959, the committee got acceptance for the planning of several new volumes: Erixon had actually planned no less than 12 more volumes. Two were already in progress around 1960, notably Jouko Hautala (1910–1983) working on terms concerning folk beliefs and Sigurd Erixon and collaborators on terms used for the study of settlement, village organization, and house construction. Kustaa Vilkkuna had agreed to write a volume on fishing and hunting terms. And other volumes were in planning. However, none of these were finished – at least not in the form of international dictionaries.



## XIV 1955: Arnhem, Amsterdam and European Ethnology – and a Political Intermezzo

When I accepted the charge of Secretary General of the CIAP, I thought of the help of more experienced colleagues for whose scientific value I had great respect, because I think it worth fighting for the science we are devoted to, sparing no efforts to bring it up to its right high level. If you think of the great number of those who have a too superficial and episodic conception of it, without the sense of the unity of the culture in its many relations with the human societies, you understand that all my hope was that, supported by the few like you, I could contribute to a radical transformation of the present state of things. In the International congress of folklore in Arnhem, I am going to fight for an ethnological thesis, and I firmly think of the help of your opinion, which I often quote in my communication, as well as that of Marcel Maget. But we will certainly be a very sad minority.

(Letter from Jorge Dias to Sigurd Erixon, 7 July 1955, on the subject of the forthcoming Arnhem congress.)<sup>95</sup>

After the General Assembly of CIAP in Paris in 1954, the legitimacy strife was over. A new board had been elected, with Reidar Th. Christiansen as President and Jorge Dias as Secretary General. New commissions were ap-



The Board of CIAP at the Arnhem congress in September 1955, posing in front of St Hubertusslot, in De Hoge Veluwe National Park, just north of Arnhem. From the left: Jorge Dias (Portugal), Helmut Dölker (West Germany), Milovan Gavazzi (Yugoslavia), Reidar Th. Christiansen (Norway), Winand Roukens (Netherlands) with his back towards the photographer, Stith Thompson (USA), Pierre-Louis Duchartre (France), Sigurd Erixon (Sweden), Albert Marinus (Belgium), Georges Henri Rivière (France). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41409 (photo cut).





An excursion on the canals, Amsterdam-Volendam, 1955. In the front, with a pipe in his hand, Hilmar Stigum (Oslo). In the second row, with a cigar, Kai Uldall (Copenhagen) and D. Orel (Ljubljana). In the third row Milovan Gavazzi (Zagreb) and an unknown lady. In the fourth row Niilo Valonen (Helsinki) and Ernst Burgsteller (Linz). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41424 (photo cut).

pointed, a working programme adopted, and peace reigned with UNESCO. And Sigurd Erixon had obtained what he wanted: a presumably orderly and functional organization, a Nordic president, and himself in an important but not too exposed position, from where he could continue his campaign for a regional European ethnology.

During the winter of 1954–55 Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum – the Dutch open-air museum in Arnhem – issued invitations for a “Congrès international de folklore”, to be arranged in September 1955 “with the cooperation of CIAP”. The host was the museum’s director Winand Roukens (1896–1974). At the same time it was decided to invite around fifteen of the most prominent scholars to a two-day post-seminar in Amsterdam, hosted by the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences and its secretary for the Dutch Folklore Commission, P. J. Meertens, “to discuss the results obtained at the congress”.<sup>96</sup> Meertens was a close collaborator of Erixon and Dias in the at-



The Board of CIAP at the Arnhem congress, September 1955, posing on a village street in Zaanse Schans. From the left: Sigurd Erixon (Sweden), Albert Marinus (Belgium), Reidar Th. Christiansen (Norway), Helmut Dölker (West Germany), unknown woman, Jorge Dias (Portugal), Georges Henri Rivière (France), Pierre-Louis Duchartre (France), Stith Thompson (USA), and Milovan Gavazzi (Yugoslavia). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41324.

las commission, and it was probably the three who had contrived the second, closed conference.

