folklor/edebiyat - folklore&literature, 2023; 29(2)-114. Sayı/Issue -İlkbahar/Spring
DOI: 10.22559/folklor.2459

Araştırma makalesi/Research article

Between Intangible Cultural Heritage and Folklore

Somut Olmayan Kültürel Miras ile Folklor Arasında

Dan Ben-Amos*

Abstract

During the last half a century, the concepts of folklore and heritage went respectively through parallel but inverted courses. I think there are serious problems in the mating of "Folklore" with "Intangible Cultural Heritage" and the differences between them are unrelated to age or generation gaps but are inherent conceptual incongruities between the two ideas. Shortly after Dorson declared folklore as "one of the remarkable stories of the present academic scene" (1970), folklore's wheel of fortune began to turn backward academically while its star rose on UNESCO horizons, emerging in tandem with the tangible and intangible heritage that has solidified as "Intangible Cultural Heritage" (ICH). Toward the end of the twentieth century, the term's use took off, appearing in handbooks, anthologies, monographic essays, and numerous articles. "Intangible Cultural Heritage," seemed the right resolution for the folklore crisis, not only in the United States and Germany but in all the nations that UNESCO unites, and folklorists flocked to it like a moth to

Geliş tarihi (Received): 2-01-2023– Kabul tarihi (Accepted): 10-04-2023

* Prof.Dr. The *University of Pennsylvania*. dbamos@sas.upenn.edu. ORCID ID 0000-0002-8540-7023

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

the flame. At first glance, the mutual attraction seemed perfect. What could have been more attractive to folklore, political freedom, and cultural liberation after many years of suppression, and yet had the full support of states and their political leaders? But the harmonious relations between Intangible Cultural Heritage and Folklore were short-lived because their inherent incompatibility could not sustain this union. The packaging of traditional culture for modern consumers deflates it from the symbolic values of these words and objects within their communities. when heritage begins, tradition ends. In this way, a society abdicates its collective social and cultural identity and turns itself into a staged show. There is no way but to conclude that with such a significant degree of separation, Intangible Cultural Heritage is not a mate for the discipline of folklore.

Keywords: *folklore, cultural heritage, intangible cultural heritage*

Öz

Son yarım asır boyunca folklor ve miras kavramları birbirinin yerine fakat birbirinden zıt bir şekilde ilerlemiştir. "Folklor" ile "Somut Olmayan Kültürel Miras" terimlerinin eşleştirilmesinde ciddi sorunlar olduğuna ve aralarındaki farkların ne onların yaşıyla ne de ikisi arasındaki kuşak farkından değil, ikisi arasındaki kavramsal uyuşmazlıklardan kaynaklandığına inanıyorum. Dorson'un "folkloru mevcut akademik sahnenin en dikkate değer öykülerinden biri olarak" (1970) ilan etmesinden kısa bir zaman sonra, folklorun talihi geriye doğru dönmeye başlarken yıldızı UNESCO ufuklarında, somut ve somut olmayan mirası katılaştıran "Somut Olmayan Kültürel Miras"la birlikte ortaya çıkmaya başladı. Yirminci yüzyılın sonlarına doğru terimin kullanımı el kitaplarında, antolojilerde, monografik denemelerde ve çok sayıda makalelerde yer alarak popülerleşti. "Somut Olmayan Kültürel Miras", folklorun içinde bulunduğu kriz için doğru bir çözüm gibi görünüyordu. Sadece ABD'de, Almanya'da değil UNESCO'nun birleştirdiği tüm milletlerde, folklorcular pervanenin ateşe yöneldiği gibi ona akın ettiler. İlk bakışta, bu karşılıklı çekim mükemmel görünüyordu. Uzun yıllar süren baskıdan sonra siyasi özgürlük ve kültürel bağımsızlık kazanmaktan, devletlerin ve liderlerinin tam desteğine sahip olmaktan daha çekici ne olabilirdi ki? Ne var ki, Somut olmayan Kültürel Miras ve Folklorun uyumlu ilişkisi, onların kalıtsal uyumsuzluklardan ve bu birlikteliği sürdüremedikleri için kısa ömürlü olmuştur. Geleneksel kültürün modern tüketiciler için paketlenmesi, kültürü ait olduğu toplumun içindeki kelimelerin, nesnelerin sembolik değerlerinden uzaklaştırır. Mirasın başladığı yerde, gelenek biter. Bu şekilde toplum, kolektif sosyal ve kültürel kimliğinden vazgeçer, kendisini bir sahne gösterisine dönüştürür. Bu kadar önemli bir ayrışma ile Somut Olmayan Kültürel Mirasın folklor disiplinin eşi olmadığı sonucuna varmaktan başka bir yol yoktur.

Anahtar sözcükler: *folklor, kültürel miras, somut olmayan kültürel miras*

Introduction

In 1972, my teacher, Professor Richard M. Dorson (1916-1981), published a new edited volume, *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*, which included essays by leading American folklore scholars. As an "Introduction" (pp. 1-50), Dorson recycled his article "Current Folklore Theories" (Dorson, 1963), which he had published nine years earlier. At that time, he identified five major dominant theories of folklore studies in the mid-twentieth century: "Comparative Folklore Theories" (Dorson, 1963, pp. 93-96), "National Folklore Theories" (pp. 96-101), "Anthropological Theory" (pp. 101-105), "Psychoanalytical Folklore Theory" (pp. 105-109), and "Structural Folklore Theory" (pp. 109-110). But nine years later he noticed a sixth theory percolating in American folklore studies and he added to his earlier essay a new brief chapter on a "contextual" theory (Dorson, 1972, pp. 45-47). He pointed out that "[w]hile as yet they do not form a cohesive school, they do share… a leaning toward the social sciences, particularly anthropology, linguistics, and the cultural aspects of psychology and sociology; a strong preoccupation with the environment in which the folklore text is embedded; and an emphasis on theory. They object strenuously to the text being extrapolated from its context in language, behavior, communication, expression, and performance, overlapping terms they continually employ. These ideas unite such young Turks among the folklorists as Roger Abrahams [1933-2017], Dan Ben-Amos, Alan Dundes [1934-2005], Robert Georges [1933-2022], and Kenneth Goldstein [1927-1995]."

I was motivated to select my topic by a phrase I read in a manuscript I anonymously reviewed for one of our journals. The eloquent and thoughtful scholar who pondered the question of the history of tradition, concluded the manuscript with the provocative statement: "This insight may serve to prepare us for the next turn of the screw: The contemporary transformation of tradition into *cultural heritage* [my italics] adding new dimensions to the old story."

This indeed is a very tempting idea. During the last half a century the two concepts of folklore and heritage went respectively through parallel but inverted courses, which, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, converged in the freshly minted concept of "Intangible Cultural Heritage"(ICH). Could this be a marriage made in heaven? Marriages may be made in heaven, but they take place on earth, and we can legitimately wonder, "how on earth did the two of them get together? What made them attractive to each other to begin with, and how could they turn a few dates into a lifelong marriage?"

By taking a glance into their biography, or rather history, switching back from the metaphoric heaven and earth into the scholarly reality, it is legitimate to ask how does an over hundred and fifty-year-old concept, who some say is much older (Mazo, 1996), get together with a fresh late 20th-century idea that emerged out of the political crucible of the United Nations? Odd as it may seem, a glance into the history of folklore, and the academic straight jacket in which it found itself at the end of the twentieth century, may offer some explanation for the attraction between this couple of terms and shed light on the pursuit of Intangible Cultural Heritage instead of folklore, by thoughtful folklorists (Foster and Gilman, eds. 2015).

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

In a reflective moment, it does not escape me that my response to the concept of "Intangible Cultural Heritage" might be a symptom of a generation gap. In 1977, Gershon Legman (1917-1999) a folklorist whom I admire, published anonymously (J.H. B., 1977)[2] a satirical essay ridiculing the new wave in folklore scholarship known colloquially as "The New Perspectives," after the title of a volume that Paredes and Bauman edited (Paredes and Bauman, 1972). "Am I now in his place, upset by a new turn in folklore studies that younger folklorists are introducing?" Certainly, this is not a dismissible idea. Science and scholarship progress not by accumulation of theories, but rather by their dismissal as Thomas Kuhn convincingly revolutionized the perception of progress in knowledge (Barnes, 1982; Fuller, 2000; Gutting, ed., 1980; Kuhn, 1962, 2000; Lakatos and Musgrave, eds., 1970). Yet, I think there are serious problems in the mating of "Folklore" with "Intangible Cultural Heritage" and the differences between them are unrelated to age or generation gaps but are inherent conceptual incongruities between the two ideas. A brief overview of their respective histories might expose them and forestall a doomed mating.

Folklore in the making

Customarily, within folklore scholarship, its history begins with the modern coinage of the term "folklore". Recruiting the authority of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), Richard Dorson celebrated William John Thoms, alias Ambrose Merton (1803-1885), as a genius for his coinage of this term and thereby delineating, observing, and naming a cultural category that existed but had been unrecognized in society (Dorson, 1968, pp. 89-90). In doing so Dorson reaffirmed established interpretation of the history of folklore (Bennett, 1996; Boyer, 1997; Dundes, 1965, pp. 4-6; Emrich, 1946; Krappe, 1930, p. xv; Roper, 2008; Smith, 1947), upon which subsequent folklorists, among them his students, continued to construct the history of the discipline (i.e. Bronner, 2017, pp. 3-6; Georges and Owen, 1995, pp. 35; M.E.B., 1996; Simms and Stephens, 2005, p. 23).

Outside folklore scholarship, Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975) observed that "the narrow concept of popular character and of folklore was born in the pre-Romantic period and was basically completed by von Herder and the Romantics" (Bakhtin, 1968, p. 4). His focus was on folk laughter, the language of the marketplace, and festive rituals, not upon the entire range of folklore. Yet, conceptually he could have extended his argument to all the genres of oral literature, contending that a cultural category must exist before it is named. While his insight was valid, he had downplayed the contribution of Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) and the Romantics to the idea of the "folk" and the conception of folklore itself. Herder did not simply complete the concept, but changed its value, and thereby re-conceptualized the folk and its lore, and the relation between country and court.

In the history of civilization, literacy and urbanity became wedges that split apart cultures and societies that shared languages, religions, and social structures. Literacy infused a sense of superiority into its possessors. Already in the early and late antiquity, poets and thoughtful people argued against such superciliousness of the learned and the urbane. Hesiod in the 8th

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

century BCE wrote that "Gossip never dies, breathing in so many mouths. She is not unlike a god" (*Works and Days*, pp. 763-764).[3] In the 5th century BCE Aeschylus (456-425) wrote "The people murmur, and their voice is great in strength" (Grene and Lattimore, 1959, pp. 1:63, Agamemnon 938), and in the first century BCE in Rome, Seneca the Elder (55 BCE-39 CE) wrote "*crede mihi, sacra populi lingua est*" (…believe me, the people's tongue is divine) (Seneca, 1974, pp. 38-39; *Controversiae* 1.1.10). The rarity of such pronouncements, and their argumentative rhetoric underscored them as lone voices against a prevailing opinion that persisted in literate societies. The learned class in Europe did not abate their attitude toward the illiterate multitude for several centuries. In medieval texts the denigration of the people is evident by ignoring their language by the literate class. An explicit denouncement of the multitude is apparent in an exchange about a proverb that states the opposite. The first time the proverb *Vox Populi Vox Dei* (the voice of the people [is] the voice of God) appears in writing is in a letter written by Alcuin of York (735-804)[4], a friend and an adviser of Charlemagne and a teacher at the Carolingian court, sent to Charlemagne (742-814 C.E (Boas, 1969, pp. 8-13). While the proverb, quoted as a phrase that people "are accustomed to say" endorsed their voice, Alcuin himself argued against its validity, stating that "[t]he people in accordance with divine law are to be led, not followed. And when witnesses are needed, men of position are to be preferred. Nor are those to be listened to who are accustomed to say, "The voice of the people is the voice of God. For the clamor of the crowd [vulgi] is very close to madness" (Boas, 1969, p. 9, see also, Boas, 1973; Gallacher, 1945).

About half a millennium would have to pass before writers and authors would open the gates of literacy to vernacular languages, but once they did, there was no way nor need to close them. With the invention of print in the fifteenth century, oral poetry and oral literature found a cheap entry ticket into the markets of letters, and the tales, ballads, and proverbs of the rural folk had their impact on the minds of the urban intellectuals (Fox, 2000; Graff, 1981; Mundal and Wellendorf, 2008; Stewart, 1991; Stock, 1983; Watt, 1991). Other historical trends intertwined with the discovery of the rural backyards of European cities. In the Renaissance authors and poets, such as Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), Geoffrey Chaucer (1343-1400), Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano (1454-1494), and William Shakespeare (1564-1616), to name just a few, discovered vernacular languages and literatures;[5]explorers discovered the peoples without written histories (Ben-Amos, 1984; Hodgen, 1964; Wolf, 1982) whom Montaigne (1533-1592) welcomed in his essay "Of Cannibals" (written 1578-1580, see Montaigne, 1965, pp. 150-159, Célestin, 1996, pp. 28-62), and collectors discovered antiquities and curiosities in Europe and elsewhere (Findlen, 1996; Pomian, 1987; Stagl, 1995) as well as the medieval manuscripts of epics and sagas (Chinca and Young, eds. 2005; Goody, 1987; Goody and Watts, 1963; Green, 1994). These new discoveries broke down the walls of literacy within which European urban intellectuals fortified themselves. They encountered their counterculture but instead of denigrating, they smothered it with love and admiration. The supercilious attitude toward the non-literary rural folk transformed into a reconfiguration of their low social status into the literal roots and the basis upon which a national society had built its structure. Neither German, Finnish, Russian,

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

Irish nor English peasants considered themselves representing the "spirit", or better, to use Herder's metaphor, the soul, of their respective nations, in their language, metaphors, songs and tales, but the urban and literate societies of their respective countries did.

