

**Jan Faye Braadland**

***Echoes of the Brothers Grimm from Thule***

***Skript nr. 3. Forarbeider til biografi om Andreas Faye (1802-69)***





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**JAN FAYE BRAADLAND**

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## Forord

Undertegnede arbeider med et omfattende biografiprojekt om presten, historikeren og folkeminnesamleren *Andreas Faye* (1802-69), bl.a. støttet i form av et prosjektstipend på kr. 40.000,- fra Den norske Forfatterforening i 1992.

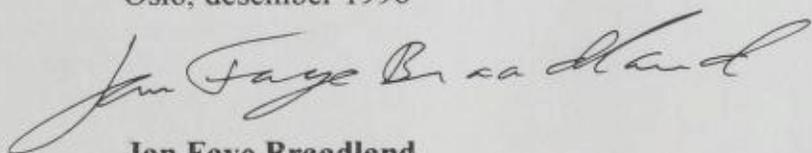
Denne skriftserien er et resultat av mer enn 5 års grunnforskning omkring Norges første store folklorist. Mange av resultatene fra dette arbeidet, og flere av de historiske funn som er avdekket, vil trolig ha verdi både for forskere og privatpersoner, men lar seg vanskelig gjengi i sin helhet i selve biografien. En del av dette grunnlagsmaterialet vil derfor utkomme som fortløpende, nummererte skrifter i begrensede opplag. Noen av skriftene kan bli revidert og utkomme i nye utgaver, mens andre igjen vil bli bearbeidet som artikler eller delvis gjengitt i biografien.

*Skrift nr. 3* er et faksimilisk opptrykk av en engelsk artikkel i *Jahrbuch der Brüder Grimm-Gesellschaft, Band V, Kassel 1995*. Årboken ble først offisielt utgitt i Tyskland denne måneden. Artikkelen, som ble skrevet sommeren 1995, gir et kort biografisk portrett av Andreas Fayes liv og virke beregnet på et internasjonalt publikum og behandler spesielt den innflytelse brødrene Grimms arbeider hadde på Faye som folkeminnesamler og sagnutgiver. Videre avsløres eventyrdikteren Hans Christian Andersen som litterær tyv, og det dokumenteres for første gang at Simon Olaus Wolff er forfatteren bak en flengende anti-kritikk av Peter Andreas Munchs negative anmeldelse av Fayes sagnsamling i 1833.

Jeg vil spesielt takke Dr.phil., o.Professor *Fritz Paul* ved Universität Göttingen, Skandinavisches Seminar, som på vegne av Brüder Grimm-Gesellschaft inviterte meg til å skrive artikkelen og Dr. *Bernhard Lauer* ved Brüder Grimm-Museum i Kassel som i egenskap av redaktør for *Jahrbuch der Brüder Grimm-Gesellschaft* på utmerket måte har bistått med tilretteleggingen av manuskriptet. Ellers vil jeg få takke *Erik Henning Edvardsen*, *Åsmund Knutson* og *Kaare Flaate* for å ha lest korrektur på den engelske teksten og kommet med nyttige, supplerende opplysninger.

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**Jan Faye Braadland**



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Jan Faye Braadland (Oslo)

## ECHOES OF THE BROTHERS GRIMM FROM THULE<sup>1</sup>

A short introduction to Andreas Faye (1802-1869)

and his *Norske Sagn* (1833)

### I

In the year 1817 the philosophy and history class of the Royal Norwegian Society for Rural Development<sup>2</sup> suggested to set up prizes for a) the best collection of Norwegian legends and myths and b) the best and most complete collection of Norwegian proverbs, but it is not documented whether the proposal was passed by the board of the society or not.<sup>3</sup>

A contributor in *Morgenbladet* on 15th October 1819, a major newspaper in Christiania (now Oslo) at that time, made the following statement in a short paragraph about antiquities and legends:

„In Denmark Mr. Thiele has made himself worthy of this branch of human knowledge, and it were desirable if also a Norwegian scholar, preferably a clergyman in the countryside, would contribute towards this school of thought.“

The proposal of setting up a prize for the best collection of legends and the short paragraph above indicate a growing national consciousness. In a period of patriotism and national awakening after Norway got its own constitution at Eidsvoll in 1814 both scholars and poets gradually became more aware of the treasures of folklore that were hidden in the heart of people and nature.

In a review of the Danish folklorist J. M. Thiele's *Prøver av danske Folkesagn*<sup>4</sup> (Samples of Danish Legends) in 1818, Jacob Grimm expressed the following wish:

---

<sup>1</sup> The name given by the Greek voyager Pytheas of Massilia to the northernmost land he reached on a 6 to 7 day sea journey in northern direction from Britannia's coast around the year 330 BC, probably the coastal area in Norway between Trondheim and the Arctic Circle. Thule could definitely not have been Iceland that was uninhabited at the time.

<sup>2</sup> The society was established in 1809 and still exists.

<sup>3</sup> S. Hasund: *Det kgl. Selskap for Norges Vel*. II. Gjøvik 1941, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> First published in Copenhagen 1817. Inspired by the work of the Brothers Grimm in Germany Just Mathias Thiele (1795-1874) continued his work and edited the first Danish collection of legends in four volumes: *Danske Folkesagn*. Copenhagen 1818-1823. The legends were partly taken down by himself on travels, partly from manuscripts in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. A new and enlarged edition of the legends was published in 1843.

„Would it not be fortunate, if somebody in Norway and Sweden became aware of and began to collect what there must exist in the quiet, preserved nature of these countries; then it clearly will be revealed what great gains the inseparable history of the Germans and the Northerners may benefit from such an undertaking.“<sup>5</sup>

Yet another fifteen years passed from Jacob Grimm reviewed Thiele's work until his wish for a similar collection of legends in Norway was materialized by the clergyman Andreas Faye. His edition of *Norske Sagn* (Norwegian Legends) was the first collection of folklore in Norwegian literature and aroused considerable public interest when it was published in 1833.<sup>6</sup>

## II

Andreas Faye was born on 5th October 1802 at Bragernes in the coastal town of Drammen. His father was captain, broker and sailcloth factory owner Christopher Faye (1772-1825) and his mother Maren Mathea Borgen (1780-1817).

The first ancestor of the Faye family in Norway and Denmark was Marcus Faye, who took citizenship in Bergen on 10th May 1642, registered by the name of Marckus Phej, captain, Orkney Island. According to family traditions Marcus and his family had to flee from France because of their Huguenot origin.

Drammen with its good harbour was a prosperous and growing trade, shipping and industrial town at the beginning of last century, the fifth largest town in Norway with 5412 inhabitants in 1801<sup>7</sup>. The Faye House at Bragernes was ruled by Christopher Faye with great success until the post Napoleon war crack turned over many of the wealthiest families. Also the Faye House with its sailcloth factory went bankrupt around 1820.

Andreas Faye grew up in the days of the sail ships and it was quite obvious that he, as the oldest son, from childhood was ment for a life at sea and certainly not to be educated as a scholar or a clergyman.

He got his first education with other boys and girls from Drammen at a „learning by heart“-school run by a very old woman. Eight years old he was sent by his father to Christian Holst (1743-1824), a clergyman in Røyken who „was a gifted man, a skilful farmer and some kind of a Jack of all trades in mechanical matters“<sup>8</sup>. The educational method at Holst's local board-school was more of a practical than theoretical character.

Christian Holst was a living legend of his time, and he is described by Peter Christen Asbjørnsen (1812-1885) in the legend *Plankekjøerne* (The Plank Drivers) from his collec-

<sup>5</sup> The review was published in *Wünschelruthe. Ein Zeitblatt*, No. 50, 22th July 1818, p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> Andreas Faye: *Norske Sagn*. Arendal 1833.

<sup>7</sup> Buskerud Amt. *Jubileumsskrift 1814-1914*. Drammen 1914, pp. 26 and 28.

<sup>8</sup> From a biographical portrait of Andreas Faye written by Paul Botten-Hansen (1824-1869) in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, 18th October 1866, No. 7. Botten-Hansen's article was mainly based on an autobiographical manuscript by Faye, now in the *Aust-Agder-Arkivet* (Arendal, Norway) with file reference: *Fayes familiearkiv II 2*.



The clergyman, historian and collector of folklore Andreas Faye (1802-69).  
C.M. Tegner's Lithographical Institute, Copenhagen, 1857

tion of *Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn* (Norwegian Tales about Fairies and Folk Legends)<sup>9</sup>. This particular legend was written down by Asbjørnsen around 1846.