As usual, Sigurd and his wife Edit arrived by car with the Strömboms and their driver, and the four-day congress started on 20 September, gathering more than a hundred participants. All were selected and personally invited. Compared to earlier congresses of folklore or ethnology, where the lecturers freely chose their topics and read their papers, the Arnhem congress stands out as the first modern one. The overall theme was European ethnology as a scholarly discipline, its definition and delimitation, its unity and its name. Eight handpicked lecturers were given topics to talk on, and they were admonished to angle their presentations towards “the essence of the science” and “the present state of affairs”, and to “arrive at tangible results”.<sup>97</sup> These keynote lectures were short – only 25 minutes were allowed for each, as manuscripts had been distributed beforehand to the participants. Likewise with the one or two commentators (or “co-lecturers”) on each lecture, who gave prepared comments of 10 minutes’ length, before the general discussions started.<sup>98</sup>

This strictly controlled procedure must be credited the Dutch hosts. But



P. J. Meertens (Amsterdam) and Dag Strömbäck (Stockholm) at a reception at the Arnhem congress, 1955. Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41334 (photo cut).

it was CIAP's new Secretary General, Jorge Dias, who was the motive power behind the scholarly programme, in cooperation with Sigurd Erixon, G. H. Rivière and P. J. Meertens.<sup>99</sup> Topics treated were the position of folklore and ethnology in society, their relative regression, their relationship to other disciplines, the question of nomenclature, and, not least, the unity of folklore, ethnology, and anthropology. The most noteworthy contribution was Jorge Dias's opening lecture, "The quintessence of the problem: Nomenclature and subject-matter of folklore" (Dias 1956). It was a well-argued analysis of European ethnology and its relationship to general ethnology, which pointed directly to the discussions at the subsequent Amsterdam conference.

Erixon kept a lower profile in Arnhem, acting only as 'co-lecturer' to Karl Meisen's discourse on "Folklore as a Social Science" (Erixon 1956). His



The Arnhem congress, 1955. Sigurd Erixon lecturing on modern art? Around the Picasso painting in the Kröller-Müller Museum: In grey suit J. Hansen (Roermond), in dark suits Gösta Berg (Stockholm), Sigurd Erixon, and Dag Strömbäck (Uppsala). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41404 (photo cut).

different contributions did not pass unnoticed, however. Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann wrote enthusiastically (1955:84):

Erixon's presentations gave a clear insight into the broad scope of our discipline in research and teaching, as it is conceived in Scandinavia; here the discipline in all its sociological breadth is referred to with the highly appropriate term "Folklivsforskning".

Not everyone, though, was happy with Erixon's suggestions. When he supported Dias's proposal of a unitary name for the discipline – that is ethnology – and to subsume folklore under that discipline, he met with massive opposition in the discussion.<sup>100</sup> It was obviously a strategic move to adjourn these issues to the post-seminar and to a restricted group of colleagues. However, there was a pronounced will in general – throughout the lectures





The Arnhem congress, 1955. From the left Oskar Loorits, Uppsala, who upset the whole congress by his frontal attack on his East German colleague Wolfgang Steinitz. Next Winand Roukens (Arnhem), J. M. Ritz (Munich), B. Bratanić (Zagreb), and J. Hanika (Munich). Photo: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem. AA 41434 (photo cut).

and discussions – for the discipline(s) to focus more strongly on the social dimension and to pay more attention to contemporary issues and less to history.

Erixon had his great moment in Amsterdam, when thirteen selected scholars met in the more relaxed setting of the Royal Dutch Academy, to conclude after Arnhem. The deliberations ended with a set of recommendations. The final document<sup>101</sup> more or less followed the programme from Arnhem. The most important section was on terminology, relating to Dias's lecture and Bratanić's "co-lecture". The group recommended that on an international level the name of the discipline (comprising folklore, material and social culture) should be *ethnology*, with the qualification *regional* or *national* when it was necessary to distinguish between "so-called historical peoples and peoples without a written history". The term *folklore* should be used exclusively for the study of one of the discipline's constituent parts, "la culture spirituelle". The recommendation was unanimous, but the German and Austrian participants (Helmut Dölker and Leopold Schmidt) made their reservations; they would confer with their colleagues and report back to

CIAP. However, the German-speaking scholars were not willing to leave the terms and the dichotomy *Volkskunde–Völkerkunde*, nor to accept a subordination to *Völkerkunde* (Weber-Kellermann 1955; Lühti 1955).