The lifting of the countryside population and the urban labor force out of the shadow of obscurity that literacy had cast over them, did not occur at once; it was a cultural historical process for which the German term *Volkskunde* and Thoms' English coinage of "folk-lore" were its linguistic buoys in culture and society. The festivals of everyday life (Bourne, 1725; Brand, 1777, 1813; Hone, 1826) that Thoms counted as the direct predecessors of his linguistic innovation (Merton, 1846), were not the only literary and cultural trends that converged in the idea of folklore. This is neither the time nor the place to engage in a detailed historical narrative of the ideational trends that coalesced in the concept of folklore, but it would suffice to point out the Renaissance "Pastoral Poetry" (Alpers, 1982, 1996, 2004; Bernard, 1996; Chaudhuri, 1989, pp. 177-180; Congleton, 1944, 1952; Gifford, 1999; Hulse et al., 1988), the Scottish philosophers that pondered, as philosophers do, the nature of human society (Grobman, 1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1977), the Italian thinker Gimbattista Vico (1668-1744) who ventured to propose the study of mankind as a science (Bayer and Verene, 2009; Berlin, 1976; Danesi, 1993; Lilla, 1993; Luft, 2003; Mali, 1992, 2003; Miller, 1993; Schaeffer, 1990; Tagliacozzo, 1993; idem, et al., 1969, 1976, 1978, 1986; Verene, 1991, 1994; Vico, 1961, 1965, 1982) that paralleled the science of the physical world formulated by Isaac Newton (1642-1727), the discovery, or creation of, the poetry of Ossian (Bauman and Briggs, 2003, pp. 128-162; Bold, 2001; McKean, 2001; Nagy, 2001; Porter, 2001; Stafford, 1988), and the lifting of balladry from oral performances and broadside publications (Day, 1987; Fox, 2000, pp. 1-9, pp. 248-250, pp. 382-893; Hirsh, 2011; Percy, 1765; Shepard, 1969; Watt, 1991, pp. 39-73; and see Baycroft and Hopkin, eds. 2012, pp. 403-415.)

Folklore as a science

William Thoms himself coined the term "folklore" but he did not conceive of it as a science. For him it was a journalistic title for a magazine column which he tended for four years, after which it petered out because of the lack of contributors (Roper, 2007, pp. 211, note 1). The first to propose folklore as a subject for a systematic scientific inquiry was Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (1823-1897) who considered "Volkskunde als Wissenschaft" in a lecture he delivered at the University of Münich in 1858 (Moser, 1978; Stein, 2001, p. 492) and published a year later (Riehl, 1859).[6] Five years later Johann Georg von Hahn (1811-1869)[7] reached the conclusion that "The study of folktales appears to have reached the stage in which a scientific view of its material, and the development of a precise terminology, have become essential preconditions of any continued progress" (1864, p. 40).

In England, folklorists considered their subject as appropriate to, and requiring of, scientific inquiry only in the last two decades of the 19th century. While Hartland published *The Science of Fairy Tales* in 1891, Gomme preceded him with an article "The Science of Folklore" that appeared in *The Folk-Lore Journal* in 1885, followed by others (Burne,

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

1885; Burne et. al., 1885; Glennie, 1889; Temple, 1886), and more than twenty years later published his famous *Folklore as an Historical Science* (1908), the significance of which was the subject of a President of the Folklore Society fifty years later (Burstein, 1957).

In England folklore scholarship developed primarily outside the academic institutions (Ashman, et. al., 1986:1 Briggs, 1978; Dorson, 1961; Sanderson and Evans,1970; Widdowson, 2010; Wingfield and Gosden, 2012).[8] Initially American scholars and folklorists followed the British model. The American Folklore Society was founded a decade after its British sister, in 1888. While its founder and the first editor of the *Journal of American Folklore*, William Wells Newell (1839-1907), was not on the faculty of any university (Abrahams, 1988; Bell, 1973), he recruited to the leadership of The American Folklore Society some of his generation's top scholars and public intellectuals in the humanities and the social sciences (Camp, 1989, p. 10). Among them were the anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942), the ballad scholar Francis James Child (1825-1896) and a major American author like Mark Twain (1835-1910), whose literary work touched upon folklore (Bell, 1955; Cuff, 1952; Franz, 1956; Strong, 1967; Winkelman, 1965; West, 1930). These and other scholars pursued folklore research and taught folklore courses. Francis Child's leading student at Harvard University, George Layman Kittredge (1860-1941), was lured from his studies of Shakespeare and the Middle Ages into folklore studies in America (Abrahams, 2000; Bauman, 2008; Birdsall, 1973; Hyder, 1962; Rudy, 1999, 2004), so much so that European scholars would send him inquiries about folktales among the Native Americans (Thompson, 1996, pp. 57-58). Yet the American universities and colleges kept the discipline of folklore in the waiting room for slightly over sixty years.

The American Folklore Society, rather than the universities, was the authority over research in folklore scholarship. For example, in the thirties, when the government initiated a massive folklore collecting project in many states, under the New Deal program (Grieve, 2009; Hirsch, 2003; Mangione, 1972; Penkower, 1977.), it was the American Folklore Society, to which government officials turned for approval (Ben-Amos, 2014; Mangione, 1972, p. 276; Weltfish, 1938, p. 103), rather than the universities.

The turning point came about at the conclusion of the Second World War. In 1945, The American Council of Learned Societies accepted the American Folklore Society into its ranks (Anon, 1945), and in 1950 the first doctoral program in folklore was established at Indiana University (Thompson, 1996, p. 152). This major event was accompanied by an international conference "Folklore in Midcentury" (Thompson, 1953) and consequently, even before the internet, the foundation of the folklore program at Indiana University reverberated around the globe. In 1957, Richard M. Dorson took the helm of the program and transformed it into a world-wide center for folklore scholarship with students flocking to Bloomington Indiana, literally from around the globe. Dorson and his faculty members conceived and developed an international community of folklore scholars. They organized conferences in Yugoslavia (Dorson, 1966) and in England (Dorson, 1970). The first "Conference on African Folklore" was held in Bloomington on the campus of Indiana University on July 16-18, 1970 (Dorson, ed. 1972), and in 1973 when the 9th World Congress of Anthropology was held in Chicago, a pre-Congress conference on the topic "Folklore in the Modern World" took place in Bloomington on

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

the campus of Indiana University on August 28-30, 1973 (Dorson, 1978; Dundes, 1977; Jason and Segal, 1977). Twenty years after the founding of the folklore department, Dorson could declare with pride that "[t]he vigorous development of folklore as a discipline in American universities is one of the remarkable stories of the present academic scene" (Dorson, 1970).

But then the wheel of fortune turned backwards. By the nineties of the previous century, folklorists in the United States held not one but two conferences in which they lamented the depressive state of folklore studies in American universities and colleges. First was the *Western Folklore,* in which a symposium on "Taking Stock: Current Problems and Future Prospects in American Folklore Studies" appeared in 1991. In his concluding statement, Elliott Oring wrote: "Almost everyone seems to agree that something is *wrong* [original emphasis] with folklore and that the future of folklore studies in the United States depends upon something being fixed or otherwise improved" (Oring, 1991, p. 75). Five years later, the *Journal of Folklore Research* dedicated a special issue to "Folklore in the Academy: The Relevance of Folklore to Language and Literature Departments"(1996), in which folklore's prospects were no brighter. To top it all, in celebrating the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the coinage of "folk-lore", Ilana Harlow convened a panel at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society in Pittsburg Pennsylvania, on the subject "What's in a Name", several folklorists, including Jane Beck, the President of the American Folklore Society that year, proposed to do away with the name "folklore" because the "name no longer communicates what we do or who we are"(Beck, 1997, p. 134; see also Ben-Amos, 1998; Bendix, 1998; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Motz, 1998; Oring, 1998; Schrempp, 1998). John Dorfman took the suggestion literally and a year later published an article in which he declared the death of folklore as an academic discipline (Dorfman, 1997). Crossing the millennium and entering the twenty-first century, the situation of folklore in the academy worsened. No wonder that Alan Dundes fell into an Ecclesiastic depression crying "[U]tter futility. utter futility! All is futile!" (Ecclesiastes 1:2), or in his own words: "[t]he state of folkloristics at the beginning of the twenty-first century is depressingly worrisome" (Dundes, 2005, p. 385; Oring, 2019, pp. 137-138).[9]

Folklore and volkskunde

While the folklore depression was not universal, it inflicted some key scholarly communities, each with its own symptoms. In the United States, the decline of folklore manifested itself particularly in the academic space with repercussions in scholarship, but in Germany, for example, it had deeper roots in politics and national ideology, reaching far back into the nascent stages of folklore, or rather *Volkskunde*. The semantic components of the term *Volkskunde*, which Åke Hultkrantz considered to be "the model for the English term *folklore* created by Thoms in 1846" (Hultkrantz, 1960, p. 243) held a scholarly promise, yet forecasted the destruction of folklore as an academic discipline in Germany. *Volkskunde* appeared in print, innocently enough, as early as 1782 in the popular journal "Der Reisende" (The Traveler), in an article that was likely written by its editor Friedrich Ekkard (1744-1819) (Kutter, 1978; Stagl, 1998, p. 524; Tokofsky, 1996, p. 207; Weber-Kellermann, et. al. 2003, p. 9-19). Initially the Czech scholar Josef Mader (1754-1815) adopted it as a term for statistical ethnography in

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

the European countryside (Guilláin, 2000, p. 39; Ward, 1981, p. 2, p. 344; Weber-Kellerman, et al 2003, p. 9). But the Philosophical-Romantic foundations of the concept were laid already in Herder's anthologies of international folksongs (Herder, 1778-1779) although he did not use the term *Volkskunde*. Herder couched national romanticism with humanism. Influenced by Vico (Berlin, 1976) he dressed Renaissance and Baroque pastoralism with nationalism that manifested itself in the formation of the unique attributes of each nation.

In Herder's term, all "folk literature" must be "literature of the people." It must be *volksmässig*. Herder originated the term *Volkslitteratur* or *Volkspoesie* in its modern meaning. He alternated the terms frequently with *Litteratur* or *Poesie des Volks,* emphasizing now the originative, now the appropriative, relation. It is in this test of *Volksmässigkeit,* agreement with folk character, that difficulties enter, which, though they complicate some of the detailed applications of the term *Volk*, are yet readily analyzed and interpreted as consistent aspects and functions of collective personality.

The term Volk, "folk," always has been subject to much vagueness and contradictoriness of usage. Most of this confusion can be removed by the observation that the difficulty is not so much one of definition as one of valuation. That is, *Volk* is to almost everyone a generalization of the less sophisticated part of an ethnic or political group who work for their living and are distinguished by the qualities of mind and character associated with a more or less simple, wholesome, laborious, responsible, sober, and unstrained mode of life. But as to the valuation of this collective type, two sharply antagonistic points of view have alternatively dominated throughout history. It was especially the age of Pope and Dryden, of Louis XIV and Boileau, and following Boileau's example that of Opitz and Gottsched in Germany, which regarded the folk and its creative, especially its literary, products, with contempt and derision, as lacking in refinement, learning, mastery of diction, and subtleness and elevation of thought. This aristocratic attitude toward folk literature is characteristic of the Rationalistic movement.

The Romantic movement of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, especially since its culmination in Rousseau's doctrine of the natural man as the embodiment of perfect spontaneity proceeding directly from the hand of the Creator, tended to idealize the people as the highest embodiment of man, as the union of the true children of God. In the clash of these two valuations appeared most of the characteristics of the two movements, the Rationalistic and the Romantic. Herder was offended by the one-sidedness of the one as much as of the other. He was bitterly opposed to the aristocratic sterility of Rationalism, but he was no less intolerant of the subjective narrowness of Romanticism. He finished by combining what was best in both into his profound and rich synthesis, which formed the foundations of what for several generations was, and may again become, the motive of a new era of humanity (Schultz, 1921, pp. 117-118).

With the compounds of *Volkslitteratur* and *Volkspoesie*, Herder salvaged the folk and its literary creativity from its debased position in society, and endowed the peasantry attachment to the land with a spiritual and a national value. For Herder and other Romantics, the folk generated and guarded the spirit of a nation that was molded in the crucible of its landscape,

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

history, language and literature (Adler, et. al. 1997; Barnard, 1965, 1969, 2003; Bohlman, 1988, pp. 6-7; Clark, 1969, pp. 251-281; Ergang, 1966; Herder, 2004; Koepke, 1982; Mayo, 1969; Mueller-Vollmer, 1990; Noyes, 2015; Simpson, 1921; Waldow and De Souza, 2017.) His impact was twofold. He celebrated "cultural individuality as a reflection of the plentitude of God…combined…with a genuine cosmopolitan outlook in the *Humanitätsideal*, the common bond of humanity, but saw it expressed in the diversity rather than the similarity of human forms" (Bunzl, 1996, p. 20). Secondly, and most important for folklore, he substituted laws, political institutions, and forms of governance as the entities manifesting the *volksgeist* of a society, or "the productive principle of a spiritual or psychic character operating in different national entities" (Rotenstreich, 1973, p. 491) with their folksongs, folktales, and other creative literary and poetic forms of the peasantry, the non-literate, and the lower classes. Compatible with his thesis on the emotive origin of language (Moran, 1967; Suphan, 1877-1913; Sapir, 1907) he shifted the national core from logic to cultural experience (Adler, 1994; Almond, 2008; Goebel, 1912; Griffith, 1971; Kamenetsky, 1973; Lunn, 1986; Reed, 1965; Sapir, 1907; Schütz, 1920-1923; Simpson, 1921; Stachle, 1922; Wilson, 1973, 2006).

But no sooner did his ideas begin to have their impact in German and European public intellectual and literary spaces, they were coopted by the *Volkisch* ideology that Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl matched with *Volkskunde* and advocated it as a science in the service of nationalism and ethnic and national exclusionary mythology and theory (Dow and Lixfeld, 1986:7-8; Gerndt, 1988; Kahmann, 2015; Loose, 1940; Matthias, 1903; Moser, 1978; Schnurbein, 2016:180-215; Simonsfeld, 1898; Stein, 2001, 2010). Not Herderian folk-humanism, but Riehl's *Volkisch* populism won the day in Germany of the Third Reich and served the ideology of National-Socialism. When the nationalism that the romantics espoused lost its humanism it turned into racism and revealed its ugly head that culminated in a Holocaust (Link, 1990, pp. 121-124, 133, 135; Gerndt, 1987, 1988; Mosse,1981, pp. 19-24; Strobach, 1987; Weber-Kellemann et al., 2003, pp. 123-136).

During the second half of the 20th century, folklore studies in Germany were haunted by the ghost of the Third Reich and German folklore scholars did their utmost to free themselves from its claws, only to find out how strong its grasp was (Dow and Lixfeld, 1986, 1991, 1994; Gerndt, 1987; Hermand, 1992; Jacobeit et al., 1994; Lixfeld, 1991, 1994; Naithani, 2014; Remy, 2002). No wonder that those of them who sought to reinstitute folklore studies in German universities on solid academic foundations could not rid themselves of the term *Volkskunde* fast enough (Bendix, 1998, p. 240; Dow and Lixfeld, 1986, 1991, 1994; Hermand, 1992; Lixfeld, 1991; 1994).