After four years in Holst's local board-school Andreas Faye attended Bragernes Civic School for a short period of time in 1814, before he and his younger brother was sent to the clergyman F. Wettergreen in Borre who was known as a skilful teacher. After two years of education in languages and other subjects Wettergreen eventually convinced Christopher Faye that his son was more suited for theoretical studies than for a life at sea. In 1823 he was dismissed from Drammen High School to study history and theology at The Royal

<sup>9</sup> P. Chr. Asbjørnsen: *Norske huldreeventyr og folkesagn*. 2nd collection. Oslo 1949, pp. 77-99 and notes pp. 322-328. This is a reprint of the original 3rd edition of *Norske Huldre-Eventyr og Folkesagn*. Christiania 1870. The 1st edition was published in two different volumes from 1845 and 1848.



Siegwald Dahl: Portrait of Andreas Faye. Drawing, Holt 23rd September 1847.  
Oslo Bymuseum (The City Museum of Oslo), Oslo

Frederik's University in Christiania, established in 1811. In June 1828 he graduated as a candidate in theology with a final degree in divinity.

During the summers of 1824 and 1825 Andreas Faye and fellow students at the university travelled around in different parts of South Norway. Faye's note books from these travels show that he studied and put down in writing legends he heard from many different informants.

The years Andreas Faye spent together with Christian Holst in a rural district of very rich folklore tradition, combined with his travels in Norway in the mid 1820s, are probably two of the main factors that created the forthcoming and first folklorist of Norwegian literature. The following statement, given by Faye in the introduction to *Norske Sagn*, also supports this assumption:

„(...) since the days of my childhood, when I with a living interest and faith listened to them, early gave me an idea about collecting some of these legends before they will die down entirely. Partly grown up in the countryside, and thus used to be in company with peasants, it was not difficult on several walking tours, which I did during my university holidays, to widen my knowledge of legends, (...)“<sup>10</sup>

From August to September 1828 he went to Copenhagen where he among other scholars became acquainted with the „Nordic King of Poetry“<sup>11</sup> Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger (1779-1850) and his wife Christiane (1782-1841)<sup>12</sup>. It was the wealthy ironmaster Jacob Aall (1773-1844)<sup>13</sup> at Nes, close to the town of Arendal at the south coast of Norway, who financed Faye's journey and also equipped him with a letter of recommendation to the bishop, historian and philologist Peter Erasmus Müller (1776-1834)<sup>14</sup>. All these three men played important roles and influenced Andreas Faye's life both as a folklorist and as a historian.

From the end of 1828 Faye was appointed to a vacant teaching post in Arendal. He held this post until 1833, when he received an appointment as parson to Holt parish, very close to Nes and Jacob Aall's famous private library<sup>15</sup>. In 1831 he went on a half-year journey abroad and visited several European cities and countries, financed entirely by his own money this time. Faye's ostensible purpose was to study history and educational systems of Prussia and Saxony in particular.

After a two month stay in Copenhagen he travelled further on to Berlin where he attended lectures by the far-famed professors of theology Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and August Neander (1789-1850). After a short stay in Berlin he visited the two important ecclesiastical cities of Wittenberg and Halle and went on further to Jena and Weimar, „where the famous Goethe received and treated the unknown Norwegian with kind attention“.

There is reason to believe that Andreas Faye brought with him a letter of recommendation from Adam Oehlenschläger to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), who also wrote in his diary on Sunday 15th May 1831:

<sup>10</sup> Faye 1833, *op. cit.*, pp. VII-VIII.

<sup>11</sup> An expression used when Adam Oehlenschläger was „crowned“ by the Swedish bishop Esais Tegnér at a ceremony in Lund's cathedral on 23rd June 1829.

<sup>12</sup> The complete correspondence between Andreas Faye and Adam og Christiane Oehlenschläger from 1829 to 1838 has recently been published in Jan Faye Braadland: *Andreas Fayes brevveksling med Adam og Christiane Oehlenschläger*. Publication no. 2. Oslo 1995.

<sup>13</sup> Member of the constituent assembly at Eidsvoll in 1814, translator of Snorre's *Saga of Kings*, historian.

<sup>14</sup> P.E. Müller's letters to Wilhelm Grimm are published in Ernst Schmidt: *Briefwechsel der Gebrüder Grimm mit Nordischen Gelehrten*. Berlin 1885, pp. 135-44.

<sup>15</sup> In his library there was also a copy of the original edition of Grimm's *Deutsche Sagen*, see no. 1495 in *Catalog over Jakob Aalls Bibliothek*. Christiania 1845, p. 49. It is possible that Andreas Faye could have had access to and read Grimm's legends as early as in the beginning of the 1820s when he and his younger brothers spent their summer holidays with the Aall family at Nes. Christopher Faye and Jakob Aall knew each other well and had been business associates for some time. One of the ironmaster's sons even lived with the Faye family at Bragernes during his student days at Drammen High School.

May.

18. 5. 1831. In Königsberg  
 laud mit seinem Hofe, wals  
 sein als König. In  
 nach Paris geht. In  
 A. Faye, erzieht bei  
 in 1. latine. Fala zu  
 Coraifel, geb. in 1800  
 Straußes Notizen über  
 die Norwegische Sprache  
 laudat, f. in 1800 der Mi  
 neralogin u. Gneis. In  
 Mithen. In. In  
 nach 1. literarische  
 Gesselschaft in  
 Mineralogische. In  
 In 1800 der f. In  
 von Paris. In  
 in 1800. In  
 Abt. In  
 In 1800. In

Montag 1. 16.

in 1800. In  
 In 1800.

Notizen. In  
 In 1800. In

„From Mr A. Faye, master of the Latin school in Arendal, I got gratifying news about Norwegian mountain-officers-of-the-Crown, friends of mineralogy and geognosy.“<sup>16</sup>

The meeting with Goethe left an everlasting impression in the young man's mind. When Faye few days later arrived in Dresden, he was met with great hospitality by his compatriot, the romantic landscape painter and professor Johan Christian Dahl (1788-1857), who most of his adult life lived and worked there. Their friendship and correspondence also did contribute to the earliest history of preservation of Norwegian ancient monuments and stave churches in particular<sup>17</sup>. In 1836 Andreas Faye wrote an article about *Gaara stave church*<sup>18</sup>, and also a treatise, *De norske Kirker* (Norwegian Churches), that originally was ment for Dahl's book from 1837 containing plates of stave churches<sup>19</sup>. Two years later, in 1839, Dahl was deeply concerned and engaged in trying to save Vang stave church in Valdres<sup>20</sup> from demolition. When he did not succeed to get the church restored and moved elsewhere in Norway, he bought and sold the whole church to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia who in 1844 placed it in a small Silesian village called Brückenberg in Riesengebirge (now Poland), where it still is.

During his stay in Dresden, Faye also met the Danish story-teller Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875) on several occasions at the beginning of June 1831. In his book of travel, *Skyggebilleder* (Shadow Figures), Andersen describes common meetings at Dahl's place, the picture gallery and gatherings where the famous German romantic poet Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853) entertained his audience with reading passages from Shakespeare's play *Henry IV*<sup>21</sup>.

The story-teller Hans Christian Andersen is exposed as some kind of 'literary thief' when his book of travel is compared with his own and Faye's travel diaries from Dresden. In his book of travel Andersen introduces the legend about the raven that said „Jakob! Jakob!“ outside the castle in Merseburg by saying: „There I also was told ...“<sup>22</sup> That is not quite true, when the text is compared with the entry in his diary saying: „This evening Faye told me a legend from Merseburg where I have been“<sup>23</sup>. The text extracts and itinerary clearly show that Faye was Andersen's informant of this particular legend.

Whether Andreas Faye met the Brothers Grimm on his journey has not yet been verified. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm were both professors and librarians in Göttingen at the

<sup>16</sup> i) Translated from the German text in: *Goethes Tagebücher*. 13. Band: 1831-1832. Weimar 1903, p. 78; ii) Goethe's original handwritten diaries in *Stiftung Weimarer Klassik*, Weimar, with file reference: *Goethe Tagebücher 048*; iii) Goethe's signature is also to be found in Andreas Faye's handwritten travel diary *En Mindekrands fra svundne Dage*, privately owned by Ragnar Faye, Oslo.

<sup>17</sup> For further details, see Einar Wexelsen: *Trekk fra fortidsminnevernets eldste historie i Norge*. Oslo 1974.

<sup>18</sup> In *Skilling-Magazin*, No. 23, 1836, pp. 177-180.

<sup>19</sup> J.C.C. Dahl: *Denkmale einer sehr ausgebildeten Holzbaukunst aus den frühesten Jahrhunderten in den innern Landschaften Norwegens*. Dresden 1837.

<sup>20</sup> Geographically quite close to Hedalen stave church, see legend about 'The Church in the Woods' in Appendix B below.

<sup>21</sup> For further details, see H.C. Andersen: *Skyggebilleder*. Copenhagen 1831, Chapter X.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, beginning of Chapter X.