Section II dealt with the museums of “regional ethnology”, their exhibitions and research, relating to Hilmar Stigum’s lecture and Rivière’s “co-lecture”. It was recommended that these museums should avoid exhibiting isolated objects and endeavour to present material cultural in social, ideological, and historical contexts. Urgency plans should be made for documentation and collecting of heritage threatened by disappearance, and “man’s behaviour in face of industrialization” should be studied. As for section V, the teaching of ethnology (relating to lectures by Martti Haavio and Stith Thompson), it was recommended, among other things, that students of regional ethnology should be offered courses in general ethnology, and vice versa.

The recommendations were edited in French and intended for CIAP. A copy was sent to UNESCO, where they were warmly received. UNESCO officials found them so interesting that the text was immediately translated into English and distributed to a number of scholars and museums in other parts of the world.<sup>102</sup> Within CIAP, however, their impact was less spectacular, to put it mildly. The thirteen handpicked participants in Amsterdam were hardly representative of the scholarly community at large. Both the unity of the discipline and its proposed name would soon be challenged again. There was severe resistance to defining the three branches as specialities of one and the same discipline, as well as to acknowledging them as a regional variant of anthropology. The main opposition came from the folklorists. And Marinus, who was deeply offended because he had not been invited to Amsterdam (nor to give a lecture in Arnhem), would soon unearth the hatchet again.<sup>103</sup>

Post-war CIAP had been an organization for Western Europe, with contacts with the two American continents. When Erixon called his congress in 1951 “European and Western Ethnology”, it just reflected the fact that “European ethnology” for all practical purposes was synonymous with the ethnology that was practised to the west of the Iron Curtain. With the exception of Yugoslavia and to some extent East Germany and Poland, contacts with Eastern Europe were practically non-existent through the 1950s.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, CIAP had always functioned as a non-political organization, in the sense that it never invited discussions on the state of culture research and the conditions of the researchers in the East. But at the closure of the congress in Arnhem there was an intermezzo that challenged this policy.

Only one scholar from the other side of the Iron Curtain had been invited to the congress, Professor Wolfgang Steinitz from East Berlin, nicknamed “der rote Volkskundler” by Western colleagues. Steinitz had participated at some conferences in West Europe earlier, for instance at the Vienna congress in 1952, where Erixon had first experienced his attacks on western



points of view (see above). Dutch authorities refused him a visa, however, and Steinitz wrote a long letter to Roukens, asking him to read it to the audience at the congress – a practice that was fairly common. In the letter<sup>105</sup> Steinitz expressed his regrets at not being able to participate, he commented on and criticized one of the pre-distributed papers – from both a historical-marxist and a political point of view, he criticized Western attitudes and regretted the lack of cooperation between East and West, he wanted Easterners to be represented with equal rights in commissions and committees, and he praised cooperation in general.

After the reading of the letter by Roukens, who just wanted to use it for a formal closure of the congress, there came from the audience an unexpected “*Ich bitte das Wort!*” It came from Oskar Loorits (1900–1961), Estonian refugee who lived in exile in Sweden, working as an archivist in Uppsala, after having fled the Soviet-occupied Estonia in 1944. Loorits’ talk contained serious accusations against Steinitz of espionage, provocations, and informing. It also implied hard criticism of the congress organizers for having invited a communist agent and spy like Steinitz when international cooperation was on the agenda. Thirdly, it contained a profound regret that the Western community of scholars had turned their back on oppressed populations and their exiled researchers. And his final word was “*J’accuse!*”<sup>106</sup>

All were taken by surprise, and there was no debate. Roukens uttered some confused phrases to “*mein Freund Loorits*”, the CIAP President Christiansen thanked the hosts for the whole arrangement, and all went to lunch. The “*intermezzo*” is not even mentioned in the minutes of the congress.<sup>107</sup>