"A Rose by Any Other Name"

There is no comparison between the German and the American predicaments of folklore scholarship, but in both cases, in a moment of crisis, folklorists turned to magical solutions they encountered in their studies, looking for an identity change by changing their name (Motif, N131.4. *Luck changing after change of name*). In the United States, leading folklore

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

scholars bemoaned the disciplinary name, but offered no viable alternative. Regina Bendix, who was then a University of Pennsylvania faculty member, reported largely about the German experience yet, for America only, concluded humorously with the suggestion that "William Thoms in 1996 would surely suggested that we seek an appropriate word to replace his good Saxon compound, and would have publicized his suggestion in today's equivalent of the *Athenaeum*---the Internet" (Bendix, 1998, p. 242.) Jane Beck considered the discipline's name its major impediment and because of its public and academic marginalization, urging folklorists to develop better political and public relation skills, but offered no new name to emboss on its flag (Beck, 1997). And Barbara Kishenblatt-Gimblett suggested that "by fighting to keep the name, we'll lose our life as a field of study" (1998, p. 252). They all realized that names are not free-floating air-filled balloons, nor are they just shingles that hang above an office or a store door. Rather they are meaningful paradigms of knowledge, culture, and ideas with histories, experiences, and with their respective symbolic identities (Ben-Amos, 1998; Boersema, 2002; Deely, 1978; Korff, 1996; Lotman and Uspensky, 1978; Margolis, 1968; Oring, 1998; Stocking, 1971)

In Germany Hermann Bausinger, determined to re-establish folklore studies on solid sociological-anthropological foundations, renamed folklore studies at the University of Tübingen to be *Empirische Kulturwissenschaft*. In the last two decades of the 20th century, 21 institutes and departments in German university adopted new names, cleansing themselves from any remnants of Fascist and Nazi ideology (Bendix, 1998, p. 240; Korff, 1996). These names veered folklore toward the social sciences, particularly ethnography and sociology, and although they did not reverse it to the statistical ethnography of Josef Mader in the 18th century, they syphoned off the *geist* out of the *volksgeist*.

Intangible cultural heritage

Outside Germany, "Heritage" emerged as the keyword that the American folklorists were clamoring for to save their discipline and to restore dignity to their field. Philologically the term has Latin, Old French, and Old English roots, semantically it connotes both hereditary of property and tradition, an essential folkloristic concept. What name and concept could have been better? Raymond Williams (1921-1988) had not yet included it in his list of keywords in public discourse in which "culture," "society," or the folklore relevant, "myth" appeared (Williams, 1976, pp. 76-82, 243-247, 176-178), but shortly after the 1972 UNESCO *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, Heritage began to gain force in public discourse. Toward the conclusion of the twentieth century the use of the term took off and it appeared in handbooks, essays in anthologies, monographic essays, and numerous articles. "Intangible Cultural Heritage," seemed the right resolution for the folklore crisis, not only in the United States and Germany, but in all the nations that UNESCO unites, and folklorists flocked to it like moth to flame.

At first glance, the mutual attraction seemed perfect. What could have been more attractive to folklore, the Cinderella in the academic ball rather than a political partner, emanating

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

good will to all, weak and powerful nations alike, colonial empires and decolonized nation-states, that experienced not only political freedom but cultural liberation after many years of suppressions, and yet had the full support of states and their political leaders? Had politicians, and the cultural experts that they recruited as their advisers, been able to foster "the next turn of the screw: The contemporary transformation of tradition into *cultural heritage* [my italics] adding new dimensions to the old story"? Or, more precisely, can the concept of "Intangible Cultural Heritage" serve as the new paradigm for folklore as an academic discipline? England, the country in which the term "folklore" was coined, and in which respected thinkers contemplated its scientific potential (Dorson, 1968; Gomme, 1885, 1908; Hartland, 1891), yet resisted its incorporation into its venerable academic establishment, finally issued a resounding positive answer to this rhetorical question. In its announcement of the opening of an MA program in Folklore Studies, the University of Hertfordshire prominently refers to the UNESCO "Intangible Cultural Heritage":

This Masters in Folklore Studies, which will run for the first time in 2019-20, is the only such a program offered in England. It offers students with an Honours degree in a range of related subjects, such as History, English Literature, Anthropology, Archaeology, and Sociology, a thorough grounding in the history of the discipline of Folklore and current work in the field. This distinctive program combines breadth with depth of study through wide-ranging but inter-connected modules with a focus on legend, ritual, belief, and tradition in British society. Students will also explore Folklore in comparative international contexts and consider its global importance as an aspect of UNESCO's definition of Intangible Cultural Heritage.[10]

My own university appeared to make the shift from folklore to "cultural heritage" in the United States even earlier. After terminating, at the turn of the millennium, a distinguished Department of Folklore and Folklife that was founded in 1962 and educated more than 100 folklore scholars (Hufford, 2020; Miller, 2004; Samuelson, 1983), the University of Pennsylvania founded in 2008 the Cultural Heritage Center, offering a "Cultural Heritage Management Certificate" upon the completion of a four-course program. Will other universities follow? While academic administrations are slow to act, the shift from "folklore" to "Intangible Cultural Heritage" has begun in three domains: politics, popular culture, and in the intersection between research and commerce.

Folklore and heritage in UNESCO halls

Ironically, shortly after Dorson declared folklore as "one of the remarkable stories of the present academic scene" (Dorson, 1970), its wheel of fortune began to turn backward academically while its star rose on UNESCO horizons, emerging in tandem with tangible and intangible heritage that has solidified as "Intangible Cultural Heritage" (ICH). The history of this synchrony has been explored in several studies (Hafstein, 2004, 2007, 2014, 2018; Smith, 2004, 2006; Smith and Akagawa, 2009). The concept was hued and honed in international diplomatic conferences during the last quarter of the 20th century, building upon earlier conferences, agreements and conventions (Rodwell, 2012; Sherkin, 2001).

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

A leading international scholar such as the Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko (1932-2002) welcomed with open arms the "Text of the Recommendation for the Safeguarding of Folklore" (Honko, 1990a, 1990b) and as editor of the *Nordic Institute of Folklore Newsletter* published it as a lead article accompanied by photographs (Honko, 1989). This proclamation had a long incubation period (Sherkin, 2001) and ten years later was the subject of an international conference "A Global Assessment of the 1989 *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore.* Local Empowerment and International Cooperation" that was held in Washington D.C. (U.S.A.) on 27-30 June 1999 in collaboration with the Smithsonian Institution (Seitel, 2001).

But the harmonious relations between Intangible Cultural Heritage and Folklore were short-lived because their inherent incompatibility could not sustain this union. Four years later, in June 2-14, 2003, a major UNESCO convention gathered in the large conference room in the basement of UNESCO Headquarters at Place de Fontenoy, Paris, to work on the Preliminary Draft Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

The first implicit statement had been made in the textual changes in the *1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* that fourteen years later became the *2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. In his ethnographic description of the 2003 UNESCO conference Hafstein describes the deletion of the term "folklore" and the insertion of Intangible Cultural Heritage, almost in passing. He writes:

> The elusive notion of intangibility refers not to the spectral or ethereal (though it includes stories and rituals relating to ghosts and spirits) but suggests a focus on practices and expressions that do not leave extensive material traces, at least not of monumental proportions. Storytelling, craftsmanship, rituals, dramas, and festivals are prime examples of the sort of cultural representations targeted by the new instrument of heritage policy. These used to be called folklore---a term largely abandoned within UNESCO, though not in some other international organizations. In UNESCO parlance, the practices and expressions formerly known as folklore now come under the rubric of the "intangible cultural heritage". (Hafstein, 2004, p. iii) [11]

Nic Craith offers some explanation for the abandonment of folklore among UNESCO members:

> [T]he idea of "folklore" was problematic for some. At a joint UNESCO/ Smithsonian Institute conference in 1999, delegates from Africa, the Pacific and Latin America expressed dissatisfaction with the use of the term "folklore" which, for them, had strong European associations and, from their perspective, was primarily used by anthropologists with reference to cultures in the developing world. Instead, they proposed that terms such as "traditional and popular culture" be considered terminology that was already in use anyway. Delegates from the Fiji Islands strongly associated the notion of "folklore" with colonization. They argued that "culture" is not "folklore" but the sacred norms intertwined with their traditional way of life. This association of the concept

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

> of "folklore" with colonialism is interesting because for some nations at least, the development of folklore was in reaction to rather than a consequence of colonization. Folklore was a tool of resistance rather than acquiescence, subversiveness rather than subservience. In view of the negativity towards the term "folklore", the phrase "in- tangible cultural heritage" was subsequently forwarded. (Craith, 2008, p. 56)[12]

The objection to the term "folklore" on the part of diplomats and cultural experts from previously colonized countries, demonstrates that in their views the popular (Beck, 1997; Bendix, 1998) and the scholarly conceptions of folklore crossed. Folklore scholars have conduct research in oral societies with utmost respect for the peoples, their cultures and their oral literatures, though indeed, earlier theories generated a denigrating descriptive term like "primitive" (Greenway, 1964), which was associated with long abandoned theories. The radical change in the evaluation of literature in oral cultures is demonstrable in three bibliographies and in an encyclopedia of folklore in Africa (Görög, 1981; Görög-Karady, 1992; Peek and Yankah, 2004; Scheub, 1997). Furthermore, in the political sphere, nationalism and the definition of collective selfhood is bound with folklore (Baycroft and Hopkin, 2012). It is evidently clear that the diplomats dropped "folklore" through no fault of its own.

But the crux of the matter is not terminological. It is conceptual and rhetorical. First, while the UNESCO program recognizes the intangibility of culture, it conceives of culture in tangible terms of safeguarding, preservation, exhibition, tourism, and commodification, sucking the life out of folklore. Secondly, scholarly and political discourses are rhetorically distinct from each other. Scholarly discourse is explorative, whereas political and judicial discourse is conclusive, sealed in agreements, conventions, and laws. The operational guidelines of "Intangible Cultural Heritage" are a construct of political negotiations, bargaining, and, on occasion, even financial contribution, to a national cause (Hafstein, 2004; 2018). Its manifestations are in normative rules that have judicial authority of inclusion and exclusion. In conferences, conventions, and international negotiations delegates to UNESCO have sought to create an international canon of natural and built monuments to be safeguarded and preserved for the humanity of the future. Such an international action is necessary in face of both the constructive and destructive impulses of societies, but its application to intangible cultural heritage and tradition transforms them into monuments, undermining their valuation in their respective societies and cultures, and turns them into targets of an international gaze. UNESCO and other international cultural-political agencies cemented the relations between folklore and International Cultural Heritage and from its halls this bond emanated to broader circles. Within public discourse it is possible to distinguish two interpretations of the relations between folklore and heritage that are inversions of each other. There is no textual evidence, and if there is it escaped me, that the two cultural theoreticians who formulated them were aware of the writings of each other. Rather they developed their interpretations independently. The cultural historian David Lowenthal (1923-2018) folklorized "Heritage", considering its practice in literate, urban, and commercial society in terms of the sacred, discerning in it patterns behavior in traditional societies. In contrast, my good friend the folklorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett changed folklore into "Heritage"

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

which is made and becomes a cultural construct of commercial economy. She diminished, if not completely denied, the existence of folklore in social reality. Consequently, her folklore theory is based on the proposition that folklore is a "made-up" invention, "a presentation of self in Everyday Life" to modify Erving Goffman's felicitous title (Goffman, 1959).

Heritage in public culture

David Lowenthal (1923-2018), a distinguished cultural historian (Gathercole and Lowenthal, eds. 1990; Lowenthal, 1985, 1998,2006; Olwig and Lowenthal, eds. 2006.), has barely mentioned the term "Folklore" in his writings (Lowenthal, 1998:178), and includes only cursory remarks about UNESCO and its "Intangible Cultural Heritage" mission in his last book on the subject (Lowenthal, 1998, pp. 7, 20, 230, 245-46), but he analyzed extensively the "Heritage Crusade." Examining this trend in modern society he adopted a folkloristic-anthropological approach and insightfully proposed to consider "Heritage" to be a civic-cultural cult. He opened his book *The Heritage Crusade* (1996) with the following paragraph:

The world rejoices in a newly popular faith: the cult of heritage. To be sure, heritage is as old as humanity. Prehistoric peoples bequeathed goods and goals, legacies benign and malign suffuse Homeric tales, the Old Testament, and Confucian precepts. But only in our time has heritage become a self-conscious creed, whose shrines and icons daily multiply and whose praise suffuses public discourse (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 1).

The ethnic, national, and even global reverence for antiquity dates to antiquity itself (Beaulieu, 1994; Fudge2000; Jonker, 1995, pp. 133-152; Weisberg, 2012, pp. 61-71; Winter, 2000).[13] Societies maintained "sites of memory" to use Pierre Nora's concept, in traditional and modern cultures (Nora, 1978, 1984, 1989; see also Ben-Amos and Weissberg, eds. 1999, pp. 301-311; Fisch, ed. 2008; Halbwachs, 1925, 1950, 1971, 1992). The transformation of cultural memory into a cult of "Heage" implicates it as a civil movement with religious dynamics with its own shrines, monuments, rituals, holy writs, and guardian priests, as well as social functions and spiritual purposes. Cults are not disciplines. They involve veneration not analysis. Although Lowenthal does not offer a systematic analysis of effects of the heritage cult on modern societies, his case studies span the globe from China, through the Near East, Europe, the West Indies, to the United States and Canada. In his conclusion he seeks to respond to those who assail heritage but as an historian his conclusion is as critical:

> …attachment to heritage depends on feeling and faith, as opposed to history's ascertained truths. Lack of hard evidence seldom distresses the public at large, who are mostly credulous, undemanding, accustomed to heritage mystique, and often laud the distortions, omissions, and fabrications central to heritage reconstruction. (Lowenthal, 1998, pp. 88-104)

Heritage producers and stewards, however, seem increasingly concerned to ground their goods and stories in verifiable evidence. As heritage suffuses more and more everyday life, and claims to property and pride hinge on rival versions of the same experienced past, heritage-mongers feel compelled to cloak wares in historical

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

authenticity. Material relics are scrutinized, memories retrieved, archives examined, monuments restored, reenactments performed, and historic sites interpreted with painstaking precision. Heritage apes scholarship with factoids and footnotes to persuade us that our legacy is grounded in irrefutable evidence (Lowenthal, 1998, pp. 249-250).

Turning folklore research into cultural heritage

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, a former president of the American Folklore Society (1991-1992), configures folklore as Lowenthal does "Heritage", namely as a social fabrication rather than a reality. Writing before his book appeared in print, she states her conceptual preference for "Heritage" over "folklore". Although she introduces her view of folklore rather innocuously, proposing that "folklore is made not found" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995, p. 369). But what appears as a casual comment exposes a radical change in the conception of folklore from a behavioral and cognitive reality to an exhibition in the venues that modern societies make available. She breaks away from the basic tenet upon which it is logically possible to construct a scholarly discipline, transforming research into display. Initially Kirshenblatt-Gimblett herself has balked at her own proposition, qualifying it by stating that it "does not mean that it is fabricated, though fabrication does of course occur" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995, p. 369). However, her qualified denial underscores the very quality she is hesitant to attribute to folklore, since fabrication is an either /or action. It is impossible to have just "a little bit" of fabrication. Implicitly she follows Hobsbawm's idea of tradition as an invention (Hobsbawm, 1983a, 1983b), though not explicitly quoting or rephrasing him, but if folklore is made up and fabricated what is it if not an invention? (also Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1988, p. 192). She overlooks the fact1folklore that is exhibited in museums and staged for tourists is not a collective creation of the "folk" but an institutional fabrication of a community for the purposes of self-presentation in public spaces.