<sup>23</sup> H.C. Andersen: *Dagbøger* [Diaries] 1825-1875. Volume 1: 1825-1834. Copenhagen 1971, p. 104.

time. Even though some sources indicate that such a meeting took place, it has still not been possible to draw such a conclusion from Faye's own notes, letters or other reliable sources of information.

When Faye returned to Arendal in the late autumn of 1831 his first main literary work *Norges Historie til Brug ved Ungdommens Underviisning* (History of Norway to be used in Education of the Youth) was published<sup>24</sup>. This was the first textbook that dealt with Norwegian history after the Kalmar Union between Denmark, Norway and Sweden from 1389 to 1521. The textbook was later translated into Swedish (Stockholm 1842) and German (Leipzig 1851, 1865)<sup>25</sup>. On the instructions of the Ministry of Church and Education a short version of this textbook was worked out in 1834 for a wider educational use in board-schools across the country<sup>26</sup>.

In 1832 Andreas Faye was one of the founders of the first public museum and library in Arendal. As parson in a rural district he saw the importance of information work among peasants on the growing social problems caused by alcohol excess. In 1840 he published a Norwegian translation of Johan Heinrich Daniel Zschokke's *Die Brannteweinpest* (The Rum Plague), which again was translated into Swedish later that year<sup>27</sup>.

When Faye in 1839, in addition to his duties as parson to Holt parish, was appointed by the Government as the first head teacher at the teacher training seminar established on the premises of his parsonage he was also involved with the teaching profession. In 1853 he edited the first educational textbook for students at teacher training seminars in Norway: *Almuskolen eller Vink til at opdrage og undervise Børn, samt ordne og styre en Almuskole* (The Board-School, or Useful Hints and Advice in the Upbringing and Teaching of Children, and also How to Rule Such a School)<sup>28</sup>.

Andreas Faye was also member of the Norwegian parliament, Stortinget, from the county of Nedenes in 1842, member of the scientific societies in Trondheim (1831) and in Christiania (1864). Faye was honoured with the Order of St. Olav in 1866 „for merits both as senior government official and in regard of science“.

He was first married in Arendal with Ditlevine Madsen (1819-1846) in 1835, and second time in Kristiansand with Octavia Knudsen (1828-1908) in 1850.

After 28 years in Holt he was appointed as parson to Sande parish in 1861, not far from his birth town of Drammen, and died there as senior rector on 5th May 1869, 67 years old.

<sup>24</sup> Andreas Faye: *Norges Historie til Brug ved Ungdommens Underviisning*. Christiania 1831. New editions in 1834, 1842, 1856.

<sup>25</sup> *Geschichte von Norwegen. Nach Andreas Faye. Bis auf die neueste Zeit fortgeführt*. Leipzig 1851/1865. (= Volume XVIII of *Historische Hausbibliothek, herausgeg. von Prof. Fr. Bülow*).

<sup>26</sup> Andreas Faye: *Udtog af Norges Historie* [Extract of Norwegian History]. Christiania 1834. Later editions in 1836, 1840, 1847, 1852 and 1858.

<sup>27</sup> With the title *Landets Ulykke og Folkets farligste Fiende* [from the German original (Aarau 1837) by A. Faye]. Christiania 1840; Swedish title: *Sveriges Första Strid*. Stockholm 1840.

<sup>28</sup> Andreas Faye: *Almuskolen eller Vink til at opdrage og undervise Børn, samt ordne og styre en Almuskole*. Christiania 1853. Later editions in 1855 and 1864; for more details about his literary work the most complete bibliography so far given, is in J.B. Halvorsen: *Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon 1814-1880*. Volume II. Kristiania 1888, pp. 264-266.

## III

Through his whole life Andreas Faye was animated with an ardour for national history and an eagerness to preserve the past for future generations. When he began collecting legends on walking tours with fellow students in the mid 1820s, it was first of all to save these wonderful echoes of the past from distinction.

Among other respected scholars he was strongly encouraged by the above Danish bishop Peter Erasmus Müller and professor Cornelius Enevold Steenbloch (1773-1836)<sup>29</sup> to continue his research, widen his knowledge of legends and finally realize the idea of editing a first collection of its kind in Norwegian literature. His journeys to Copenhagen in 1828 and to other European countries in 1831 also did have a major influence on Faye's research and collecting work. Here he met with many of the most important scholars and poets in the cultural life of Northern Europe and was acquainted with the romantic ideas and school of thought.

The first prospectuses of a collection of Norwegian legends by Andreas Faye were inserted by his publisher Niels Christian Hald (1808-1896) in both local and national newspapers at the end of September and the beginning of October 1832<sup>30</sup>. Faye hoped that his book would meet a long-felt need in literature.

In February and March 1833, about the same time as Faye was leaving his teaching post to take up his duties as parson to Holt parish, some samples of his legends about supernatural beings were published in *Den vestlandske Tidende*<sup>31</sup>, a major local newspaper in Arendal at the time.

Andreas Faye's collection of legends was probably published in June or July 1833. An exact date has not been possible to confirm, but according to a letter from Faye to Oehlenschläger at the beginning of September a copy of his „recently published Norwegian Legends“ was enclosed<sup>32</sup>.

His book was partly modelled on *Deutsche Sagen* (1816, 2nd volume 1818)<sup>33</sup> and *Irische Elfenmärchen* (1826) by the Brothers Grimm, partly on Thiele's collection of *Danske Folkesagn* (1818-1823) as mentioned above. Generally one might say that in the scientific approach to his material Faye closely followed the Brothers Grimm and in arrangement of the collection Thiele's work.

Andreas Faye was a collector and editor of legends, not a teller of folk tales. In the introduction to *Norske Sagn* this point is clearly emphasized:

„The author does not wish to tire his readers with the reasons for his choice of legends, like arrangement and other matters; but only wants to add that he is delivering the legends as he has received them, neither adding nor subtracting, and without refinement.“<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See Appendix A to this article.

<sup>30</sup> Identical texts in *Den vestlandske Tidende*, 28th September 1832, and in *Morgenbladet*, No. 280, 6th October 1832.

<sup>31</sup> *Den vestlandske Tidende*, No. 66, 68, 70 and 73, 1833.

<sup>32</sup> Braadland, Publication no. 2, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>33</sup> All references to *Deutsche Sagen* below from the English edition and translation by Donald Ward: *The German Legends of the Brothers Grimm*. Vol. I and II. Philadelphia, 1981.

<sup>34</sup> Faye, 1833, *op.cit.*, p. VIII.

In other words, he rendered the legends faithfully and almost in the same wording as he had been told or informed about them in letters and other written or printed sources of information. This is more or less in accordance with the thoughts of the Brothers Grimm. Their two requirements of a collection of legends were as follows:

„The first and foremost requirement of a collection of legends, and one we never lost sight of, is truth and reliability. The need has always been recognized as the most important element in all histories. But we also demand the truth of poetry, and we recognize it in its pure form in all true poetry. Lies are false and evil, as is all that comes from lies. However, we have never encountered any lies in the songs and legends of the folk. They leave the contents of these tales just as they found them and have always known them.“<sup>35</sup>

„The second main requirement, and one that was already included in the first in regard to a collection of legends, consists of guaranteeing both the diversity and the characteristic nature of the materials. For the depth and breadth of the collection are based thereon, and from their alone will the investigator be able to probe its very nature.“<sup>36</sup>

The contrast between the legends or Sagen (*Sagn* in Norwegian) and the fairy tales or *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Eventyr in Norwegian) is very precisely given by the Brothers Grimm in the Foreward of their *Deutsche Sagen* (1816):

„The fairy tale is more poetic, the legend is more historical; the former exists securely almost in and of itself in its annate blossoming and consummation. The legend, by contrast, is characterized by a lesser variety of colors, yet it represents something special in that it adheres always to that which we are conscious of and know well, such as a locale or a name that has been secured through history. Because of this local confinement, it follows that the legend cannot, like the fairy tale, find its home anywhere. Instead the legend demands certain conditions without which it either cannot exist at all, or can only exist in less perfect form.“<sup>37</sup>

The above given requirements of a collection of legends and the distinction between the legend and the fairy tale probably explain why it took 163 years from the second volume of *Deutsche Sagen* until an English translation of this classical work of folklore was published. From that fact it is possible to draw the following conclusion: a collection of legends is simply not suited for light reading<sup>38</sup> compared with the world-wide distribution of the Brothers Grimm's *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812-15) or the popularity of *Norske Folkeeventyr* (Norwegian Folk Tales) by P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe<sup>39</sup>.