Although Loorits was met with a resounding silence there and then, the incident had a sequel. A few institutions expressed their gratitude to Roukens for having invited an exiled scholar. But Steinitz soon learned what had happened, and he started a correspondence that lasted far into 1956.<sup>108</sup> Through the letters from Steinitz and Loorits appears a complex picture of the events before and during the war. Steinitz himself had been expelled from Germany by the Nazis in 1933, emigrated to Russia, from where he apparently also was expelled, and his main base from 1938 to 1946 had been Stockholm. Loorits elaborated his version in a detailed report,<sup>109</sup> where he relates about the oppression of scholars in Estonia, under both the Communist occupation (1940–41 and again from 1944) and the Nazi occupation (1941–1944), about Steinitz’s role during his stays in Estonia (1933, 1937, 1940), how he had been reported on by Steinitz, interrogated, and threatened with execution, how his family had been killed and how he had had a close escape. Steinitz, who held a very high position in East Germany – as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Vice President of the Academy of Sciences – rejected Loorits’ version as a pack of lies. He distributed his version to all the ethnological institutes and academies in Eastern Europe, from Moscow to Albania – institutions that all supported

Steinitz. To quote just one reaction, from the newly elected CIAP Board member Piwocki from Warsaw: “Any collaboration between us and colleagues from the capitalist countries becomes impossible, when we are met with such insults. This must be made clear.”<sup>110</sup>

We do not know Erixon’s reactions, but he must have felt the situation rather awkward, knowing both parties from Stockholm and Uppsala. After all, his institution had welcomed Baltic refugees, and he knew better than anyone that CIAP totally lacked the muscle that Looirts called for. The incident created a cold front for some time, at least in CIAP’s relations to Eastern Europe. Steinitz sought cooperation with the anthropologists in ICAES. In the mid 1960s, however, Steinitz would become a supporter of Erixon in the renewed debate about the name of the discipline and its relationship to anthropology (Rogan 2008a).

## XV A Closing Remark: Culmination – and Dark Clouds on the Horizon

I am very glad to know that you are decided to fight for a more ethnological basis of our science, for whose improvement you have done so much. Although those who are in the opposite field are much more in number and daring, I am sure that sooner or later our point of view will impose itself for its own evidence.

(Letter of 1 August 1955 from Dias to Erixon)<sup>111</sup>

In spite of the Looirts-Steinitz controversy as a reminder of the political situation in Europe, the Arnhem-Amsterdam congress marked a peak in the history of CIAP. Never had a congress been so well organized, and hardly had there been a congress that had been so marked by self-reflexivity and filled so many scholars with optimism about the future of the discipline. In 1955 the hundred or so most prominent ethnologists and folklorists of Europe were at least willing to discuss difficult issues such as the importance of studying contemporary topics and the social dimensions of culture, the unity of the discipline, its relation to general anthropology and its designation. When he left Amsterdam, Erixon must have felt that his strategy for creating a platform for European ethnology was a success. Notwithstanding the debate and opposition in Arnhem, the Amsterdam recommendations went hand in glove with his plans for the discipline.

Furthermore, the CIAP Board meeting, which had taken place at the beginning of the congress, had been a calm and well-organized session, not least thanks to the new Secretary General. The board had been expanded with three new members: the Brazilian folklorist and musicologist Renato Almeida (1895–1981), the local host Winand Roukens, and Xavier Piwocki – professor in Warsaw. Erixon was probably very content with this extension to Eastern Europe as well as to South America. The programme for the

years 1957 and 1958 was planned, comprising several conferences (a General Assembly in Rome, a conference on fairy tales in Oslo, and one on vernacular architecture in Paris).<sup>112</sup>

None of these events took place, however, and disappointments and lethargy, as well as reversals and infighting, would be the order of the day for several years. Especially the issues of the unity of the discipline and its designation would haunt CIAP in the following years and split its members, as seen in 1964 when CIAP became SIEF.

It is a story so sad that it is perhaps not worth telling, had it not been for two things. One is the incredible energy and persistence of Sigurd Erixon in pursuing his goals. The other is the fact that this story is part of the heritage of European ethnology and folklore, and as such it should not be forgotten. The period 1956 until 1968, when Erixon died, will be the framing of the last part of this “biography of an internationalist”.