The conception of folklore as a fabrication is a break with a century-long endeavor (Bauman, 1969; Burstein, 1957; Dorson, 1973; Dundes, 1966; Edmonson, 1971; Glennie, 1889; Gomme, 1885, 1908; Hartland, 1891; Krappe, 1930; Limón, 2014; Oring, 2019; Ortutay, 1955; Pound, 1952) to establish folklore as a scholarly discipline in the social sciences and the humanities. Such a proposition was subject to intellectual trends, political ideals, and pressures, research methods in the social sciences and humanities, but its basic tenet has been that folklore is a social reality that exists and functions in social and cultural life following principles that can be discovered. It is a reality that has a history and a presence, both of which require systematic investigation and interpretation and, like language itself, is a universal. The science of folklore is the discipline that investigates the subject of folklore. Such a terminological dualism is part of its history (Burne, 1885). Obviously, the scientific quality of its research merges social and humanistic, rather than biological and physical sciences (Nagel, 1961, pp. 447-546; Ryan, 1970). Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett proposes that a break with this fundamental conception of folklore research is the solution to the folklore crisis. She suggests

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

> to take the popular "misperceptions" of folklore as indicative of the truths of heritage as they emerge from contemporary practice. Heritage, for the sake of my argument, is the transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead, and the defunct. Heritage is created through a process of exhibition (as knowledge, as performance, as museum display). Exhibition endows heritage thus conceived with a second life. My argument is built around five propositions: (1) Heritage is a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past; (2) Heritage is a "value added" industry; (3) Heritage produces the local for export; (4) A hallmark of heritage is the problematic relationship of its objects to its instruments; and (5) A key to heritage is its virtuality, whether in the presence or the absence of actualities. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995:369)

But the folklore crisis has occurred in the academic not in the popular and public space. Any proposals to resolve it must address its particular qualities, features, and issues as a scholarly discipline. Transferring folklore to popular and public culture of modern literate and urban society, at best would illuminate the particular features that folklore acquires when it is displayed and staged "for export," becoming a subject of modern popular perceptions. These are not "misperceptions" as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett labels them. Rather they have their own validity in the context in modern literate society that has generated its own means, ideas and institutions to address folklore. Its reconceptualization as "Intangible Cultural Heritage" is certainly one of them. But when heritage begins, tradition ends. The packaging of traditional culture for modern consumers deflates it from the symbolic values that these words and objects have within their own respective communities. Traditional culture, and its tangible and intangible representation, becomes memorabilia and its exhibition has its own poetic principles (Karp and Lavine, eds. 1991). Objects in the museum shop, or even in the museum display cases, do not have the capacity to function as they do in their cultural contexts. There, they have reached the calm water of virtuality. With all the care and thoughtfulness that museum curators exhibit ethnographic and folkloristic objects (Alivizatou, 2012; Karp and Lavine, 1991; La Follette, 2013) and with all the reconstruction of the indigenous cultural, historical, religious background that they create, they cannot override the obvious fact that these objects are in a museum display and not in their indigenous context. No wonder that at the present time the people for whom these museum objects have religious and symbolic significance are indignant, witnessing the use of their cultural symbol as exotic and curious objects (Sleeper-Smith, 2009).

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett often quotes John Comaroff who reportedly said that "folklore, let me tell you, is one of the most dangerous words in the English language" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995, p. 368; 1998a, p. 298; 1998b, pp. 1,162). At the end of that paragraph from which she quotes, John Comaroff is also quoted as saying, "what museums allow us to do? They allow us to be voyeurs, to look in and not be disturbed and not be vexed by the differences." (Gray and Taylor, 1992). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, in fact, reaffirms Comaroff's observation, pointing out that "[t]ourism and heritage are collaborative industries, heritage converting locations into destinations and tourism making them economically

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

viable exhibits of themselves. Locations become museums of themselves within a tourism economy" (Kirshnblatt-Gimblett, 1995, p. 371).

Tourism is another form of voyeurism. The voluminous scholarship about tourism[14] concerns primarily with the tourists and their perspectives and issues, considering tourism as a leisure activity that is democratized travel and a mode of pilgrimage that has a dimension of neocolonialism, but nevertheless impact the tourists as an acculturative process that effects their ethnic relations and subjective, or "emic" perspectives (Cohen, 1984, pp. 374-376). While such a one-sided approach may be valid in tourism of nature, archaeology, and architecture, once the tourists' gaze shifts from natural and constructed objects to humans and their cultures, tourism acquires a dual-perspectives of those who gaze and those who are gazed at. The gazing tourists approach their living and material objects with curiosity, fascination, and with empathetic alienation, wondering about the authenticity of the sights they witness, whereas the people at whom they gaze seek to reap economic benefits from exhibiting their lives, essential and unique cultural symbols to strangers, turning them into a commodity (Bowen, 2018; Cleveland and Murray, 1997; Cohen, 1988; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2009; Evans-Pritchard, 1989; Foltz, 2005; Goldstein, 2007; Green, 2007; Markwick, 2001; Nash, 2000; Peach, 2007; Pigliasco, 2010; Shereman, 2008; Zhiqin, 2015.)

As a concept, authenticity is a paradox since it is conceived only in its absence. The starting point of "the search of authenticity" is its absence. In the interpretation of Jacob Golomb, Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) considers "authenticity as a negative term. Its presence is discerned in its absence, in the passionate search for it, in inauthenticity and in various acts of "bad faith" (Golomb, 1995, p. 7),that is to say, authenticity becomes relevant when inauthenticity occurs. Cultural authenticity and tourism have been the subject of extensive scholarship, often searching for the authentic in the inauthentic (Bendix, 1997, 2018; Cohen, 1988, 2007; Cohen and Cohen, 2012; Desmond, 1997; Ehrentraut, 1993; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1988; Lindholm, 2008; MacCannell, 1973; Pincus, 1996), the staged performance for tourists is inherently inauthentic or at most it is a staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973, 2011, pp. 13-34; Williams, 2006).

Heritage is a foreign country for folklore.[15] In order to obtain citizenship, its hosts, the stagers and the exhibitors transform it from a system of symbols in culture to exhibits of culture, from indigenous performances into staging of indigeneity and from culture into a commodity. Although both folklore and "Intangible Cultural Heritage" are abstract concepts, the idea of their mutual interaction does not involve their reification, rather their mutual relations take place through cultural agents, social institutions, communities, organizations, and social actions, within such venues as tourism, commodification, and legalization.

Surely, commodification of folklore occurs already in traditional cultures. The performance of epics, for example, requires prolonged training, and therefore epic singers receive monetary rewards for their performances. In some societies families or guilds have a monopoly on the performance of such epics as the "Sunjata Epic," and others, and are duly rewarded financially[16]. Weavers, carvers, and bronze casters, as well as other artists, follow similar professional and economic patterns that ensure not only creative but also economic

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

control over their performances and creations (e.g., Abiọdun et al.,1994; d'Azavedo, 1973). But in oral society commodification is performance centered. The local storytellers, singers, and epic reciters receive their monetary reward for their performance and not for their tales or songs which are verbal, visual, or musical substance of their community or family. In the realm of folklore, themes, narrative plots, and heroic patterns circle the globe and transcend linguistic boundaries. Once oral literary forms and specific poems and tales crossed the bridge into the commercial and literate space of modern or modernized societies, by whatever transference agents, the state and large corporations set their eyes on them and sought to turn them into their own possession (Hafstein, 2018, pp. 21-52; Rios, 2014.)

Finally, the most drastic uprooting and sterilization of folklore is turning it into an entertainment for "export," as a staged performance of the collective self. In this way a society abdicates its collective social and cultural identity and turns itself into a staged show. There is no way but to conclude that with such a significant degree of separation Intangible Cultural Heritage is not a mate for the discipline of folklore.

I would like to conclude by citing an Irish poet and a Jewish writer who addressed the tourist gaze and the draining of cultural symbols of their significance and turning them into the staging of folklore in modern society, transforming them into Intangible Cultural Heritage long before UNESCO coined the term. I must apologize, because I quoted both of them in one of my previous essays (Ben-Amos, 1981, pp. 9, 15), but I find both of them compellingly insightful addressing the transference of folklore from traditional life into modern society.

The first is the great Irish poet and novelist Patrick Kavanagh (1904-1967)[17] who in his poem "The Great Hunger" (1942) wrote about Patrick Maguire:

> The world looks on
> And talks of the peasant:
> The peasant has no worries;
> In his little lyrical fields
> He ploughs and sows;
> He eats fresh food,
> He loves fresh women,
> He is his own master
> As it was in the Beginning
> The simpleness of peasant life.
> The birds that sing for him are eternal choirs,
> Everywhere he walks there are flowers.
> His heart is pure,
> His mind is clear,
> He can talk to God as Moses and Isaiah talked---
> The peasant who is only one remove from the beasts he drives.
> The travelers stop their cars to gape over the green bank
> Into his fields.
> There is the source from which all cultures rise,

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

And all religions,
There is the pool in which the poet dips
And the musician.
Without the peasant base civilization must die,
Unless the clay is in the mouth the singer's singing is useless.
The travelers touch the root of the grass and feel renewed
When they grasp the steering wheels again.
The peasant is the unspoiled child of Prophecy.
The peasant is all virtues---let us salute him without irony
The peasant ploughman who is half a vegetable ---
Who can react to sun and rain and sometimes even
Regret that the Maker of Light had not touched him more intensely. (Kavanagh 1942:28-29)

"Without irony" Kavanagh claims, but in his poem, irony is abound. In contrast, the Hebrew novelist and 1966 Nobel Laureate, Shmuel Yosef Agnon (1887-1970) addresses the transformation from commitment to a staged performance by bluntly considering folklore as heritage, though at the time he wrote the distinction between the two was not available to him.

In a short story titled "Edo and Enam" originally published in 1951 and appeared in English in his book *Two Tales* (Agnon, 1951, 1966, p. 210) there is a dialogue between its main principal characters, both of them are scholars investigating the culture of remote Jewish community, one collects old books, manuscripts, and amulets, and the other records oral traditions. The manuscript collector says:

> Besides, all these scholars are modern men; even if you were to reveal the properties of the charms, they would only laugh at you; and if they bought them, it would be as specimens of folklore. Ah folklore, folklore! Everything which is not material for scientific research they treat as folklore. Have they not made our holy Torah into either one or the other? People live out their lives according to the Torah, they lay down their lives for the heritage of their fathers; then along come the scientists, and make the Torah into "research material," and the ways of our fathers into---folklore.[18]

Writing in 1951 while finding refuge in the apartment of his friend, Gershom Scholem (1897-1982), Agnon anticipated Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's equation of folklore with heritage as a culture for export with a rejection.

(Endnotes)

1 Professor Dan Ben-Amos delivered this lecture at Interim Conference for Folk Narrative Research on September 1-5-2015 in Ankara as keynote lecturer invited by Hacettepe University Turkish Folklore Department.

2 The article appeared anonymously in the editorial office of the *Journal of American Folklore*, and the editor at the time, Jan Harold Brunvand, published it with his own initials as a signature. The public identification of the author has been made by John McLeish (1980:136) who notes about this essay: "A satirical "How to write folklore articles?" A guide, originally circulated as a mock chain letter and here printed without any indication of authorship."

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

3 Hesiod (2017). *Theogony and Works and Days* (III/p.127). Kimberly Johnson [Trans.], Northwestern University.

4 For studies about him see: Bullough, 2004*;* Duckett, 1951; Houwen and MacDonald, 1998.

5 Extensive scholarship about the folklore and vernacular languages in the works of these authors is available. A selection for studies on Shakespeare: Artese, 2015; Brunvand, 1966, 1991; Cole, 1981; on Boccaccio: Lee, 1909; Kirkham, Sherberg, and Smarr, 2013, on Poliziano: Goodman 1998; Poliziano, 1997, 2004.

6 For studies about him see Berkner, 1972; Bolz, 2011; Kahmann, 2015. Linke, 1990, pp. 121-124; Loose, 1940; Simonsfeld, 1898; Wiegelmann, 1979

7 About him see: Grimm, 1964.

8 Only as I was preparing the text of this lecture for publication I learned from Jessica Hemmings, the editor of the journal *Folklore* , that the first department of folklore in England will open at the University of Hertfordshire, starting at the 2019-2020 academic year.

9 The above paragraph is quoted, with minor editorial changes, from my review of Lee Haring, ed*. Grand Theory in Folkloristics* (2016), see: Ben-Amos 2018, p. 203.

10 Downloaded from: https://www.herts.ac.uk/courses/ma-folklore-studies

11 One of the other "international organizations" to which Hafstein refers but does not specify is likely the World Intellectual Property Organization WIPO which has an "Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore" with which the American Folklore Society maintained official contact. A statement drafted by J. Sanford Rikoon , Burt Feintuch, and Timothy Lloyd and approved by the American Folklore Society Executive Board in December 2002 was presented to WIPO that same month. See: Anon, 2004.

12 Indeed, in response to a conceived condescending attitude to African traditional literature expressed in the term "oral literature", and its inherent contradiction. The Ugandan linguist Pio Zirimu (d.1977) proposed to replace it with his new coinage of "orature." In its context the elements of African orature are myth and legends, tales, enigmas, proverbs, songs, currencies, incantations, epics, maxims, riddles fables, genealogies, lullabies, and sung rhymes. See: Taïwé 2008.

13 I would to thank my friends Stephen Tinney and Grant Frame for directing me to these studies.

14 For a selection see: Cohen, 1972, 1979b, 1984; Lanfant, et al. 1995; MacCannell, 2011; Nash, 1996, Wallace, 2005.

15 See: Lowenthal, 1985.

16 See: Ben-Amos, 1975, p. 36; Belcher, 1999; Conrad, 2004; Hale, 1998; Hoffman, 2000; Innes, 1974; Johnson, 1986; Johnson et al., 1997.

17 See about him: Nemo, 1973; Quinn, 1991, 2001.

18 For a discussion of Agnon's attitude to folklore see :Ben-Amos, 1988.

* The Bibliography includes a few entries of publications about "Intangible Cultural Heritage" that are not cited in the essay.

Research and Publication Ethics Statement:

This is a research article, containing original data, and it has not been previously published or submitted to any other outlet for publication. The author followed ethical principles and rules during the research process. In the study, informed consent was obtained from the volunteer participants and the privacy of the participants was protected.