According to Brynjulf Alver there was a general agreement on two premises for folklore studies in the nineteenth century: (1) the importance of folk tradition for research, and (2) the importance of folk tradition, through research, for the history of the homeland. In the introduction to *Norske Sagn*, Andreas Faye brought together most of the contempo-

<sup>35</sup> Ward's translation of the German Legends, 1981, vol I, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Wünschelrute, *op.cit.*, where Jacob Grimm in his review on Thiele used a similar German expression, namely „Unterhaltungsbuch“.

<sup>39</sup> The first edition of *Norske Folkeeventyr* by Peter Christen Asbjørnsen (1812-85) and Jørgen Engebretsen Moe (1813-82) was published in three volumes in Christiania between 1841-44, and a second edition in 1851. In a letter to Asbjørnsen 4th May 1852 Jacob Grimm praised their work and declared that „Die Norske Folkeeventyr sind die besten Märchen, die es gibt“; see *Til Gerhard Gran*. Kristiania 1916, p. 180.

rary arguments for legend study. Largely uncritical and derivative as he was, he did not add much of his own, but he became a voice for many editors and scholars<sup>40</sup>.

Discussing the value of his collection Faye points out six subsections of particular interest and use to the reader<sup>41</sup>, as summarized by Alver below<sup>42</sup>:

1. The supernatural legend tradition supplements our knowledge of pre-Christian religion and of Edda<sup>43</sup>.
2. The legends explain nature and man's relationship to nature. In support, Faye refers to the findings of natural science.
3. The legend tradition can serve „poets and lovers of poetry“ both as inspiration and as a material source.
4. Legends have historical interest not so much by virtue of their authenticity, but by virtue of the folk's perception of their own history. Thus legends can supplement what is revealed by conventional historical sources, and they allow us to connect local with national history.
5. The sense of local identity is strengthened when people see their own traditions in print. For travellers, too, a locality becomes more attractive when it is coloured by tales of old.
6. Legends have further educational use as an idealistic form of youth literature.

Like other scientists before him in the folklore scholarship tradition Brynjulf Alver maintains that Andreas Faye is just as much a rationalist as he is a romantic. The useful was just as important as the ideal.

To subsection 4 Faye singled out historical legends as important to „anyone who has a sense of history, or who takes an interest in the fate of his country throughout the centuries“. He also questioned the reliability of legends as historical documents and pointed out that they often are just „footprints of reality“, but nevertheless revealed „the people's memories of strange and wonderful deeds or events“. In his scientific approach to the historical legend he quoted the following two sentences by the Brothers Grimm:

The legend marches forth in an entirely different step and sees with different eyes from those of history ... It is, however, a noble attribute of any people, and not to be begrudged, when both the dawn and the dusk of their day in history consist of legends.<sup>44</sup>

Faye arranged his collection of around 170 legends into six main sections:

- Section 1: Legends about Supernatural Beings;
- Section 2: Legends about Giants and Kings;
- Section 3: Legends about St Olav<sup>45</sup>;

<sup>40</sup> Brynjulf Alver: *Folklore and National Identity*. In: *Nordic Folklore. Recent studies*. Edited by Reimund Kvideland and Henning K. Sehmsdorf in Collaboration with Elizabeth Simpson. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989, pp. 16-17.

<sup>41</sup> Faye, 1833, *op.cit.*, pp. III-V.

<sup>42</sup> Alver, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>43</sup> *Edda* – the title of two Icelandic books, the *Elder* or *Poetic Edda* (c. 1200), a collection of ancient poems dealing with the Norse mythology and heroic traditions, and the *Younger* or *Prose Edda* (c. 1230), a handbook of prosody, grammar and rhetoric for the training of young poets.

<sup>44</sup> Ward's translation of the German Legends, 1981, vol. II, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> At the request of Professor Ferdinand Karl Wilhelm Piper (1811-89) in Berlin, Faye wrote a short article on *Olaf der Heilige*. In: *Evangelischer Kalender. Jahrbuch für 1852. Herausgegeben von D. Ferd. Piper*. Berlin 1852, pp. 131-138. The original bears the date 11th November 1850, and is now in Faye's collection of manuscripts at *The National Archive of Norway*, with file reference: *Private archive no. 15: VIII 4*.

Section 4: Legends about the Black Death<sup>46</sup>;  
 Section 5: Historical Legends;  
 Section 6: Other Legends.

In general Faye's arrangement is close up to the works of both the Brothers Grimm and Thiele: the legends of the supernatural are followed by the historical legends.

With regard to arrangement and style of writing the Danish scholar Eric Christian Werlauff (1781-1871) spoke so highly of Faye's work that he is supposed to have stated a wish for a similar collection of legends in Denmark (and that was long after Thiele had edited his)<sup>47</sup>. It is, however, clear that in the enlarged second edition of *Danske Folkesagn* from 1843 J.M. Thiele has gone thoroughly into and equipped his own legends with descriptive notes and even references to Faye's legends<sup>48</sup>.

Each section from 1 to 5 above is equipped with a general introduction by the author that for instance puts the group of legends in each section into a historical perspective with an explanatory text and references. Each legend is equipped with notes and information on whether it is rendered from oral or written sources, sometimes with the name of the informant, references to topographical, periodical and other literature, descriptions of places and events, comparisons of similar legends from other parts of the country or from the North European cycle of legends.

In his article on the national awakening and its pioneers professor Moltke Moe (1859-1913), son of Jørgen Moe, analyzed the material of Faye's collection and came up with the following conclusion:

„About half of the material is drawn on literature, particularly from the topographical and periodical; of the other half Faye himself has rendered about one third from oral narratives. The rest is constituted of written information from different persons interested: professor Steenbloch, S.O. Wolff, Conrad Schwach, Henrik Wergeland, P.A. Munch and others.“<sup>49</sup>

In every respect Faye was true and reliable to his sources of information and rendered their contributions without adding or subtracting. Refinement of the texts he left for others to do. He followed the texts of his informants as close to the original as possible and rendered them almost as he had received them.

This point is probably best illustrated by the poet Henrik Arnold Wergeland (1808-1845) and his contribution to Faye's collection. Wergeland had read the prospectuses above and sent Faye two legends with a letter in December 1832. There are only minor stylistic differences between the poet's original and the editor's final text<sup>50</sup>.

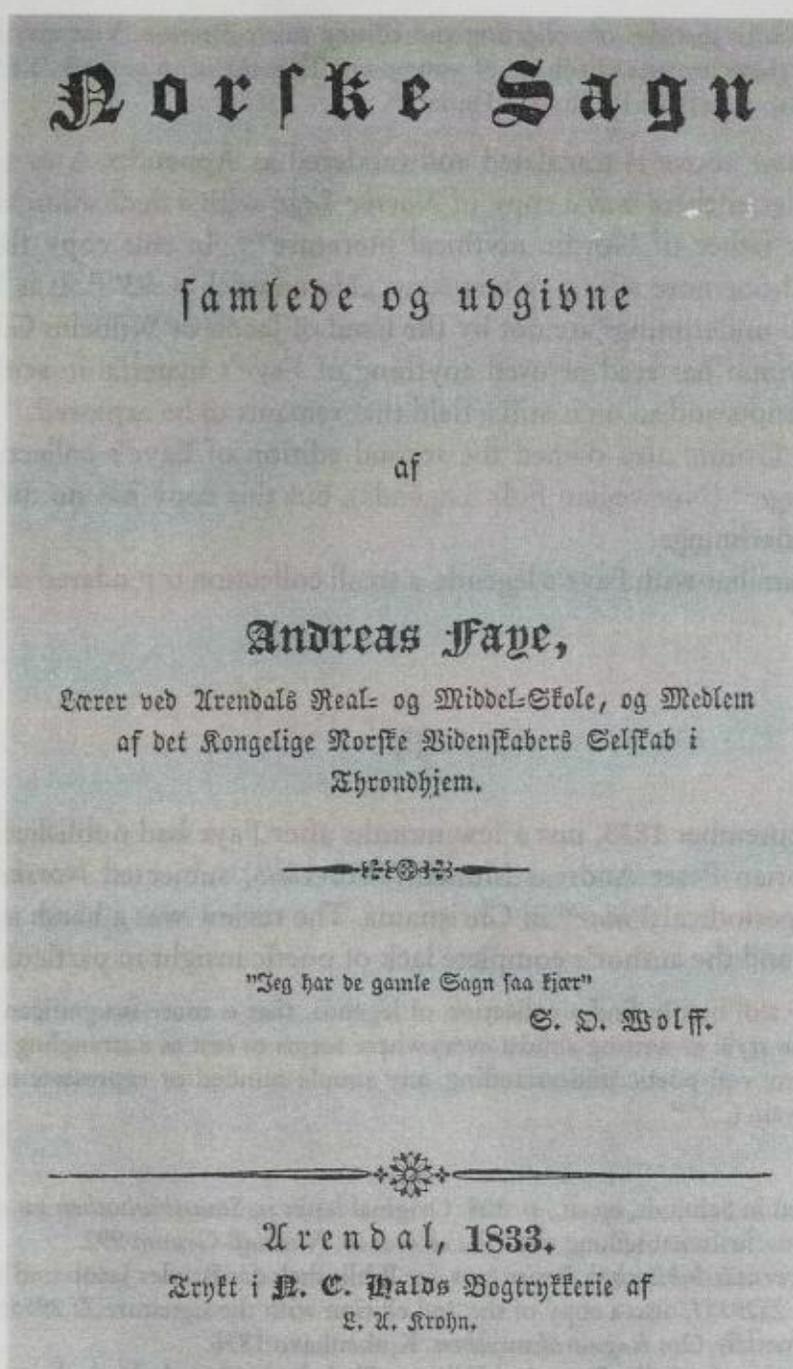
<sup>46</sup> Two of Faye's legends from this section are translated into German in: *Das Ausland*. Stuttgart 1878, pp. 255-6. Under the heading „Norwegische Sagen. Nach Faye“ are rendered *Rypa in Justedalen* (*Rypa i Justedalen*, Faye 1833, pp. 137-9) and *Hedalskirche in Valdars* (*Hedals Kirke i Valdars*, Faye 1833, pp. 141-3). See also English translation of these legends in Appendix B below.