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Erixon also found time for fieldwork, in between his trips to the Continent. He made several visits to Norway. In 1957 he visited the west coast of Norway, together with Nils Lid and Rigmor Frimannslund (Holmsen). Photo: Riksarkivet. Privatarkiv 1342, Rigmor Frimannslund Holmsen.

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## *Archives*

Delargey Center for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection, Dublin (DUBLIN)

Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Arnhem (ARNHEM)

NB: I use the museum's references, although these archives were moved to Gelders Archief, Arnhem, in summer 2007.

Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam (MEERTENS)

Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Paris. (MNATP).

NB: I use the MNATP references, although the greater part of this collection was transferred to the Meertens Institute, Amsterdam, in May 2012. The rest is now being transferred to MuCEM in Marseille.

Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.

Collection: Sigurd Erixons samlingar (SE)

Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, Vienna (VIENNA)

UNESCO/The League of Nations, Paris (UNESCO)

All translations to English from Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, French and German by Bjarne Rogan.

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<sup>1</sup> Summary of a conference paper, probably from Stockholm 1951, or possibly from Namur 1953, signed Sigurd Erixon. MEERTENS 35:871.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of 2 May 1963 from Roger Pinon to Karel C. Peeters. MNATP: Peeters 4.

<sup>3</sup> The League's Geneva-based suborganization CICI (*la Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle*), was an organization responsible for international cooperation within the field of art, museums and culture. An affiliated institution in Paris, *l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle* (IICI), became the executive organ of CICI.

<sup>4</sup> First IAFE (1936), then IAEEF (1937).

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-Liv* 1939:104ff.

<sup>6</sup> UNESCO archives, Paris, IICI Correspondance, F.IX.8 Participation de la Suède. Letter from Erixon dated 31.1.1928 and from Dupierreux registered 8.2.1928.

<sup>7</sup> Some documents concerning the revival efforts in 1945 are contained in UNESCO I.I.C.I. Correspondance F. IX.80 Relations entre l'Institut et la CIAP (1936–45), file I.I.C.I. CIAP Réunion du bureau (28 Nov. 1936). But several other boxes were missing when I visited the archive in 2002–3, among them Correspondance F.IX.84 Réorganisation de la CIAP.

<sup>8</sup> Rapport sur la reunion de la CIAP à Genève, nov. 1945. MNATP: ATP org CIAP. Written by Marcel Maget.

<sup>9</sup> At the time, Emrich held the position as head of the Archives of the American Folk Song section of the Library of Congress, Washington. Soon after, however, he left folklore studies and did not return to the field until 1969.

<sup>10</sup> See Minutes/Compte-rendu sommaire des travaux de la 1ère session plénière. Paris, Musée de l'Homme, 1–5 oct. 1947. MNATP: Org. ATP-CIAP 1947–48–49 etc. There is also some material on the 1947 meeting in UNESCO Reg. 39 A01 ICFAF (International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore, which was the English name for CIAP after the war).

<sup>11</sup> Letters from Campbell to Séamus Ó Duilearga and Séan O'Sullivan (23.10. and 19.12.1947). DUBLIN. I am grateful to Professor Nils Arvid Bringéus for drawing my attention to these letters.

<sup>12</sup> Manuscript to Erixon's speech, 14.12.1948, on the occasion of the establishment of the Swedish national committee. SE. Translation BR.