Araştırma ve yayın etiği beyanı: Bu makale tamamıyla özgün bir araştırma olarak planlanmış, yürütülmüş ve sonuçları ile raporlaştırıldıktan sonra ilgili dergiye gönderilmiştir. Araştırma herhangi bir sempozyum, kongre vb. sunulmamış ya da başka bir dergiye değerlendirilmek üzere gönderilmemiştir.

Contribution rates of authors to the article: The author in this article contributed to the 100% level of preparation of the study, data collection, and interpretation of the results and writing of the article.

Yazarların makaleye katkı oranları: Bu makaledeki yazar % 100 düzeyinde çalışmanın hazırlanması, veri toplanması, sonuçların yorumlanması ve makalenin yazılması aşamalarına katkı sağlamıştır.

Ethics committee approval: The present study does not require any ethics committee approval.

Etik komite onayı: Çalışmada etik kurul iznine gerek yoktur.

Financial support: The study received no financial support from any institution or project.

Finansal destek: Çalışmada finansal destek alınmamıştır.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

Çıkar çatışması: Çalışmada potansiyel çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.

Bibliography*

Abiọdun, R., H. J. Drewal, and J. Pemberton III (Eds.). (1994). *The Yoruba artist: New theoretical perspectives on African art*. Smithsonian Institution Press.

Abrahams, R. D. (1988). Rough Sincerities: William Wells Newell and the discovery of folklore in late-19th century America. In J. S. Becker and B. Franco (Eds.), *Folk Roots, New Roots: Folklore in American Life* (pp. 61-75). Museum of Our National Heritage.

Abrahams, Roger D. (2000). Mr. Lomax Meets Professor Kittredge. *Journal of Folklore Research,* 37(2/3), 99-118.

Adler, H. (1994). Johann Gottfried Herder's concept of humanity. *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 23, 55-74.

Adler, H. and E. A. Menze (eds.). (1997). *On world history: Johann Gottried Herder, An anthology* (E. A. Menze and M. Palma, Trans.) M. E. Sharpe.

Agnew, Ú. (1994). Patrick Kavanagh: Early religious and devotional influences on his work. *Clogher Record,* 15(1), 51-73.

Agnon, S. Y. (1951). Ido ve'Enam. Luahha-arets, 10, 106-141.

Agnon, S. Y. (1966). *Two tales: Betrothed and Edo and Enam* (W. Lewer, Trans.). Schocken Books.

Agnon, S. Y. (1989). *Shira* (Z. Shapiro, Trans.) Schocken Books.

Albert, M.T, R. Bernecker, and B. Rudolff (Eds.). (2013). *Understanding heritage: Perspectives in heritage studies*. Walter de Gruyter.

Albro, R. (2010). Neoliberal cultural heritage and Bolivia's new indigenous. In C. J. Greenhouse (Ed.), *Ethnographies of Neoliberalism* (146-161). University of Pennsylvania.

Alivizatou, M. (2007). The UNESCO program for the proclamation of masterpieces of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity: A critical examination. *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, 19, 34-42.

Alivizatou, M. (2012). *Intangible heritage and the museum: New perspectives on cultural preservation*. UCL Institute of Archaeology Critical Culture Heritage series 8. Left Coast.

Almond, I. (2008). Terrible Turks, bedouin poets, and Prussian prophets: The shifting place of Islam in Herder's thought. *PMLA*, 123(1), 57-75.

Alpers, P. J. (1982). What is pastoral? *Critical Inquiry,* 8(3), 437-466.

Alpers, P. J. (1996). *What is pastoral?* University of Chicago Press.

Alpers, P. J. (2004). "The philoctetes problem" and the poetics of pastoral. *Representations,* 86 (1), 4-19.

Anico, M. and E. Peralta (2009). *Heritage and identity: Engagement and demission in thecontemporary world*. Routledge.

Anon. (1945). Folklore news. *Journal of American Folklore*, 58(228), 158-159.

Anon. (2004). American Folklore Society recommendations to the WIPO intergovernmental committee on intellectual property and genetic resources, traditional knowledge, and folklore. *Journal of American Folklore*, 117(465), 269-299.

Artese, C. (2015). *Shakespeare's folktale sources*. University of Delaware.

Ashman, G., G. Fees and S. Roud. (1986). Introduction. *Talking Folklore*, 1(1), 1-5.

Bah, U. (2008). Rereading the passing of traditional society.*Cultural Studies,* 22(6), 795-819.

Bakhtin, M. (1968). *Rabelais and his world* (H. Iswolski, Trans.) The M. I. T.

Barnard, F. M. (1965). *Herder's social and political thought from enlightenment to nationalism*. Clarendon Press.

Barnard, F. M. (2003). *Herder on nationality, humanity, and history*. McGill-Queen's University.

Barnard, F. M. (Trans. and ed.). (1969). *J. G. Herder on social and political culture*. Cambridge University Press.

Barnes, B. (1982). *T. S. Kuhn and social science*. Columbia University.

Bauman, R. (1969). Towards a behavioral theory of folklore: A reply to Roger Welsch. *Journal of American Folklore*, 82(324), 167-170.

Bauman, R. (2008). The philology of the vernacular. *Journal of Folklore Research*, 45(1), 29-36.

Bauman, R. and C. L. Briggs (2003). *Voices of modernity: Language ideologies and the politics of inequality*. Cambridge University.

Baycroft, T. and D. Hopkin, (Eds.). (2012). *Folklore and nationalism in Europe during the long nineteenth century*. National Cultivation of Culture 4. Brill.

Bayer, T. I., and D. P. Verene (Eds.). (2009). *Giambattista Vico, Keys to the new science: Translations, commentaries and essays.* Cornell University.

Beaulieu, Palu-Alain. (1994). Antiquarianism and the concern for the past in the Neo-Babylonian period. *Bulletin (The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies)*, 28, 34-42.

Beck, J. C. (1997). Taking stock: 1996 American Folklore Society presidential address. *Journal of American Folklore,* 110(436), 123–39.

Belcher, S. (1999). *Epic traditions of Africa.* Indiana University.

Bell. M. J. (1973). William Wells Newell and the foundation of American Folklore Scholarship. *Journal of Folklore Research*, 10(1/2), 7-21.

Ben-Amos, D. 1998). The name is the thing. *Journal of American Folklore,* 111(441), 257-280.

Ben-Amos, D. (1975). *Sweet words: Storytelling events in Benin*. Institute for the Studies of Human Issues.

Ben-Amos, D. (1981). Nationalism and nihilism: The attitudes of two Hebrew authors toward folklore. *International Folklore Review*, 1, 5-16.

Ben-Amos, D. (2014). Notes toward a history of folklore in America. *The Folklore Historian*, 31, 43-64.

Ben-Amos, D. (2018). Grand theory in folkloristics. *Folklore,* 129(2), 203-207.

Ben-Amos, D. (1984). The encounter with native Americans and the emergence of Folklore. In Shri Kulamani Mahapatra (Ed.), *Folk Culture Vol. V: Folk Culture and the Great Tradition* (pp. 274-286). Institute of Oriental and Orissan Studies.

Ben-Amos, D., and L. Weissberg (Eds). (1999). *Cultural memory and the construction of identity*. Wayne State University Press.

Bendix, R. (1998). Of names, professional identities, and disciplinary futures. *Journal of American Folklore*, 111(441), 235-246.

Bennett, G. (1996). The Thomsian heritage in the folklore society (London). *Journal of Folklore Research,* 33(3), 212-220.

Benovska-Sabkova, M. (2007). Monuments, collective memory, social imagination and local identity in Bulgaria on the border line between two centuries. In D. Hemme, M. Tauschek, and R Bendix (Eds.), *Prädikat,,Heritag: Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen* (277-296). Studien zur Kultureanthropologie/Europäischen Ethnologie 1. Lit.

Berkner, L. K. (1972). The stem family and the developmental cycle of the peasant household: An eighteenth-century Austrian Example. *American Historical Review*, 77 (2), 398-418.

Berlin, I. (1976). *Vico and Herder: Two studies in the history of ideas*. The Viking Press.

Bernard, J. (1996). Recent studies in Renaissance pastoral. *English Literary Renaissance,* 26(2), 356-384.

Biebuyck, D. P. (1978). *Hero and chief: Epic literature from Banyanga (Zaire Republic)*. University of California.

Biehl, P. F. and C. Prescott (Eds.). (2013). *Heritage in the context of globalization: Europe and the Americas*. Springer Briefs in Archaeology. Springer.

Biehl, P. F., Douglas C. Comer, C. Prescott, and H. A. Soderland (Eds.). (2015). *Identity and heritage: Contemporary challenges in a globalized world*. Springer briefs in archaeology. Springer.

Birdsall, E. K. (1973). Some notes on the role of George Lyman Kittredge in American folklore Studies." *Journal of the Folklore Institute,* 10(1/2), 57-66.

Blake, J. (2014). *Developing a new standard-setting instrument for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage*. Institute of Art and Law.

Blake, J. (Ed.). (2007). *Safeguarding aage: Challenges and approaches: A collection of essays*. Institute of Art and Law.

Boas, G. (1969). *Vox populi: Essays in the history of an idea*. The Johns Hopkins Press.

Boas, G. (1973). Vox populi. In P. P. Wiener (Ed.) *Dictionary of the history of ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas* (4, pp. 496-500). Charles Scribner's Sons.

Boersema, D. (2002). Peirce on names and reference. *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce society,* 38(3), 351-362.

Bohlman, P. V. (1988). *The folk music in the modern world*. Indiana University.

Bold, V. (2001). Rude Bard of the north: James Macpherson and the folklore of democracy. *Journal of American Folklore*,1 14(454), 464-477.

Bolz, C. (2011). Constructing "Heimat" in the Ruhr Valley: Krupp housing and the search for the ideal German home 1914-1931. *German Studies Review*, 34(1), 17-43.

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

Bortolotto, C. (2007). From objects to processes: UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage. *Journal of Museum Ethnography*. 19, 21-33.

Bourne, H. (1725). *Antiquitates vulgares: Or the antiquities of the common people. Giving an account of several of their opinions and ceremonies.* J. White.

Bowen, M. L. (2018). Quilombo identity, Ethno-Commodification, and tourism in neoliberal Brazil. In (R. K. Edozie, G. A. Chambers, and T. Hamilton-Wray. Eds.) *New frontiers in the study of the global African diaspora: Between uncharted themes and aternative representations* (197-212). MI: State University Press.

Boyer, T. R. (1997). The forsaken founder: William John Thoms from antiquities to folklore. *The Folklore Historian,* 14, 55-61.

Brand, J. (1777). *Observations on popular antiquities: Including the whole of Mr. Bourne's antiquitates vulgares, with Aaddenda to every chapter of that work: As also an appendix, containing such articles on the subject,as have been omitted by that author*. J. Johnson.

Brand, J. (1813). *Observations on popular antiquities: Chiefly illustrating the origin of our vulgar customs, ceremonies, and superstitions (H. Ellis, Ed.)*. F.C. and J. Rivington.

Briggs, Katherine M. (1978). The folklore society and its beginnings. In J. R. Porter and W.M. S. Russell (Eds.) *Animals in Folklore (3-20)*. Rowman &Littlefield

Bronner, S. J. (2017). *Folklore: The basics*. Routledge.

Brown, M. F. (1998). Can culture be copyrighted? *Current Anthropology,* 39(2), 193-222.

Brunvand, J. H. (1966). The folktale origin of *the taming of the Shrew*. *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 17(4), 345-359.

Brunvand, J. H. (1991). *The taming of the Shrew: A comprehensive study of oral and literary versions*. Garland.

Bullough, D. A. (2004). *Alcuin: Achievement and reputation*. Education and society in the middle ages and renaissance series 16. Brill.

Bunzl, M. (1996). Franz Boas and the Humboldtian tradition: From *Volksgeist* and *Nationalcharakter* to an anthropological concept of culture. In (George W. Stocking, Jr. Ed.) *Volkgeist as method and ethic: Essays on Boasian ethnography and the German anthropological tradition* (pp. 17-78). History of Anthropology 8. University of Wisconsin.

Burne, C. S. (1885). The science of Folk-Lore. *The Folk-Lore Journal,* 3(3), 267-269.

Burne, C. S., A. M. Alvarez, E. Sidney Hartland (1885). The science of Folk-Lore. *The Folk-Lore Journal*, 3(2), 97-121.

Burson, A. C. (1982). Alexander Haggerty Krappe and his science of comparative folklore. *Journal of the Folklore Institute,* 19(2/3), 167-196.

Burstein, S. R. (1957). George Laurence Gomme and the science of folklore. *Folklore,* 68(2), 321-338.

Camp, C. (Ed.) (1989). *Time & Temperature: A centennial publication of the American Folklore Society*. The American Folklore Society.

Caro, F. A. De. (1973). *Folklore as an "Historical science": The Anglo-American viewpoint* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation] Indiana University Press.

Célestin, R. (1996). *From Cannibals to radicals: Figures and limits of exoticism*. University of Minnesota.

Chaudhuri, S. (1989). *Renaissance pastoral and its English development*. Clarendon.

Chinca, M. and C. Young (Eds.). (2005). *Orality and literacy in the Middle -Ages: Essays on a conjunction and its consequences, in honor of D. H. Green.* Brepols.

Clark, R. T. Jr. (1969). *Herder his life and thought*. University of California.

Cleveland, D. A., and S. C. Murray. (1997). The world's crop genetic resources and the rights of indigenous farmers. *Current Anthropology,* 38(4), 477-516.

Cohen, E. (1972). Toward a sociology of international tourism. *Social Research*, 39(1), 164-182.

Cohen, E. (1979a). A phenomenology of tourist experiences. *Sociology* 13(2), 179-201.

Cohen, E. (1979b). Rethinking the sociology of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 4(1), 18-35.

Cohen, E. (1984). The sociology of tourism: Approaches, issues, and findings. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 10, 373-392.

Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15(3), 371–386.

Cohen, E. (2007). Authenticity'' in tourism studies: Apre´s la lutte. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 32(2), 75–82.

Cohen, R. D. (2002). *Rainbow quest: The folk music revival and American society, 1940-1970*. University of Massachusetts Press.

Cohen, R. D. and R. C. Donaldson. (2014). *Roots of the revival: American & British in the 1950s*. University of Illinois.

Cole, H. C. (1981). *The "All's Well" Story from Boccaccio to Shakespeare*. University of Illinois.

Comaroff, J. L. and J. Comaroff (2009). *Ethnicity, Inc*. The University of Chicago.

Congleton, J. E. (1944). Theories of pastoral poetry in England, 1684-1717. *Studies in Philology,* 41(4), 544-575.