<sup>47</sup> *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, *op.cit.*, p. 34. It has yet not been verified by written sources, but there is reason to believe that the statement is correct because Botten-Hansen and Werlauff knew each other well and corresponded.

<sup>48</sup> Braadland, Publication no. 2, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>49</sup> Moltke Moe: *Det nationale gjennembrud og dets mænd*. In: *Moltke Moes samlede skrifter* [edited by Knut Liestøl]. Volume III. Oslo 1927, pp. 50-51.

<sup>50</sup> For further and more specific details, see Jan Faye Braadland: *Kort beskrivelse av Fayes autograf-samling i Aust-Agder-Arkivet, Arendal*. Publication no. 1. Oslo 1995, pp. 8-9 and 16.



Copy of Norske Sagn in the library of the Brothers Grimm.  
Facsimile. Universitätsbibliothek Berlin: Zi29551

Nevertheless, Faye's great example in his collecting and editing work was undoubtedly the Brothers Grimm. His great admiration and reverence for their work is expressed very sincerely in a letter to Jacob Grimm dated 17th May 1834:

„Consider therefore this book as a small flower of memory from distant Norway, as a friendly voice that sounds from an unknown place, but expresses his deep reverence for you and his sincere thanks for the pleasure the legends and fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm has given the editor of the Norwegian legends, and without knowledge of them, doubtedly had

come up with the idea of collecting and editing this collection. You may therefore rightly consider these legends as echoes of your own! That the echo is weak, I fully admit; but it certainly sounds from the distant Thule."<sup>51</sup>

The whole letter above is translated and rendered as Appendix A to this article. Enclosed with the letter there was a copy of *Norske Sagn* with a dedication from the author to „The famous father of Nordic mythical literature“<sup>52</sup>. In this copy there are several underlinings and one note with a reference to „Hammerich p. 93“<sup>53</sup>. It is, however, clear that the note and underlinings are not by the hand of Jacob or Wilhelm Grimm. Whether or not Jacob Grimm has read or used anything of Faye's material in scientific treatises, lectures, manuscripts and so on is still a field that remains to be explored.

The Brothers Grimm also owned the second edition of Faye's collection from 1844, *Norske Folke-Sagn*<sup>54</sup> (Norwegian Folk Legends), but this copy has no dedication, notes, references or underlinings.

For those unfamiliar with Faye's legends, a small collection is rendered as Appendix B to this article<sup>55</sup>.

#### IV

At the end of September 1833, just a few months after Faye had published his collection, the young historian Peter Andreas Munch (1810-1863) subjected *Norske Sagn* to hard criticism in the periodical *Vidar*<sup>56</sup> in Christiania. The review was a harsh attack on Faye's book in general and the author's complete lack of poetic insight in particular:

„(...) one will hardly find a collection of legends, that is more insignificant than this book, where the style of writing almost everywhere seems to rest as a strangling fog over the kept event. Any real poetic understanding, any simple-minded or expressive narrative skill one seeks in vain (...)“<sup>57</sup>

<sup>51</sup> First published in Schmidt, *op.cit.*, p. 308. Original letter in *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Handschriftenabteilung with file reference: *Nachlaß Grimm 992*.

<sup>52</sup> Copy in *Universitätsbibliothek Berlin* (aus der Bibliothek der Brüder Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm) with the signature *Zi29551*; also a copy of the 2nd edition with the signature *Zi 29551*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Martin Hammerich: *Om Ragnaroksmøythen*. Kjøbenhavn 1836.

<sup>54</sup> Andreas Faye: *Norske Folke-Sagn*. 2nd Edition. Christiania 1844. A third edition, and almost a reprint in Latin letters of the former edition, was published by *Norsk Folkeminnelag* [Norwegian Society for Local Traditions]. Oslo 1948, as publication no. 63.

<sup>55</sup> *The Penguin Book of Scandinavian Folktales*. Translated and edited by Jacqueline Simpson. London 1994. First published as *Scandinavian Folktales*, 1988. The first four legends in Appendix B are rendered with kind permission from Mrs. Jacqueline Simpson, United Kingdom, and with only a few minor changes. The fifth legend about *The Justedal Grouse* is mainly based on an English translation in Philip Edward Larson: *Vision and Structure in Ibsen's early Plays*. Berkeley 1989, pp. 270-271.

<sup>56</sup> *Vidar, Et Ugeskrift, udgivet af det norske Studenterforbund ved valgte Redactører*, No. 58, 21st September 1833. Later published in Peter Andreas Munch: *Samlede Afhandlinger* [Complete Treatises]. Volume I. Christiania 1873. Faye's reply in No. 67 (23rd November 1833) and No. 68 (30th November 1833).

<sup>57</sup> Munch, *op.cit.*, pp. 29-30.

„For the poet or the writer of novels this collection is thus not very useful. One could almost need more than a poetic imagination to make use of the legends as they here are told, even in the most poetic the author has tried in a peculiar way to hide the true point, somewhat toned down the impression and literally tamed it.“<sup>58</sup>

Not only did Munch's harsh review destroy Faye's credibility as a contemporary scientist, but strangely enough it has also stuck to his reputation ever after. One cannot open a text book on Norwegian literary history in the public schools of Norway without finding the same point of view: Faye was the first, but he had no style!

It is interesting to observe how a small intellectual elite of university students in Christiania with front figures like Munch and his co-editor, the young poet Johan Sebastian Welhaven (1807-1873), alone has influenced the thinking on Faye and his pioneer work within the folklore scholarship tradition. With few exceptions most scholars have up to date pointed out Munch's review as the one and only truth and in that respect sort of adopted his ideas as the final verdict of Faye in history.

Peter Andreas Munch had definitely hurt Andreas Faye's feelings and destroyed his reputation. In a convincing reply to Munch's review in *Vidar* late November 1833 he was very disappointed:

„(...) because in my opinion it is false and gives anyone, who reads the review without knowing the book, a wrong impression of it.“<sup>59</sup>

And from a researcher in history Andreas Faye would certainly have expected a discussion about introductions and notes:

„(...) where I have compared the Norwegian with other North European legends, and tried to show the connection of each legend partly to the old Norse mythology, partly to our own history and similar traditions abroad (...).“<sup>60</sup>

These introductions and notes represent half of the text material in his book. Faye was of the opinion that Munch just had pointed out minor mistakes of no great significance. He was also surprised that it was Munch who had reviewed his work so harshly:

„(...) who himself had read many of my legends in manuscript, and had promised, and even delivered contributions to my collection (...).“<sup>61</sup>

Munch's review was not only an attack on Faye, but on many contemporary scholars and poets who had delivered contributions to his collection of legends. One of these was the clergyman and poet Simon Olaus Wolff (1796-1859), who anonymously wrote a review of Munch's review in *Den vestlandske Tidende*<sup>62</sup> almost simultaneously with Faye's reply in *Vidar*.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32

<sup>59</sup> *Vidar*, No. 67, 23rd November 1833, p. 119.

<sup>60</sup> *Vidar*, No. 68, 30th November 1833, p. 124.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>62</sup> *Den vestlandske Tidende*, No. 41 (19th November 1833) and No. 42 (23rd November 1833). That it is Wolff who is this anonymous author, is verified by a letter dated 18th December 1833 to his friend Niels Matthias Aalholm (1811-94), and the following letters, rendered by Joh. U. Wolff in the periodical *Edda*, Oslo 1936, p. 271 ff.