- <sup>13</sup> See e.g. *Bulletin* 1950 C.I.P.S.H. (Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines). UNESCO.
- <sup>14</sup> Notes and correspondence 1951–1953. SE 8:35.
- <sup>15</sup> For example, West Germany was admitted membership in UNESCO in 1951, Spain in 1952, East Germany in 1972.
- <sup>16</sup> Letters of 12 August 1953 from Marinus to Erixon and of 17 August 1953 from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35
- <sup>17</sup> Manuscript, SE 8:75.
- <sup>18</sup> See several documents in SE 8:27 and SE 8:77, e.g. Erixon's concluding intervention (ms); Eskeröd's short report; letter (undated) from Arthur Haberlandt to Foundoukidis; etc.
- <sup>19</sup> See letter from Sigfrid Svensson to Erixon of 16 February 1952. SE 8:27: "I quite agree concerning the close relationship between the disciplines [... However, at the mixed congresses] our special interests would become but an infinitely tiny, specialized detail among [themes like] Bantu negroes, Tasmanians and people from Tierra del Fuego, or among problems concerning hereditary albinism, chronic infantilism, family planning or the differentiation of Indian languages, etc. "
- <sup>20</sup> "Resultat och beslut. Sammanfattning". SE 8:77.
- <sup>21</sup> The members were Sigurd Erixon, Gösta Berg, Åke Campbell, Sverker Ek, Dag Strömbäck, Sigfrid Svensson, Albert Eskeröd and Mats Rehnberg.
- <sup>22</sup> The above-mentioned report, written in Swedish ("Resultat och beslut ..." SE 8:77), contains an overview of the CIAP GA meeting, but only in a very general way and not in the form of minutes.
- <sup>23</sup> See Eskeröd 1952:115: "The Congress decided to encharge [sic] the Swedish Organizing Committee with finding a way of furthering international work until a new congress of European Ethnology would be held."
- <sup>24</sup> See part III of this article series.
- <sup>25</sup> See for instance the taped and transcribed discussion from Arnhem 1955. ARNHEM 558 General correspondence.
- <sup>26</sup> See letter from Erixon to Professor Alf Sommerfelt, Oslo, December 20, 1952. SE 8:35.
- <sup>27</sup> See SE (Sigurd Erixons arkiv), section 8.
- <sup>28</sup> The development of Swedish Folk-Life research during recent years [...] B. The Institute for Folk Life Research at the Nordiska Museet and the University of Stockholm (Report to the 1951 Stockholm congress), p. 7. SE 8:77.
- <sup>29</sup> SE 8:73. For other years, there are notes concerning congresses and diaries, but no systematic reports.
- <sup>30</sup> SE 8:27. Letter (undated, probably September 1951) from A. Haberlandt to the presidency of CIAP.
- <sup>31</sup> Letters from S. de Madriaga of 28 April 1952 to the UNESCO General Director and of April 29, 1952 to Foundoukidis. Copies in SE 8:35.
- <sup>32</sup> Letter of 4 December 1952, from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
- <sup>33</sup> Letter of 9 December 1952 from Marinus to Erixon. SE 8:35.
- <sup>34</sup> Letter of 16 September 1953 from Dr. Ernst Baumann to GHR. MNATP: ORG. DIV. CIAP Comptabilité 1950–53.
- <sup>35</sup> See letter of 17 July 1953, from van Gennep to Erixon. SE 8:35.
- <sup>36</sup> Letter of 20 December 1952, from Erixon to Sommerfelt. SE 8:35.
- <sup>37</sup> Letter of 26 March 1953, from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
- <sup>38</sup> Letter of 27 April 1953, from van Gennep to Erixon. SE 8:35.
- <sup>39</sup> Correspondence from December 1952 until spring 1953, mostly letters from Marinus to Erixon and Foundoukidis, and Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
- <sup>40</sup> Letters of 27 April and 21 May 1953 from Marinus to Erixon and to Foundoukidis. SE 8:35. There is also a large administrative correspondence on these issues in several archives.
- <sup>41</sup> Letter of 10 June 1953, from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.