Congleton, J. E.(1952). *Theories of pastoral poetry in England 1684-1798*. University of Florida.

Conrad, D. C. (2004). *Sunjata: A west African epic of the Mande peoples*. Hackett Publishing Company.

d'Azevedo, W. L. (Ed.). (1973). *The traditional artist in African societies.* Indiana University.

Danesi, M. (1993). *Vico, metaphor, and the origin of language*. Indiana University.

Danielson, V., E. Cohen, and A. Seeger. (2001). *Folk heritage collections in crisis*. Council on library and information resources.

Davey, G. B. (Ed.). (1992). *Folklore and tourism: Presentation and paradox*. Applied Folklore Research Study 2.The Antipodes press for the Center for Australian Studies.

Day, W. G. (1987). *The Pepys ballads*. Brewer.

Deely, J. N. (1978). What's in a name?. *Semiotica,* 22(1-2), 151-181.

Dick, E. J. (1989). The "Folk" and their culture. The formative concepts and the beginnings of culture. In (R. J. Smith and J. Stannard. Eds.) *The folk: Identity, landscapes and lores*(pp. 11-28). University of Kansas.

Dorfman, John. (1997). That's all folk. *Lingua Franca: The Review of Academic Life,* 7(8), 8–9.

Dorson, R. M. (1961). Folklore studies in England. *Journal of American Folklore,* 74(294), 302-312.

Dorson, R. M. (1963). Current folklore theories. *Current Anthropology,* 4(1), 93-112.

Dorson, R. M. (1966). The Yugoslav-American folklore seminar. *Journal of the Folklore Institute,* 3(3), 217-218.

Dorson, R. M. (1968). *The British folklorists: A history*. The University of Chicago Press.

Dorson, R. M. (1970). Introduction: The Anglo-American folklore conference. *Journal of the Folklore Institute,* 7(2/3), 91-92.

Dorson, R. M. (1972a). *African folklore*. Anchor Books.

Dorson, R. M. (1973). Is folklore a discipline? *Folklore,* 84 (3), 177-205

Dorson, R. M. (Ed.). (1972b). *Folklore and folklife: An introduction.* The University of Chicago.

Dorson, R. M. (Ed.). (1978). *Folklore in the modern world*. World Anthropology. Mouton.

Dow, J. R. and H. Lixfeld (1991). National socialistic folklore and overcoming the past in the Federal Republic of Germany. *Asian Folklore Studies,* 50(1), 117-154.

Dow, J. R. and H. Lixfeld (Eds., and Trans.). (1994). *The nazification of an academic discipline: Folklore in the Third Reich*. Folklore Studies in Translation. Indiana University.

Dow, J. R. and H. Lixfeld, (Eds., and Trans.). (1986). *German volkskunde: A decade of theoretical confrontation, debate, and reorientation (1967-1977)*. Folklore Studies in translation. Indiana University.

Duckett, E. S. (1951). *Alcuin, friend of Charlemagne: His world and his work*. Macmillan.

Dundes, A. (1966). The American concept of folklore. *Journal of theFolklore Institute*, 3(3), 226-249

Dundes, A. (1965). *The study of folklore*. Prentice-Hall.

Dundes, A. (2005). Folkloristics in the twenty-first century (AFS Invited Plenary Address). *Journal of American Folklore,* 118(470), 385–408.

Dundes, A. (Ed.). (1977). *Varia folklorica*. World Folklore. Mouton.

Edmonson, M. S. (1971). *Lore: An introduction to the science of folklore and literature*. Holt Rinehart and Winston.

Emrich, D. (1946). Folklore: William John Thoms. *California Folklore Quarterly,* 5, 355-374.

Ergang, R. R. (1966). *Herder and the foundation of German Nationalism*. Octagon Books.

Evans-Pritchard, D. (1989). How "They" See "Us": Native American images of tourists. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 (1), 89-105.

Fairclough, G., R. Harrison, J. H, Jameson Jnr., and J. Scholfield (Eds.). (2008). *The Heritage Reader*. Routledge.

Findlen, P. (1996). *Possessing nature: Museums, collecting, and scientific culture in early modern Italy*. University of California.

Finnegan, R. (2007). *The oral and beyond: Doing things with words in Africa*. Chicago University.

Finnegan, R. (1970). *Oral literature in Africa*. Oxford Library of African Literature. Oxford University.

Finnegan, R. (1977). *Oral poetry: Its nature, significance and social context*. Cambridge University.

Finnegan, R. (1988). *Literacy and orality*. Basil Blackwell.

Fisch, S. (Ed.) (2008). *National approaches to the governance of historical heritage over time. A comparative report*. Cahier d'Histoire de l'Administration N°9. Amsterdam: IOS Press.

Fisch, S. (Ed.). (2008). *National approaches to the governance of historical heritage over time. A comparative report: Cahier d'Histoire de l'Administration No. 9*. International Institute of Administrative Sciences Monographs 29. IOS.

Follette, L. L.(Ed.). (2013). *Negotiating culture: Heritage, ownership and intellectual property*. University of Massachusetts.

Foltz, T. G. (2005). The commodification of witchcraft. In H. A. Berger (Ed.), *Witchcraft and magic: Contemporary north America* (pp. 137-168). University of Pennsylvania.

Foster, M. D. and L. Gilman (Eds.). (2015). *UNESCO on the ground: Local perspectives on intangible cultural heritage*. Indiana University Press.

Fowler, D. C. (1968). *A literary history of the popular ballad*. Duke University.

Fox, A. (2000). *Oral and literate culture in England, 1500-1700*. Oxford Studies in Social History. Clarendon.

Fudge, S. J. (2000). *The lure of the past: Ancient man's interest in his history with translations of Neo-Babylonian texts from Carlos Museum*. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation] Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion.

Fuller, S. (2000). *Thomas Kuhn: A philosophical history for our times*. The University of Chicago.

Gallacher, S. A. (1945). Vox populi vox Dei. *Philological Quarterly*, 24(4), 12-19.

Gathercole, P. and D. Lowenthal (Eds.). (1990). *The politics of the past*. Unwin Hyman.

Georges, R. A. and M. O. Jones. (1995). *Folkloristics: An introduction.* Indiana University.

Gerndt, H. (Ed.) (1988). *Fach und Begriff "Volkskunde" in der diskussion.* Wege der Forschung 641. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Gerndt, H. (Ed.). (1987). *Volkskunde und nationalsozialismus: Referate und diskussionen einer Tagung der Deutschen gesellschaft für volkskunde München,* (23-25 Oktober 1986). Münchner Vereinigung für Volkskunde.

Glennie, J. S. S. and L. M. J. Garnett (1885). The science of folk-Lore. *Greek Folk-songs from the Turkish Provinces of Greece, Albania, Thessaly and Macedonia: Literal and Metrical Translations* (266-267). E. Stock.

Glennie, J. S. Stuart. (1889). The science of folk-Lore. *The Archaeological Review,* 3(3), 197-205. (Original work published in 1885).

Godman, P. (1998). *From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine humanism in the high renaissance*. Princeton University.

Goebel, L. K. (1912). *Herder's conception of popular poetry* [Unpublished BA thesis] University of Illinois.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Doubleday, Anchor Books.

Goldstein, D. E. (2007). The commodification of belief. In D. E. Goldstein, S. A. Grider, and J. Banks Thomas. *Haunting experiences: Ghosts in contemporary folklore* (pp. 171-205). Utah State University.

Golinelli, G. M. (2015). *Cultural heritage and value creation: Towards new pathways.* Springer.

Golomb, J. (1995). *In sticity from Kierkegaard to Camus*. Routledge.

Gomme, G. L. (1885). The science of Folk-Lore. *The Folk-Lore Journal* 3(1), 1-16.

Gomme, G. L. (1908). *Folklore as an historical science*. Methuen.

Goody, J. (1986). *The logic of writing and the organization of society.* Cambridge University.

Goody, J. (1987). *The interface between the written and the oral*. Cambridge University.

Goody, J. and I. Watts (1963). The consequences of literacy. *Comparative Studies in History and Society* 5, 304-345.

Görög-Karady, V. (1992). *Bibliographie annotée littérature orale d'Afrique noire*. [With the participation of Catherine Bouillet and Tal Tamar]. Conseil International de la Langue Française.

Görög,V. (1981). *Littérature orale d'Afrique noire: Bibliographie analytique*. [With the participation of Michèle Chiche]. G. P. Maisonneuve and Larose.

Graff, H. J. (1981). *Literacy and social development in the west.* Cambridge studies in oral and literate culture 3. Cambridge University.

Graham, B. and P. Howard (2008). *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity.* Ashgate.

Gray, D. and D. Taylor (1992). Cite unseen. *American Folklore Society News Letter,* 21(4), 2 [Quoting from *University of Chicago Magazine* 1992, p. 15].

Green, D. H. (1994). *Medieval listening and reading: The primary reception of German literature 800-1300*. Cambridge University.

Greene, S. (2004). Indigenous people incorporated? culture as politics, culture as property in pharmaceutical bioprospecting. *Current Anthropology,* 45(2), 211-237.

Greenway, J. (1964). *Literature among the primitives*. Folklore Associates.

Gregg, J. F. (1976). Patrick Kavanagh. *Dublin historical record,* 30 (1), 18-25.

Grene, D. and R. Lattimore (Eds.). (1959). *The complete Greek tragedies*. 4 vols. The University of Chicago.

Grieve, V. (2009). *The federal art project and the creation of Middlebrow Culture*. University of Illinois.

Griffith, J. (1971). Longfellow and Herder and the sense of history. *Texas Studies in Literature and Language,* 13(2), 249-265.

Grimm, G. (1964). *Johann Georg von Hahn (1811-1869), Leben und werk.* Albanische Forschungen, Band 1. Otton Harrassowitz

Grobman, N. R. (1977). David Hume mythologist. *New York Folklore Quarterly,* 3, 115-130.

Grobman, N. R. (1973). Eighteenth-century Scottish philosophers on oral tradition. *Journal of the Folklore Institute,* 10(3), 187-195.

Grobman, N. R. (1974a). *Eighteenth century Scottish precursors of folklore research*. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Pennsylvania.

Grobman, N. R. (1974b). Adam Ferguson's Influence on folklore research: the analysis of mythology and the oral epic. *Southern Folklore, Quarterly,* 38(1), 11-22.

Gutting, G. (Ed.). (1980). *Paradigms and revolutions: Application s and appraisals of Thomas Kuhn's philosophy of science.* University of Notre Dame.

Hafstein, V. Tr. (2014). Protection as dispossession: Government in the vernacular. In (D. Kapchan. Ed.) *Cultural heritage in transit: Intangible Rights as Human Rights* (pp. 25-57). University of Pennsylvania.

Hafstein, V. Tr. (2018). Intangible heritage as a festival, or, folklorization revisited. *Journal of American Folklore*, 131(520), 127-149.

Hafstein, V. Tr. (2004). *The making of intangible cultural heritage:tradition and authenticity, Community and humanity* [Unpublished Dissertation] University of California.

Hafstein, V. Tr. (2007). Claiming culture: Intangible heritage Inc., Folklore ©, Traditional Knowledge ™. In D. Hemme, M. Tauschek, and R. Bendix (Eds.), *Prädikat „Heritage": Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen* (pp. 75-100). Studien zur Kultureanthropologie/Europäischen Ethnologie 1. Lit.

Hafstein, V. Tr. (2018). *Making intangible heritage: El Condor Pasa and other stories from Unesco*. Indiana University.

Hahn, Johann Georg von. (1864). *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*. Wilhelm Engelmann.

Halbwachs, M. (1925). *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire. Felix Alcan.*

Halbwachs, M. (1950). La *mémoire collective (*J. Alexander, Ed.) Universitaires de France Halbwachs,

M. (1975). *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire. Arno. (Original work published in 1925)* Halbwachs,

M. (1992). *On collective memory* (L. A. Coser, Ed., and Trans.) University of Chicago Hale, T. A.

(1998). *Griots and Griottes: Masters of words and music*. Indiana University.

Hall, P. and C. Seamann (Eds.). (1987). *Folklife and museums: Selected readings*. The American Association for State and Local History.

Haring, Lee, (Ed.). (2016). *Grand theory in folkloristics*. Indiana University Press.

Harrison, R. (2013). *Heritage: Critical approaches*. Routledge.

Harrison, R. (Ed.). (2010). *Understanding the politics of heritage*. Manchester University.

Hartland, E. S. (1891). *The science of fairy tales: An inquiry into fairy mythology.* Contemporary Science Series 9. Walter Scott.

Heller, M. (2010). The commodification of language. *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 39, 101-114.

Hemme, D., M. Tauschek, and R. Bendix (Eds.). (2007).*Prädikat „Heritage": Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*. Studien zur Kultureanthropologie/Europäischen Ethnologie 1. Lit.

Herder, J. G. (Ed.). (2004). *Another philosophy of history and selected political writings* (I. D. Evrigenis and D. Pellerin, Trans.). Hackett Publishing Company (Original work published in 1774)

Hermand, J. (1992). *Old dreams of a new reich: Volkish utopias and national socialism (*P. Levesque and S. Soldovieri, Trans.). Indiana University Press. (Original work published in 1988)

Hesiod (2017). *Theogony and works and days* (K. Johnson, Trans) Northwestern University.

Hewison, R. (1987). *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline.* Methuen.

Hirsch, J. (2004). *Portrait of America: A cultural history of the federal writers' project.* University of North Carolina.

Hirsh, J. C. (2011). Samuel Pepys as a collector and student of ballads. *The Modern Language Review,* 106(1), 47-62.

Hobsbawm, E. (1983a). Introduction: Inventing traditions. In E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Eds.) *The invention of tradition* (pp. 1-14). CambridgeUniversity.

Hobsbawm, E. (1983b). Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1870-1914. In E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Eds.), *The invention of tradition* (pp. 263-281). CambridgeUniversity.

Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger. (1983). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge University.

Hodgen, M. T. (1964). *Early anthropology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. The University of Pennsylvania.

Hoffman, B. G. (2000). *Griots at war: Conflict, conciliation, and caste in mande*. Indiana University.

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org

Holton, K. Da Coasta (2005). *Performing folklore: Ranchos folclóricos from Lisbon to Newark.* Indiana University.

Hone, W. (1826). *The Every-day book, guide to the year: Popular amusements, sports, ceremonies, manners, customs, and events, in past and present times*. William Tegg.

Honko, L. (1989). The final text of the recommendation for the safeguarding of folklore. *Nordic Institute of Folklore Newsletter*, 17(2/3), 3-15.

Honko, L. (1990a). Recommendation on the safeguarding of traditional culture and folklore adapted by UNESCO. *Nordic Institute of Folklore Newsletter*, 18(1), 3-7.