The clergyman and poet Simon Olaus Wolff.  
Print in Nordahl Rolfsen: *Norske Digtere*, Bergen 1886, p. 169

Wolff's review of Munch's review of Faye's *Norske Sagn* literally tears the young historian's arguments to pieces. Why the scholarly folklore tradition never has taken any notice of this article, not even glanced at it, still remains a mystery. Wolff's review also indicates a growing tension between a literary and cultural elite in Christiania and that of the coastal town of Arendal.

Peter Andreas Munch remained silent and did never comment on, or discuss in public, neither Faye's reply nor Wolff's review of his review.

Even the Danish poet Adam Oehlenschläger spoke highly of Faye's collection in his own periodical *Prometheus*<sup>63</sup> in November 1833. Also a very encouraging review was printed in *Ugeblad for Skien og Omegn*<sup>64</sup> in 1835. The review on Faye was later followed up by printing a lot of unknown legend material sent by readers of the weekly paper.

Below are given some examples of the impact and influence Faye's collection of legends has had on poets and artists since it was published in 1833 and up to the 1990s:

a) Faye's work inspired many scholars and poets to continue collecting folklore material, among them the famous folk tale tellers Asbjørnsen and Moe. When it was rumoured in Christiania that Faye, after he had published his first edition, contemplated another collection of legends, an assistant in the State Archives, Bernt Moe (1814-1850), sent him some stories that had not appeared in the first edition, including three „from one of my friends, student Asbjørnsen“. Faye was most appreciative, and sent Asbjørnsen a letter of thanks on 25th March 1835, in which he concluded by saying: „I hereby appoint you Folk-Lore-Amabassador-Extraordinary“. Accepting his challenge, Asbjørnsen soon submitted twelve legends and a folk

<sup>63</sup> *Prometheus. Maanedskrift for Poesie, Æsthetik og Kritik*. Edited by Oehlenschläger. 4th Volume. Copenhagen 1833, p. 288.

<sup>64</sup> *Ugeblad for Skien og Omegn*, No. 16, 25th February 1835, and following editions.

song<sup>65</sup>. In 1838 Faye reviewed the first book of folklore material from the hand of Asbjørnsen, *Nor- en Billedbog for den norske Ungdom*<sup>66</sup>. Two years later Faye delivered some stev<sup>67</sup> material from the upper part of Setesdalen to Jørgen Moe's *Samling af Sange, Folkeviser og Stev i Norske Almuedialekter*, the first collection of its kind when it was published in 1840. Both Asbjørnsen and Moe contributed to the second edition of Faye's legends in 1844<sup>68</sup>. But still they were some kind of intellectual rivals, and according to professor Moltke Moe did Munch, Welhaven and Asbjørnsen try to frustrate the dispatchment of Faye's second edition<sup>69</sup>.

b) Faye's collection had a major influence on P.A. Munch's co-editor in the periodical *Vidar*, Johan Sebastian Welhaven and his poetry. The most complete documentation on this matter is given by Ingard Hauge in his scientific notes to Welhaven's collected works<sup>70</sup>.

c) Adam Oehlenschläger was to a certain extent influenced by Faye in his book *Norgesrejsen*<sup>71</sup> from 1834, a cycle of poems based on impressions and material from his journey to Norway in July and August 1833. In some verses about the legendary figure St. Olav he has obviously used elements from Section 3 in Faye's collection above<sup>72</sup>.

d) Earlier this year the author of this article did a literary study on Faye and Ibsen, and was quite amazed by the great influence *Norske Sagn* had on the playwright's early poems and dramas, from the end of the 1840s to the beginning of the 1860s<sup>73</sup>.

e) The poet Andreas Munch (1811-1884) based his novel *Piken fra havet* (The Girl from the Sea), Christiania 1861, on Faye's legend about the knight Audun<sup>74</sup>.

f) The famous Danish stage setter August Bournonville (1805-1879) has stated in his memories that he used Faye's *Norske Sagn* as one of the main sources for his ballet *Brudefærden i Hardanger* (The Bridal Tour in Hardanger)<sup>75</sup>. The first production of the ballet was played at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen on 4th March 1853. From 1853 to 1929 it was played as many as 173 times and became one of the greatest successes in Danish theatre ever. A reconstruction of the ballet was written by Flemming Flindt for the Norwegian Opera in 1982<sup>76</sup>.

g) Theodor Kittelsen (1859-1914), the famous illustrator of Asbjørnsen and Moe's *Norwegian Folk Tales*, was also fascinated by Faye's legends. Text and illustrations in his book *Svar-*

<sup>65</sup> Faye's letters to Asbjørnsen are published in Knut Liestøl: *Aktstykke til saga um nordisk folke-minnegransking* in the periodical *Maal og minne*, Oslo 1934, pp. 133-43. Asbjørnsen's letters to Faye, including the legends he sent, are published in O.A. Øverland: *Hvorledes P. Chr. Asbjørnsen begyndte som Sagnfortæller*. Kristiania 1902.

<sup>66</sup> Review in *Morgenbladet*, No. 52, 21st February 1838.

<sup>67</sup> *Stev* is a short, improvised poem in the Norwegian folk-song tradition.

<sup>68</sup> Faye 1844, *op.cit.*, p. VII.

<sup>69</sup> Moe 1927, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>70</sup> Johan Sebastian Welhaven: *Samlede verker* [Collective Works]. Edited with an introduction and commentaries by Ingard Hauge. Volume I and II. Oslo 1990.

<sup>71</sup> *Norgesrejsen, En Digterkrands af Oehlenschläger*. Copenhagen 1834.

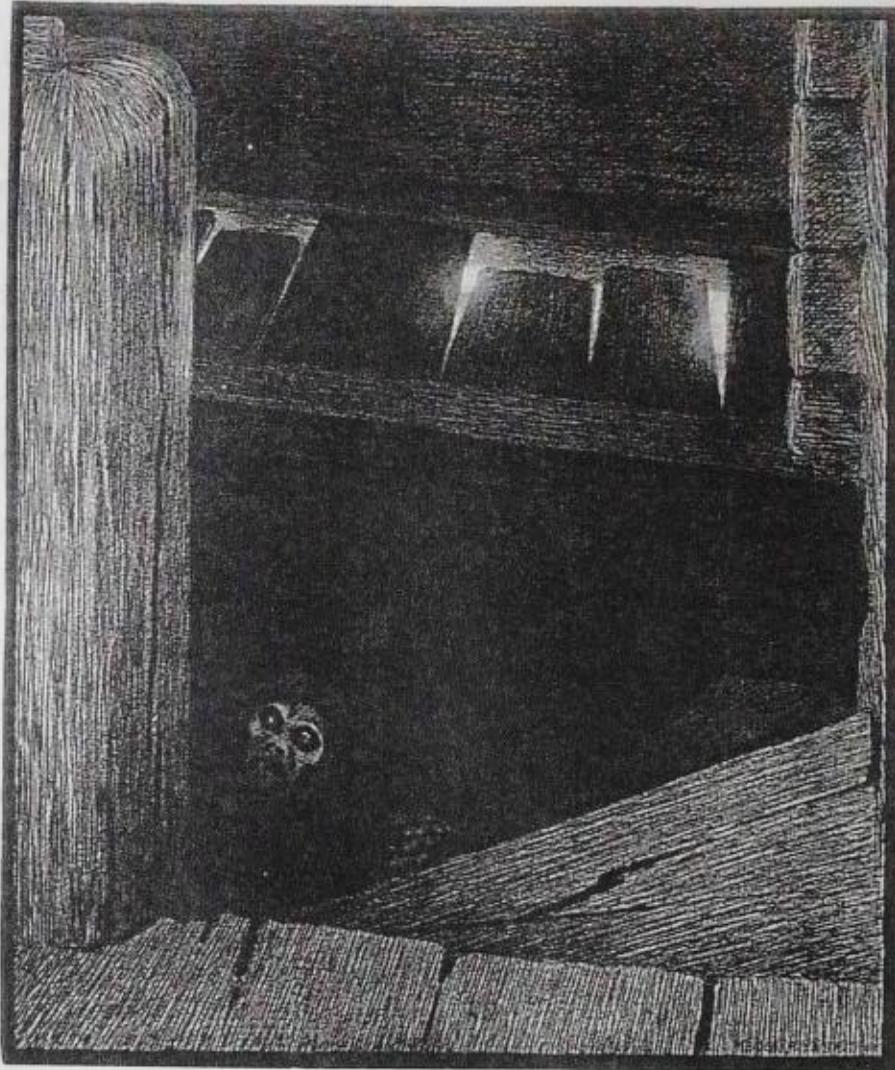
<sup>72</sup> See for instance Welhaven, Vol. II, *op.cit.*, p. 439 and Braadland, Publication no. 2, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-23.