- <sup>42</sup> Letter of 12 June 1953 from Erixon to Marinus, SE 8:35.
- <sup>43</sup> Letter of 29 June 1953, from Marinus to van Gennepe. SE 8:35.
- <sup>44</sup> Letters of 12 June and 29 June 1953, from Marinus to van Gennepe. Letter of 13 June 1953 from Marinus to Erixon. SE 8:35.
- <sup>45</sup> Letter of 18 June 1953 from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
- <sup>46</sup> MNATP: ORG. DIV. CIAP Comptabilité 1950–53. See also UNESCO: ICFAF Reg. 39 A01.
- <sup>47</sup> See e.g. letters of 11 July 1953 from Erixon to van Gennepe; of 17 July 1953 from van Gennepe to Erixon; of 7 August 1953 from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
- <sup>48</sup> Letter of 25 August 1953, from Erixon to Lid. SE: 8:35.
- <sup>49</sup> Letter of 23 July 1953 from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
- <sup>50</sup> See Caillot 2011, especially pp. 189ff.
- <sup>51</sup> Letter from Erixon to van Gennepe, undated (September 1953, during his travel in France), possibly the only one in French from his own hand.
- <sup>52</sup> Letter of 17 July 1953, from van Gennepe to Erixon. SE 8:35. To his disappointment, the painting was from 1856, and not from 1756, as van Gennepe had believed. See undated letter (September 1953) from Erixon to van Gennepe, SE 8:35.
- <sup>53</sup> In several archives: MEERTENS (35: 870); MNATP (ATP CIAP Assemblée générale, Paris 1954; CIAP (1953) Namur).
- <sup>54</sup> MNATP: CIAP (1953) Namur.
- <sup>55</sup> Letter from G. H. Rivière to Jorge Dias of 19 November 1953. MNATP: CIAP 1953–57. Instances.
- <sup>56</sup> Rapport confidentiel du trésorier à l'Assemblée Générale de la CIAP (Paris, 3 juillet 1954): MEERTENS 35: 870; See also *Laos* 1955 vol. III.
- <sup>57</sup> Thompson, who met Foundoukidis on a couple of occasions, has rendered his impressions in his biography, see Thompson 1996:274–75.
- <sup>58</sup> Letter of 5 January 1954, from Erixon to Stith Thompson. SE 8: 35.
- <sup>59</sup> Letter of 11 December 1954, from Erixon to Rivière. SE 8:35.
- <sup>60</sup> MNATP: CIAP Assemblée générale, Paris 1954.
- <sup>61</sup> Letter of 17 April 1954, from Rivière to Erixon. SE: 28.
- <sup>62</sup> SE 8:35; MNATP: CIAP Assemblée générale, Paris 1954; NF boks 84.
- <sup>63</sup> SE 8:35; VIENNA: box 02; See also *Laos* 1955, vol. III.
- <sup>64</sup> MEERTENS 35:870.
- <sup>65</sup> Printed in *Laos* vol. III:176–180.
- <sup>66</sup> Letter of 25 December 1954, from Rivière to Erixon. SE 8:35. Rivière here underlines the role of UNESCO and their “advice”.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>68</sup> Letter of 27 July 953 from Erixon to Marinus. SE 8:35.
- <sup>69</sup> Circular of 8 May 1954. MNATP: CIAP Assemblée générale, Paris 1954.
- <sup>70</sup> Letter of 11 April 1950, from Erixon to Berg. SE 8:36.
- <sup>71</sup> Cf. e.g. Christophe & al. 2009.
- <sup>72</sup> See correspondence in April and May between Erixon and van Gennepe on the profile of Laos. SE 8:36.
- <sup>73</sup> See debate in *Conférence de Namur ...*, pp. 84–87, 80–89.
- <sup>74</sup> See SE 8:29a Protokoll från CIPSH-mötet i Paris 1953. Anteckningar om Laos och dess problem, CIAPs anslag och ansökningar; SE 8:29b Fortsättning på föregående volym; See also the stenographic minutes from Namur, September 1953, section 31–32/1. MNATP: CIAP (1953) Namur.
- <sup>75</sup> Erixon 1955:7. See also letter of 5 January 1954 (SE 8:35), from Erixon to Stith Thompson, where Erixon explains that UNESCO simply refused to support journals “of the usual kind” and that vol. III would have to be devoted entirely to the international activities of CIAP – and that III would be the last volume.