Honko, L. (1990b). The final text of the recommendation for the safeguarding of folklore. *Canadian Folklore Canadien*, 12(1), 11-20.

Houwen, L. A. J. R. and A. A. MacDonald, (Eds.) (1998). *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court: Proceedings of the third Germania Latina conference held at the University of Groningen,* (May1995*)*. Mediaevalia Groningana 22. Forsten Publishers.

Hufford, M. (2020). Groundtruthing the humanities: Penn folklore and folklife, (1973-2013). In P. Sawin and R. Lévy Zumwalt, Eds. *Folklore in the United States and Canada: An Institutional History* (pp. 98-108). Indiana University.

Hufford, M. (Ed.) (1994). *Conserving culture: A new discourse on heritage*. University of Illinois.

Hulse, C., A. D. Weiner, and R. Strier (1988). Spenser: Myth, politics, poetry. *Studies in Philology*, 85(3), 378-411.

Hultkrantz, Å. (1960). *General ethnological concepts. international dictionary of regional European ethnology and folklore* (Vol.1). Rosenkilde and Bagger.

Hyder, K. C. (1962). *George Lyman Kittredge: Teacher and scholar*. University of Kansas.

Innes, G. (1974). Sunjata: *Three Mandinka versions*. School of Oriental and African Studies.

Ivey, B. (2018). *Rebuilding an enlightened world: Folklorizing America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

J. H. B. (1977). F.A.R. K. (Folklore Article Reconstruction Kit), *Journal of American Folklore*, 90(356), 199-202.

Jacobeit, W., H. Lixfeld, O. Bockhorn, and J. R. Dow (Eds.). (1994). *Völkische Wissenschaft: Gestalten und Tendenzen der deutschen und österreichischen Volkskunde in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Böhlau Verlag.

Jacobs, J. (1893). The folk. *Folklore*, 4(2), 233-238.

Jason, H. and D. Segal (1977). *Patterns in oral literature*. World Anthropology. Mouton.

Johnson, J. W. (1986). *The epic of Son-Jara: A west African tradition. Text by Fa-Digi Sisòkò*. Indiana University Press.

Johnson, J. W., T. A. Hale, and S. Belcher (Eds.), (1997). *Oral epics from Africa: Vibrant voices from a vast continent*. Indiana University.

Jonker, G. (1995). *The topography of remembrance: The dead, tradition and collective memory in Mesopotamia* (H. Richardson, Trans.). Studies in the History of Religion 68. E. J. Brill.

Kahmann, B. (2015). Antisemitism and antiurbanism, Past and present: Empirical and traditional approaches. In A. H. Rosenfeld (Ed.), *Deciphering the new antisemitism* (pp. 482-507). Indiana University.

Kalay, Y. E., T. Kvan, and J. Affleck (Eds.). (2008). *New heritage: New media and cultural heritage*. Routledge.

Kamenetsky, Christa. (1973). The German folklore revival in the eighteenth century: Herder's Theory of Naturpoesie. *Journal of Popular Culture,* 6(4), 836-848.

Kapchan, D. (Ed.). (2014). *Cultural heritage in transit: Intangible rights as human rights*. University of Pennsylvania.

Karp, I. and S. D. Lavine (Eds.). (1991). *Exhibiting cultures: The poetics and politics of museum Display*. Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kavanagh, P. (1942). *The great hunger*. The Cuala.

Kirkham, V., M. Sherberg, and J. L. Smarr, (Eds.). (2013). Boccaccio: *A critical guide to the complete works.* University of Chicago.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1988). Mistaken dichotomies. *Journal of American Folklore,* 101(400), 140-155.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1995). Theorizing heritage. *Ethnomusicology*, 39(3), 367-380.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1996). Topic drift: Negotiating the Gap between the field and our name. *Journal of Folklore Research,* 33(3), 245-254.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998a). Folklore's crisis. *Journal of American Folklore,* 111(441), 281-327.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998b). *Destination culture: Tourism, museums, and heritage*. University of California Press.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2004). Intangible heritage as meta-cultural production. *Museum International,* 56(1/2), 52-65.

Koepke, W. (Ed.). (1982). *Johann Gottfried Herder: Innovator through the ages*. Bouvier Verelag Herbert Grundmann.

Korff, G. (1996). Namenwechsel als paradigmenwechsel? Die Umbenennung des faches Volkskunde an deutschen Universitäten als Versuch Entnationalisierung. In S. Weigel and B. Erdle, *Fünfzig Jahre danach: Zur Nachgeschichte des Nationalsozialismus* (pp. 403-434). Hochschul verlag AG.

Kōstlin, K.(1979). Anmerkungen zu Riehl. *Jahrbuch fur Volkskunde,* 2:81-94.

Krappe, A. H. (1930). *The science of folklore.* Methuen.

Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolution*. The University of Chicago Press.

Kuhn, T. S. (2000). *The road since structure: Philosophical essays, 19701993, with an autobiographical interview*. J. Conant and J. Haugel (Eds.), University of Chicago Press.

Kurin, R. (1997). *Reflections of a cultural broker: A view from the Smithsonian*. Smithsonian Institution Press.

Lakatos, I. and A. Musgrave (Eds.). (1970). *Criticism and the growth of knowledge*. Cambridge University.

Lanfant, M.F., J. B. Allcock, and E. M. Bruner (Eds.). (1995). *International tourism: Identity and change*. *International Tourism, Internationalization and the Challenge to Identity.* Sage Studies in International Sociology 47. Sage Publications.

Le Rue, H. (2007). Hello, here's music, how did that get here? Presenting music to the unsuspecting museum. *Journal of Museum Ethnography*. 19, 43-56.

Lee. A.C. (1909). *The Decameron: Its sources and analogues*. David Nutt.

Lerner, D. (1958). *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the Middle East.* The Free Press.

Lilla, M.(1993). *G. B. Vico: The making of an anti-modern.* Harvard University Press.

Limón, Renata. (2014). The science of folklore: Aurelio Espinosa on Spain and the American southwest. *Journal of American Folklore*, 127(506), 448-466.

Linke, Uli. (1990). Folklore, anthropology, and the government of social life. *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 32 (1), 117-148.

Lixfeld, H. (1991). The Deutsche forschungsgemeinschaft and the Umbrella Organizations of German Volkskunde during the Third Reich. *Asian Folklore Studies*, 50(1), 95-116.

Lixfeld, H. (1994). *Folklore and fascism: The Reich Institute for German volkskunde.* J. Dow (Ed., and Trans.), Folklore Studies in Translation. Indiana University.

Loomis, O. H. (1983). *Cultural conservation: The protection of cultural heritage in the United States: A Study by the American Folklife Center. Library of Congress, Carried Out in Corporation with the National Park Service, Department of the Interior*. Library of Congress.

Loose, G. (1940). The peasant in Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl's Sociological and Novelistic Writings: Contributions to the Problem of Primitivism. *The Germanic Review*, 15, 263-271.

Lotman, J. M. and B. A, Uspensky (1978). Myth-Name-Culture. *Semiotica*, 22(3/4), 211-234.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country.* Cambridge: University. (revised edition in 2015).

Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. Cambridge University. (Original work published in 1996).

Lowenthal, D. (2006). *The nature of cultural heritage and the culture of natural heritage: Northern Perspectives on Contested Patrimony*. Routledge.

Luft, S. R. ((2004). *Vico's uncanny humanism: reading the"New Science" between Modern and Postmodern*. Cornell University.

Lunn, E. (1986). Cultural populism and egalitarian democracy: Herder and Michelet in the nineteenth century. *Theory and Society*, 15(4), 479-517.

Lutz, G. (Ed.). (1958). *Volkkunde: Ein handbuch zur geschichte ihrer probleme*. Erich Schmidt Verlag.

M.E.B. (1996). Introduction. *Journal of Folklore Research,* 33(3), 185.

Maags, C. and M. Svensson (Eds.).(2018). *Chinese heritage in the making: Experiences, negotiations, contestations.* Amsterdam University.

MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings. *American Journal of Sociology*, 79 (3), 589-603.

MacCannell, D. (2011). *The ethics of sightseeing*. University of California.

Mali, J. ((2004). *Mythhistory: The making of modern historiography*. The University of Chicago.

Mali, J. (1992). *The rehabilitation of myth*. Cambridge University.

Mangione, J. (1972). *The dream and the deal: The federal writers project 1935-1943*. Little, Brown.

Margolis, J. (1968). On names: Sense and reference. *American Philosophical Quarterly,* 5(3), 206-211.

Markwick, M. (2001). Marketing myths and the cultural commodification of Ireland: Where the Grass is Always Greener. *Geography,* 86(1), 37-49.

Mármol, C. del, M. Morell, and J. Chalcraft (Eds.) (2015). *The making of heritage: Seductions and disenchantment.* Routledge.

Marzolph, U. (2012). Cultural property and the right of interpretation: Negotiating folklore in the Islamic republic of Iran. *Journal of Folklore Research*, 49(1), 1-24.

Matthias, T. (1903). *Wilhelm Heinrich von Riehl*. B. Teubner.

Mayo, R. S. (1969). *Herder and the beginnings of comparative literature*. The University of North Carolina.

Mazo, J. A. (1996). A good Saxon compound. *Folklore*, 107, 107-108.

McKean, T. A. (2001). The fieldwork legacy of James Macpherson. *Journal of American Folklore,* 114(454), 447-463.

McLeish, J. (1980). A bibliography of G. Legman. *Maledicta,* 4 (1), 127-136.

Merton, Ambrose [William J. Thoms.] (1846). Folklore. *The Athenæum: Journal of English and Foreign Literature, Science and the Fine Arts* No.982, 862-863.

Messenger, P. M., and G. S. Smith (Eds.). (2010). *Cultural heritage management: A Global Perspective*. University of Florida.

Miller, C. (1993). *Giambattista Vico: Imagination and historical knowledge*. St. Martin's Press.

Miller, R. S. (2004). Of politics, disciplines, and scholars: MacEdward Leach and the Founding of the Folklore Program at the University of Pennsylvania. *The Folklore Historian* 21, 17-34.

Miller, R. S. (2020). Of politics, disciplines, and scholars: MacEdward Leach and the Founding of the Folklore Program at the University of Pennsylvania. In P. Sawin and R. L. Zumwalt (Eds.), *Folklore in the United States and Canada: An Institutional History* (pp.98-108), Indiana University. (Original work published in 2004)

Mitchell, G. (2007). *The North American folk music revival: Nation and identity in the United States and Canada, 1945-1980*. Ashgate.

Montaigne. (1965). *The complete essays of Montaigne* (M. Donald, Trans.) Stanford University.

Moran, J. H. (Ed., and Trans.). (1966). *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Essay on the of languages, Johann Gottfried Herder, Essay on theorigin of language.* Milestones of Thought in the History of Ideas. F. Ungar.

Moser, H. (1978). Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl und die volkskunde: Eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Korrektur. *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 1, 9-66.

Mosse, G. L. (1981). *The crisis of German ideology: Intellectual origins of the third Reich.* Schocken Books.

Motz, M. (1998). The practice of belief. *Journal of American Folklore,* 111(441), 339-355.

Mueller-Vollmer, K. (Ed.). (1990). *Herder today: Contributions from the International Herder Conference* (November, 5-8 1987) *Stanford, California*. Walter de Gruyter.

Muir, K. (1977). *The sources of Shakespeare's plays*. Methuen.

Muir, K. (1981). Folklore and Shakespeare. *Folklore*, 92(2), 231-240.

Mundal, E. and J. Wellendorf (Eds.). (2008). *Oral art forms and their passage into writing*. Museum Tusculanum.

Nagel, E. (1961). *The structure of science: Problems in the logic of scientific explanation*. Harcourt, Brace & World.

Nagy, J. F. (2001). Observations on the ossianesque in medieval Irish literature and modern Irish folklore. *Journal of American Folklore*, 114(454), 436-446.

Naithani, S. (2014). *Folklore theory in postwar Germany*. University Press of Mississippi.

Nash, D. (1996). *Anthropology of tourism.* Tourism Social Science Series. Pergamon.

Nash, June. (2000). Global integration and the commodification of culture. *Ethnology* 39 (2):129-131.

Nemo, J. (1973). A bibliography of writings by and about Patrick Kavanagh. *Irish University Review*, 3(1), 80-106.

Nemo, J. (1979). *Patrick Kavanagh*. Twayne's English authors series 267. Twayne.

Nic Craith, M. (2008). Intangible cultural heritages: The challenges for Europe. *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures,* 17(1), 54-73.

Nicolaisen, W. F. H. (1995). A Gleaner's vision. *Folklore*, 106, 71-76.

Nora, P. (1978). Mémoire collective. In J. Le Goff, R. Chartier, and J. Revel (Eds.), *La Nouvelle histoire* (pp. 398-401). Retz-C. E. P L.

Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les Lieux de *mémoire*. *Representations*, 26, 7-25.

Nora, P. (1996). *Realms of history: Rethinking the French Past (*A. Goldhammer, Trans., L. D. Kritzman Ed.) Columbia University. (Original work, *Les Lieux de mémoire[*P.Nora, Ed.], published in 1984).

Noyes, D. (2007). Voice in the provinces: Submission, recognition, and the making of heritage. In D. Hemme, M. Tauschek, and R. Bendix (Eds.), *Prädikat, Heritag: Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen* (pp. 33-52). Studien zur Kultureanthropologie/Europäischen Ethnologie 1, Lit.

Noyes, John K. (2015). *Herder: Aesthetics against imperialism*. Toronto University.

Ó Giolláin, D. (2000). *Locating Irish folklore: Tradition, modernity, identity.* Cork University.

O'Siadhail, M. (2013). Patrick Kavanagh: Poet and prophet. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 102(405), 53-67.

Olwig, K. R. and D. Lowenthal (Eds.). (2006). *The nature of cultural heritage and the culture of natural heritage*. Routledge.

Ong, Waltere. J. (1982). *Orality and literacy: The technologizing of the word*. Methuen.

Oring, E. (1991). On the future of American folklore studies: A response. *Western Folklore,* 50(1), 75–81.

Oring, E. (1998). Anti Anti- Folklore. *Journal of American Folklore,* 111(441), 328-338.

Oring, E. (2019). Back to the future: Questions for theory in the twenty-first c entury (Francis Lee Utley Lecture, Sponsored by the American Folklore Society Fellows, October 2017). *Journal of American Folklore*, 132(524), 137-156.

Ortutay, G. (1955). The science of folklore in Hungary between the two world-wars and during the period subsequent to liberation. *Acta Ethnographica*, 4, 5-89.

Parédes, A. and R. Bauman (Eds.). (1972) *Toward new perspectives in Folklore*. Publication Series of the American Folklore Society, Bibliographical and Special Series 23. University of Texas

Payne, B. (1960). The poetry of Patrick Kavanagh. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review,* 49(195), 279-294.