<sup>73</sup> For further details, see Braadland, Publication no. 2, *op.cit.*, pp. 27-34.

<sup>74</sup> Faye, 1844, *op.cit.*, pp. 171-3 (Ridder Audun paa Aalhus).

<sup>75</sup> August Bournonville: *Theaterliv og Erindringer*. Copenhagen 1865, p. 148. The other main source of information for his ballet was a story written by Nicolai Ramm Østgaard (1812-73): *En Fjeldbygd. Billeder fra Østerdalen*, published in 1851. During the summer of 1857 the Norwegian writer Østgaard also met Jacob Grimm and delivered him a copy of his book. This is confirmed by a letter from Grimm to Asbjørnsen 5th March 1858, see Til Gerhard Gran, *op.cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>76</sup> Information given to the author by Erik Aschengreen at the Institute of Nordic Philology, Copenhagen, in 1992.



Theodor Kittelsen: Pesta on the Stairs (Pesta = the Black Death).  
Drawing in his book *Svartedauen*, Kristiania 1900

*tedauen*, first published in the year 1900<sup>77</sup>, was almost entirely based on Section 4, Legends about the Black Death, in *Norske Sagn*. Leif Østby has characterized Kittelsen's book as follows: „No illustrative work by Kittelsen matured as slowly as 'The Black Death', few commanded his strength and energy to such a degree, and it can safely be said that never did he reach a higher peak of achievement as a black-and-white artist than in this original and imaginative work, which enjoys an absolutely unique place in Norwegian illustration.“<sup>78</sup>

h) In 1994 the Norwegian director Anja Breien released her film *Trollsyn. Sagnet om Jostedalsrypa*. One of her main sources of information in the research must definitely have been Faye's legend about „Rypa i Justedalen“ (The Justedal Grouse)<sup>79</sup>, also from Section 4 above.

<sup>77</sup> Theodor Kittelsen: *Svartedauen* (The Black Death). Oslo 1900. A facsimile edition of the original was published by Bjørn Ringstrøms Antikvariat, Oslo 1993.

<sup>78</sup> Leif Østby: *Theodor Kittelsen*. Oslo 1975, p. 103.

<sup>79</sup> Faye, 1833, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-139 and Appendix B below. In 1850 Henrik Ibsen had written a two-act play fragment based on Faye's legend *Rypa i Justedalen*, which he returned to as one of his main sources when he began working on the play *Olaf Liljekrans* (1856). For further details see for instance Larson, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-274 and Michael Meyer: *Henrik Ibsen*. Oslo 1995, pp. 59-60.

i) The opening and closing ceremonies at the Winter Olympic Games at Lillehammer in February 1994 were mainly based on elements from Norwegian folklore tradition. Many of the strange supernatural beings like the water sprite, geniuses and so on, shown to millions of viewers across the world, were first described in literature by Andreas Faye.

## V

Andreas Faye was the clergyman who in 1833 materialized Jacob Grimm's wish of a similar collection of legends in Norway fifteen years after his review on Thiele in Denmark. His book, *Norske Sagn*, was the first collection of folklore in Norwegian literary history and had a great impact on many scholars and inspired several poets and artists in the decades that followed. However, Munch's harsh review destroyed Faye's credibility as a contemporary scientist and has stuck to his reputation ever after. He was the first, but he had no style! It is, however, still a great mystery why the folklore scholarship tradition never even glanced at Wolff's review of Munch's review that literally tore the young historian's arguments to pieces.

Andreas Faye was a collector and editor of legends, not a teller like Asbjørnsen and Moe, who retold the stories they were told and created some of the best folk tales ever. Faye rendered his legends as he had received them with absolute truth and reliability. He was strongly influenced by the thoughts of the Brothers Grimm and their work *Deutsche Sagen* in particular, but also by the Danish folklorist J. M. Thiele in the arrangement of the collection.

Professor Moltke Moe has once said that Faye's legends „predicted the summer“ of the national awakening in Norwegian literature. The author of this article would rather put it that *Norske Sagn* was the spring. Not only was the collection a gold mine of folklore to be exploited by poets and artists, but also the pioneer work that established the folklore scholarship tradition in Norway.

It is thus time for a total rehabilitation of Andreas Faye as the first great folklorist of Norway. His collection of legends from 1833 must definitely be described as a classical work of folklore. The echoes of the Brothers Grimm from Thule are sounding stronger and stronger. Maybe the time has come now for a translation of Faye into one of the major European languages within the turn of the century. Next year it is 163 years since Faye's classical work was published for the first time.

## APPENDIX A

## Letter from Andreas Faye to Jacob Grimm

[S: T: Hr Bibliothekar Grimm, Kassel]

Det Haab, at denne liden Samling af norske Sagn saadanne som de lyde blandt mit Fødelands Fjelde ikke vil være den nordiske Sagnlitteraturs fortjente Fader en uvelkommen Gave har overvundet min Frygt for at sende en saa berømt Mand et i og for sig selv saa ubetydeligt Værk som den hoslagte Bog. Dog den meest dannede pleier tillige være den meest skaansomme! Betragt derfor denne Bog som en liden Mindeblomst fra det fjerne Norge, som en venlig Stemme, der toner fra et ukjendt Sted, men tolker Dem sin dybe Ærefrygt og sin hjertelige Tak for den Nydelse som Brødrene Grimms Sagn og Eventyr have forskaffet de norske Sagns Udgifter, der uden Kjendskab til dem, neppe var falden paa at samle og udgive denne Samling. De kan derfor medrette betragte disse Sagn som en Gjenklang af Deres egne! At Gjenklagen er svag, erkjender jeg tilfulde; men den toner jo fra det fjerne Thule. Blot De kan gjenkende den!

Hr. Professor Stenbloch bad mig at sende Dem sin venskabeligste Hilsen, og sige at han for at opfylde et gammelt Løfte havde opmuntret mig til at udgive disse Sagn og paalagt mig at sende Dem et Exemplar! Hvis de norske Sagn nogenledes maatte svare til Deres Forventning vilde Visheden derom være mig en dyrbar Løn for den Møie, som disse Sagns Samling have foraarsaget mig.

Arendal i Norge, den 17. Mai 1834

Med sand Høiagtelse og Ærefrygt  
ærbødigst  
A. Faye

*English Translation*

Arendal in Norway, the 17th of May 1834

The hope that this small collection of Norwegian legends, as they are heard among the mountains of my native land, will not be unwelcomed as a gift to the worthy father of Nordic mythical literature has defeated my fear of sending such a famous man the enclosed book that is of no great significance in itself. Still the most refined also seems to be the most gentle! Consider therefore this book as a small flower of memory from distant Norway, as a friendly voice that sounds from an unknown place, but expresses his deep reverence for you and his sincere thanks for the pleasure the legends and fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm has given the editor of the Norwegian legends, and without knowledge of them, doubtedly had come up with the idea of collecting and editing this collection. You may therefore rightly consider these legends as echoes of your own! That the echo is weak, I fully admit; but it certainly sounds from the distant Thule. Merely you would recognize it!

Mr. Professor Steenbloch asked me to send you his friendly greeting, and tell that to fulfil an old promise he has encouraged me to edit these legends and instructed me to send you a copy! If these Norwegian legends in any way will measure up to your expectations, the certainty of that would be a precious reward for all inconveniences the collection of these legends has caused me.

With true respect and reverence yours faithfully  
A. Faye.