- <sup>76</sup> For a more detailed presentation, see Rogan 2012.
- <sup>77</sup> See letters and reports in SE 8:29b.
- <sup>78</sup> Erixon's introduction in Namur, as printed in *Laos* (Erixon 1955c) varies in some details from the version printed in *Conférence de Namur* (1956).
- <sup>79</sup> A large part of the debate and the interventions are published in *Conférence de Namur*, pp. 49–79.
- <sup>80</sup> See for instance Weber 2009 for a brief survey.
- <sup>81</sup> Tätigkeitsbericht der “Commission for international Cartography”. Unsigned and undated report (Erixon, 1961), also in a Swedish draft. SE 8:31. See also Bratanić 1965.
- <sup>82</sup> Tätigkeitsbericht ..., see the above footnote.
- <sup>83</sup> Tätigkeitsbericht ... See also Lerche & Steensberg 1980:15.
- <sup>84</sup> Tätigkeitsbericht ...
- <sup>85</sup> Report of 25 August 1961 (Ein Komitée für “an international conference on ploughing implements ...”); also a draft in Swedish: SE 8:31.
- <sup>86</sup> The dictionary is commented upon in *CIAP Information* no. 2, July 1948.
- <sup>87</sup> See Erixon 1955f:20.
- <sup>88</sup> See the CIPSH Bulletin 1950:50.
- <sup>89</sup> Letter from Erixon to Marinus of 17 April 1952. SE 8:35.
- <sup>90</sup> Correspondence from December 1951 to April 1953 between Erixon, Liljebblad and Lid. SE 8:35. Erixon's lecture at the Stockholm congress in 1951. SE 8:27.
- <sup>91</sup> Letters from Erixon to Marinus of 10 June, 23 July and 7 August 1953, SE 8:35. Undated note from Erixon, SE 8:29B.
- <sup>92</sup> Letter of 23 July 1953, from Stigum to Erixon (SE 8:35), also printed in *Laos* vol. III.
- <sup>93</sup> See correspondence and reports in SE 8:28, SE 8:31, SE 8:35.
- <sup>94</sup> SE 8:31. See also MNATP: Peeters 3 and 5.
- <sup>95</sup> MNATP: CIAP 1953–57 Instances. Letter no. 122 from J. Dias.
- <sup>96</sup> Invitation letter of January 1955. ARNHEM 558 General correspondence. For the planning and organization of the congress, see correspondence in ARNHEM 557 Invitations and 558 General correspondence.
- <sup>97</sup> Circulars of 8 February 1955. ARNHEM 557 Invitations and 558 General correspondence.
- <sup>98</sup> Programme. ARNHEM 561. See also *Compte-rendu du congrès international ...*, MEERTENS 35:1131.
- <sup>99</sup> See correspondence in MNATP: CIAP 1953–57 Instances.
- <sup>100</sup> The discussions are not published, but there exists a taped and transcribed version. ARNHEM 558 General correspondence.
- <sup>101</sup> Printed e.g. in *Actes du Congrès ...*, pp. 137–139; Erixon 1955–56.
- <sup>102</sup> See correspondence in January–February 1956. MEERTENS 35:1131.
- <sup>103</sup> See correspondence between Marinus and Meertens, December 1956 to March 1957. MEERTENS 35: 1131.
- <sup>104</sup> Some contacts were established in the late 1950s with Czechoslovakia and Hungary concerning cartography and atlas work. In 1955 in Arnhem Professor Xavier Pywocki (Warsaw) was elected to the Board of CIAP, but with the subsequent decline of the organization he probably did not participate in any activities.
- <sup>105</sup> Letter of 9 September 1955 from Steinitz to Roukens. MEERTENS 35:1131.
- <sup>106</sup> See taped and transcribed version of the discussions. ARNHEM 558 General correspondence.
- <sup>107</sup> *Compte-rendu du congrès international ...*, MEERTENS 35:1131.
- <sup>108</sup> See correspondence, MEERTENS 35:1131; Arnhem 558 General correspondence. See also Steinitz's response in *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* II (1956)
- <sup>109</sup> Pro Domu. MEERTENS 35:1131.
- <sup>110</sup> Letter of March 12, 1956, from Steinitz to East European colleagues. MEERTENS file CIAP letters 1956–1961.

<sup>111</sup> MNATP: CIAP 1953–57 Instances. Letter no. 136 from J. Dias.

<sup>112</sup> MNATP: CIAP 1955 à 1961.