Peach, A. (2007). Craft, souvenirs, and the commodification of national identity in 1970's Scotland. *Journal of Design History*, 20 (3), 243-257.

Peek, P. M. and K. Yankah, (Eds.). (2004). *African folklore: An Encyclopedia*. Routledge.

Penkower, M. N. (1977). *The federal writers' project: A study in government patronage of the arts*. University of Illinois.

Percy, T. (1765). *Reliques of ancient English poetry* (1-3). J. Dodsley.

Pigliasco, G. C. (2010). We branded ourselves long ago: Intangible Cultural property and commodification of Fijian Fire walking. *Oceania* 80(2), 161-181.

Poliziano, A. (1997). *Poesie volgari* (F. Bausi, Ed.) Vecchiarelli Editore.

Poliziano, A. (2004). Silvae (C. Fantazzi, Ed.) Harvard University.

Pomian, K. (1987). *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux: Paris, Venise: XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle*. Gallimard.

Porter, J. (2001b). "Bring me the head of James Macpherson": The execution of Ossian and the wellsprings of folkloristic discourse. *Journal of American Folklore,* 114(454), 396-435.

Porter, J. (Ed.). (2001a). James Macpherson and the Ossian epic debate. *Journal of American Folklore*, 114(454), 396-477.

Pound, L. (1952). The scholarly study of folklore. *Western Folklore,* 11(2), 100-108.

Quinn, A. (1991). *Patrick Kavanagh: A critical study*. Syracuse University.

Quinn, A. (2001). *Patrick Kavanagh: A biography*. Gill & Macmillan.

Reed, Eugene E. (1965). Herder, primitivism and the age of poetry. *The Modern Language Review,* 60(4), 553-567.

Reichl, K. (Ed.). (2012). *Medieval oral literature*. De Gruyter.

Remy, S. P. (2002). *The Heidelberg myth: The Nazification and denazification of a German University*. Harvard University.

Ridge, M. (Ed.). (2014). *Crowdsourcing our cultural heritage*. Digital Research in the Arts and Humanities. Ashgate.

Riehl, W. H. (1859). Die volkskunde als wissenschaft. *Culturstudien aus drei Jahrhunderdten*(205-229). Cotta. (Reprinted in Lutz 1958, 23-60)

Rios, F. (2014). "They're stealing our music": The Argentinísima controversy, national culture boundaries, and the rise of a Bolivian nationalist discourse. *Latin American Music Review/ Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, 35(2), 197-227.

Rodwell, D. (2012). The Unesco world heritage convention, 1972-2012: Reflections and Directions. *The Historic Environment*, 3(1), 64-85.

Roper, J. (2008). Our national folklore: William Thoms as a cultural nationalist (pp. 60-74). In *Narrating the (trans) Nation: The Dialectics of Culture and Identity*. Das Gupta.

Rotenstreich, N. (1973). Volksgeist. In (P. P. Weiner, Ed.) *Dictionary of the history of ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas.* (4, pp. 490-496). Charles Scribner's Sons.

Rudy, J. T. (1999). The humanities, folklore studies, and George Layman Kittredge 's reputation and the ideology of philology. *The Folklore Historian,* 16, 1-18.

Rudy, J. T. (2004). Transforming audiences for oral tradition: Child, kittredge, Thompson, and connections of folklore and English studies. *College English*, 66(5), 524-544.

Ryan, A. (1970). *The philosophy of the social science*. Pantheon Books.

Samuelson, S. (1983). *Twenty years of the department of folklore and folklife at the University of Pennsylvania: A dissertation profile, 1962-1982. Occasional publications in folklore and folklife*, No.1. Philadelphia, PA: Department of folklore and folklife, University of Pennsylvania.

Sanderson, S. F. and E. Estyn Evans (1970). The academic status of folklore in Britain. *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 7(2/3), 101-109.

Sapir, E.(1907). Herder's 'Ursprung der Sprache. *Modern Philology,* 5(1), 109-142.

Schaeffer, J. D. (1990). *Sensus communis: Vico, rhetoric, and the limits of relativism.* Duke University.

Scheub, H. (1977). *African oral narrative, proverbs, riddles, poetry and song*. Bibliographies and Guides in African Studies. G. K. Hall.

Schnurbein, S. von (2016). *Norse revival: Transformations of Germanic neopaganism.* Brill.

Schofield, J. and R. Szymanski (Eds.). (2011). *Local heritage, global context: Cultural perspectives on sense of place.* Ashgate.

Schrempp, G. (1998). The Demon-Haunted world: Folklore and fear of regression at the end of the millennium. *Journal of American Folklore*, 111(441), 247-256.

Schütze, M. (1920a). The fundamental ideas in Herder's thought. I-V. *Modern Philology,* 18(2), 65-78.

Schütze, M. (1920b) The fundamental ideas in Herder's thought II. *Modern Philology,* 18(6), 289-302.

Schütze, M. (1921). The fundamental ideas in Herder's thought III. *Modern Philology,* 19(2), 113-130.

Schütze, M. (1922). The fundamental ideas in Herder's thought IV. *Modern Philology,* 19(4), 361-382.

Schütze, M. (1923). The fundamental ideas in Herder's thought V. *Modern Philology,* 21(1), 29-48.

Seitel, P. (Ed.). (2001). *Safeguarding traditional cultures: A global assessment*. Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Smithsonian Institution.

Seneca, the Elder. (1974). *Controversiae* (M. Winterbottom, Ed., 1-2). The Loeb Classical Library. Harvard University.

Shepard, L. (1969). *John Pitts: Ballad printer of seven dials, London 1765-1844.* Singing tree.

Sherkin, S. (2001). A historical study on the preparation of the (1989) recommendation on the safeguarding of traditional culture and folklore. In P. Seitel (Ed.), *Safeguarding Traditional Cultures: A Global Assessment* (42-56). Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Smithsonian Institution.

Sherman, S. R. (2008). Who owns culture and who decides?: Ethics, film methodology, and intangible cultural heritage protection. *Western Folklore,* 67(2/3), 223-236.

Silverman, H. (Ed.). (2011). *contested cultural heritage: Religion, nationalism, erasure, and exclusion in a global world*. Springer.

Silverman, H., E. Waterton, and S. Watson (Eds.). (2017). *Heritage in action: Making the past in the present*. Springer.

Simonsfeld, H. (1898). *Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl als kulturhistoriker*: *Festrede gehalten in der öffentlichen sitzung der k.b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* (November, 12 1898). Verlag der k.b. Akademie.

Simonsfeld, Henry (1898). *Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl als kulturhistoriker*. München Bayerische Akademie.

Simpson, G. R. (1921). *Herder's conception of "das volk."* University of Chicago.

Sims, M. C. and M. Stephens. (2005). *Living folklore: An introduction to the study of people and their traditions.* Utah State University.

Sleeper-Smith, S. (Ed.). (2009). *Contesting knowledge: Museums and indigenous perspectives*. University of Nebraska.

Smith, G. S., P. M. Messenger, and H. A. Soderland (Eds.). (2010). *Heritage values in contemporary*

society. Left Coast Press.

Smith, L. and N. Akagawa (2009). *Intangible heritage*. Key Issues in Cultural Heritage. Routledge.

Smith, L. (2004). *Archaeological theory and the politics of cultural heritage.* Routledge.

Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of heritage*. Routledge.

Smith, Marian W. (1947). Thoms, "Folk-Lore" and the folklore centenary. *Journal of American Folklore* 60(238), 417-420.

Sørensen, M. L. S. and J. Carman (Eds.). (2009). *Heritage studies: Methods and approaches*. Routledge.

Staehle, I. M. (1922). *Herder's conception of the folksong and his introduction of Percy's reliques of ancient English Poetry* [Unpublished BA thesis] University of Illinois.

Stafford, Fiona. (1988). *The sublime savage: James Macpherson and the poems of Ossian*. Edinburgh University.

Stagl, J. (1998). Rationalism and irrationalism in early German Ethnology. The Controversy between Schlözer and Herder, 1772/73. *Anthropos*, 93(4./6), 521-536.

Stein, M. B. (2001). Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl and the scientific- literary formation of "Volkskunde." *German Studies Review,* 24(3), 487-512.

Stein, M. B. (2010). The German village as site of ethnographic knowledge. *Journal of Folklore Research* 47(1/2), 113-122.

Stewart, S. (1991). *Crimes of writing: Problems in the containment of representation*. Oxford University.

Stock, B. (1983). *The implications of literacy: Written languages and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries*. Princeton University Press.

Stocking, George W., Jr. (1971). What's in a name? The origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1837-71). *Man*, 6(3), 369-390.

Strobach, H. (1987). "....aber wann beginnt der Volkrieg?" Anmerkungen zum Thema Volkskundeund Faschismus (vor und um 1933). In H. Gerndt (Ed.), *Volkskunde und Nationalsozialismus* (pp. 23-38). Münchner Beiträge zur Volkkunde 7. MünchnerVereinigung für Volkskunde.

Suphan, B. L. (Ed.). (1877-1913). Über den Ursprung der Sprache, 1772. *Herders sämmtliche Werke* (5 in 33, pp. 1-147). Weidmann.

Sweet, J.(1989). Burlesquing "The Other" in pueblo performance. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 15(1), 7-29.

Tagliacozzo, G. (1993). *The Arbor Scientiae reconceived and the history of Vico's Resurrection*. Humanities Press International.

Tagliacozzo, G. and Hayden V. White, (Eds.). (1969). *Giambattista Vico: An international symposium.* The Johns Hopkins University.

Tagliacozzo, G. and P. Verene (Eds.). (1976). *Giambattista Vico's science of humanity.*The Johns Hopkins University.

Tagliacozzo, G., P. Verene, and V. Rumble (Eds.). (1986). *A bibliography of Vico in English.* Philosophy Documentation Center.

Taïwé, K. D. (2008). *Orature et littéralité: Une perspective Africaine*. Littératures des Peuples Noirs/ African Peoples' Literatures, Vols. 3. Lit

Temple (Captain R. C.) (1886). The science of folk-lore, With tables of spirit basis of belief and custom. *The Folk-Lore Journal*, 4(3), 193-212.

Thompson, S. (1996). *A folklorist's progress: Reflections of a scholar's life* (John H. McDowell, I. G.

Carpenter, D. Braid, and E. Peterson-Veatch, Eds.). Special publications of the Folklore Institute 5. Indiana University.

Thompson, S. (Ed.). (1953). *Four symposia on folklore: Held at the Midcentury International Folklore Conference Indiana University,* (July 21-August 4, 1950). Indiana University Publications, Folklore Series 5. Indiana University.

Thoms, W. J. (1834). *Lays and legends of Germany*. G. Cowie

Thoms, William John. (1834.) *Lays and legends of Germany*. G. Cowie

Tokofsky, P. (1996). Folk-Lore and volks-kunde: Compounding compounds. *Journal of Folklore Research*, 33(3), 207-211.

Tunbridge, J. E. and G. J.Ashworth (1996). *Dissonant heritage. The management of the past as a resource in conflict*. John Wiley and Sons.

Turino, T. (1988). The music of Andean migrants in Lima, Peru: Demographics, social power, and style. *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana,* 9(2), 127-150.

Vererne, M. B. (1994). *Vico: A bibliography of works in English from 1884 to 1994.* Philosophy Documentation Center, Bowling Green State University.

Vico, G. (1982). *Vico: Selected writings* (L. Pompa, Ed.) Cambridge University.

Vico, G. (1961). *The new science of Giambattista Vico* (T. Goddard Bergin and M. H. Fisch, Trans.) Doubleday.

Vico, G. (1965). *On the study methods of our time* (E. Gianturco, Trans.) The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

Waldow, A. and N. DeSouza (Eds.). (2017). *Herder: Philosophy and anthropology*. Oxford University.

Wallace, T. (Ed.). (2005). *Tourism and applied anthropologists: Linking theory and practice*. NAPA Bulletin 23. University of California.

Watt, T. (1991). *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550-1640*. Cambridge studies in early modern british history. Cambridge University.

Weber-Kellermann, Ingeborg, A. C. Bimmer, and S. Becker (2004). *Einführung in die volkskunde/ Europäische Ethnologie* (3rd edition). J. B.Metzler.

Weisberg, D. B. (2012). The "Antiquarian" interests of the New Babylonian kings. *Leaders and legacies in Assyriology and Bible: The collected essays of David Weisberg* (pp. 61-71). Eisenbrauns.

Weltfish, G . (1938). F orty-Ninth a nnual m eeting o f t he A merican F olk-Lore society. *J ournal of American Folklore*, 51(199), 102-105.

West, S. (Ed.) (2010). *Understanding heritage in practice*. Manchester University.

West, V. R. (1930). *Folklore in the works of Mark Twaine*. University of Nebraska.

Whittaker, J. H. (1979). Kierkegaard on names, concepts, and proofs for god's existence. *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion,* 10(2), 117-129.

Widdowson, J. D. A. (2010). Folklore studies in English higher education: Lost cause or new opportunity? *Folklore,* 121(2), 125-142.

Wiegelmann, G. (1979). Riehls Stellung in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte der volkskunde. *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde,* 2, 89-100.

Williams, M. A. (2006). *Staging tradition: John Lair and Sarah Gertrude Knott*. University of Illinois.

Williams, R. (1976). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. Oxford University.

Wilson, W. A. (1973). Herder, folklore and romantic nationalism. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 6(4),

319-335.

Wilson, W. A. (2006). Herder, folklore, and romantic nationalism. In J. T. Rudy and D.Call (Ed.), *The Marrow of Human Experience: Essays on Folklore* (pp. 107-123). Utah State University.

Wingfield, C. (2007). Feeling the vibes. Dealing with intangible heritage. *Journal of Museum Ethnography*. 19, 9-20.

Wingfield, C. and C. Gosden. (2012). An imperialist folklore? Establishing the folklore society in London. In T. Baycroft and D. Hopkin (Eds.), *Folklore and nationalism in Europe during the long nineteenth century (pp. 255-274),* National Cultivation of Culture 4. Brill.

Winter, I. J. (2000). Babylonian archaeologists of the(ir) Mesopotamian past. In (P. Matthaie et all. Eds.) *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (pp.1785-1789). Reprinted in *On Art in the Ancient Near East. From the Third Millennium B.C.E*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Vol. 2 in 34, pp. 461-479), Brill.

Wolf, E. R. (1982). *Europe and the people without history*. University of California.

Zhiqin, C. (2015). For whom to conserve intangible cultural heritage: The dislocated agency of folk belief practitioners and the reproduction of local culture. *Asian Ethnology,* 74(2), 307-334.

Bu eser Creative Commons Atıf 4.0 Uluslararası Lisansı ile lisanslanmıştır.
(This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License).

ISSN 1300-7491 e-ISSN 2791-6057 https://www.folkloredebiyat.org