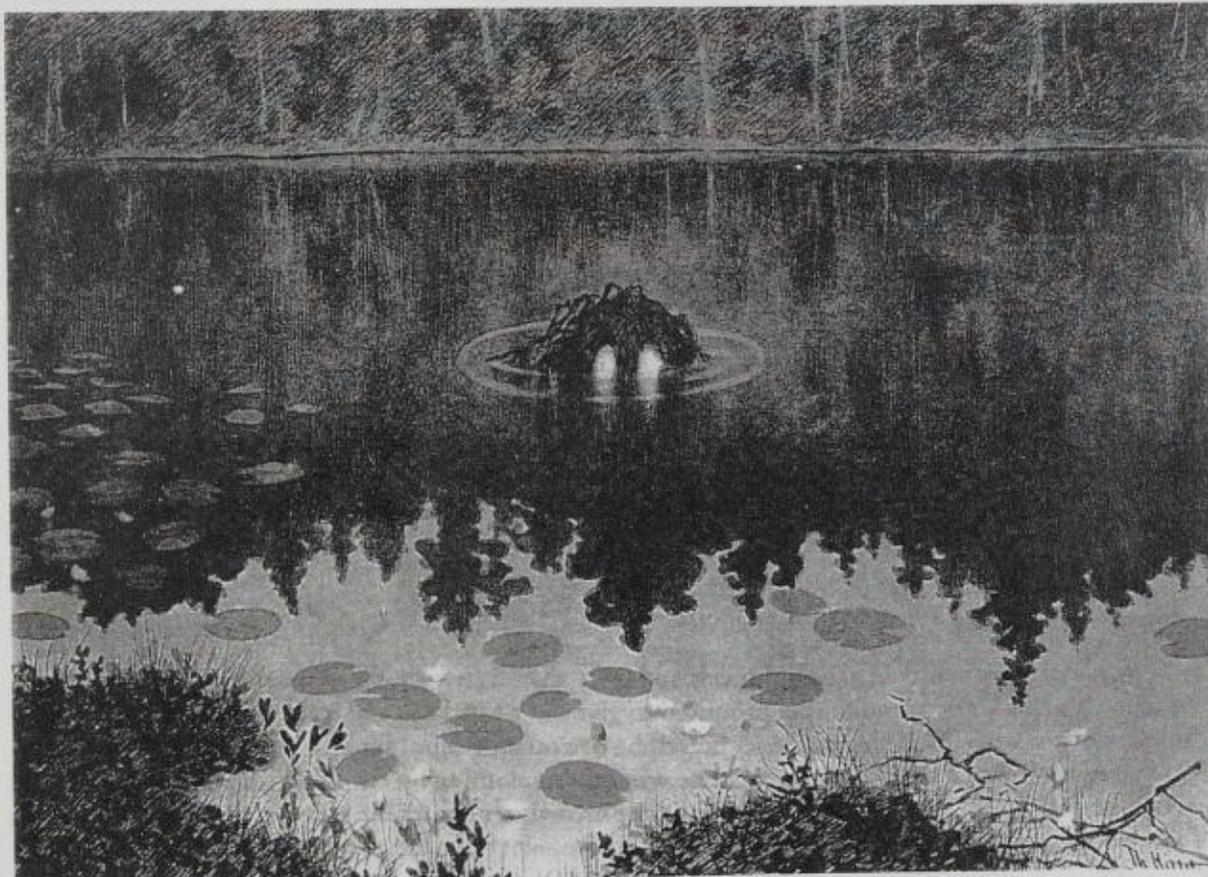
## APPENDIX B

## A small selection of legends by Andreas Faye

1. Nøkken (*The Water Sprite*)

Dette Vandtrold opholder sig fornemmeligen i Floder og Søer, dog stundom ogsaa i Fjorde. Aarligen vil han have et Menneske til Offer, hvorfor man ogsaa hører, at i enhver Flod og i ethvert Vand, hvor en Nøk har sit Tilhold, bliver aarligen i det mindste eet Menneske borte, og naar En skal drukne, høres Nøkken ofte at raabe huult og fælt: «Sæt over!» Saadanne ondtvarslende Skrig, som paa nogle Steder kaldes Varskrig, skal ogsaa bestaae i en jamrende og klynkende Stemme lig et Menneskes, der i Døds-vaande. Han kan omskabe sig til allehaande Ting, snart til en halv Baad i Vandet eller en halv Hest paa Stranden, snart til Guld og Kostbarheder. Rører man ved disse, faaer Nøkken strax Magt over En. Efter smaae Børn er han især grisk. Dog er han kun farlig efter Solens Nedgang. Naar man da kommer til Vandet, skal det ikke være af Veien at sige: «Nyk! Nyk! Naal i Vatn! Jomfru Maria kastet Staal i Vatn! Du søk, æk flyt!»

(...) Nøkken eller et andet Vandtrold var det vel ogsaa, som seent en Qveld raabte fra Vandet ved Hvidesø Prestegaard: «Tiden er kommen, men ikke Manden.» Saasnart Presten fik det at høre, befalede han, at man skulde passe paa den Første, som kom og vilde over Vandet og hindre ham fra at reise videre. Strax kom en Mand i jagende Fart og forlangte i største Hast en Pram. Presten bad ham opsæt-



Theodor Kittelsen: Nøkken or The Water Sprite. Drawing, probably 1887.  
 Nasjonalgalleriet (The National Gallery), Oslo

te sin Reise, men da hverken Bønner eller Trusler kunde hjelpe, lod Presten bruge Magt. Den Fremmede blev da ganske magtesløs og blev liggende saa indtil Presten lod hente Noget af det Vand, fra hvilket der var raabt og gav ham det at drikke. Neppe havde han drukket Vandet førend han opgav sin Aand. (...)

### *English Translation*

This type of water-troll usually lives in rivers and lakes, but sometimes in the fjords as well. Every year he claims a human being as a sacrifice which is why one sometimes hears it said of this or that river or lake that at least one man is lost in it every year. When someone is fated to die soon, the Water Sprite is often heard calling out, in hollow tones, 'Cross over!' This ominous cry can also be a wailing, moaning voice, like that of a man on the point of death. The Water Sprite can change his appearance to look like all sorts of things sometimes like half a boat on the water, or half a horse on the land, and sometimes like gold and valuables. If you row out towards them, The Water Sprite gets you in his power at once. He is particularly greedy for little children. Moreover, he is especially dangerous after sunset. When one comes near a stretch of water at that time, it is no bad thing to say: 'Jerk, Jerk, nail in the water! Our Lady Mary throws steel in the water! You sink, I float!'

It was a Water Sprite, or some other water-troll of that sort, which shouted from the water late one evening outside the priest's house by Lake Hvidesø: 'The hour has come, but not the man'. As soon as the priest heard this, he ordered the people to keep watch for the first man who might come along and want to cross the lake, and prevent him going any further. Very soon there came a man riding at full gallop, who demanded a ferry-boat as fast as possible. The priest urged him to abandon his journey, but when neither pleas nor threats were of any use, the priest told his men to use force on him. The stranger then collapsed unconscious, and he remained lying there until the priest got someone to fetch water from the very lake from which the shout had come and gave him this water to drink. No sooner had he drunk the water than he gave up the spirit.

Faye, 1844, pp. 49, 51

## *2. Brudekronen i Numedal (The Bridal Crown)*

I Numedal levede engang en Jente, der var saa fiin, at selv en Thus forelskede sig i hende; men uagtet den Underjordiske lovede hende en prægtig Gaard, stor Buskab, kort Alt, hvad hun kunde ønske sig, hvis hun vilde blive hans Fæstemø, blev hun dog sin gamle Kjereste tro. Da Thussen saa, at han Intet kunde udrette med det Gode, bortførte han Pigen. Ledsaget af en fæl Mængde Thusser var han med sin røvede Fæstemø allerede paa Veien til de Underjordiskes Kirke, for der at lade sig vie til hende, da det lykkedes hendes egentlige Kjereste, at komme paa Spor efter sin forsvundne Brud. Han indhentede Brudfærden og skjød med Staal over Pigens Hoved, hvorved den hele Troldom forsvandt, og han ei alene fik sin Fæstemø tilbage, men endog en prægtig Sølvkrone, som Thussen havde sat paa hendes Hoved. Kronen findes endnu i Dalen, og da den ansees for at bringe enhver Brud, som bærer den, Lykke, leies den ud fast til ethvert betydeligt Bryllup.

### *English Translation*

In Numedal there once lived a girl who was so lovely that even a gnome (Tusse) fell in love with her, but although this Underground Man promised to give her a fine farm and much livestock in fact, anything she could wish for if she would let herself be betrothed to him, she still remained true to her former sweetheart. When the gnome saw that he was gaining nothing by fair means, he seized the girl and carried her off by force. Accompanied by a whole crowd of gnomes, he was already on his way with his kidnapped bride to the church in the Underworld to marry her there, when her own sweetheart had the good luck to come upon the tracks of his vanished bride. He caught up with the bridal procession and shot steel over the girl's head, at which the whole enchantment disappeared, and he got back not only his betrothed but also a magnificent silver crown which the gnomes had set on her head. This

crown is still to be seen in the valley, and since it is believed to bring good luck to every bride who wears it, it is lent out for almost every important wedding.

Faye, 1844, pp. 24-25

### 3. *Trold som Bygmestre (The Church-Building Troll)*

Thronhjems Domkirke er bekjendt vidt og bredt som en af Christenhedens mærkeligste Kirker, især var den herlig i gamle Dage, da den havde sit skyhøie Spir. At bygge Kirken, det formaaede nok St. Olaf, men at sætte Spiret paa oversteg hans Kræfter. I sin Forlegenhed udlovede St. Olaf Solen til den, der vilde paatage sig at opreise dette. Da Ingen turde eller kunde, saa tilbød sig et Trold, som boede i den nærliggende Hladehammer, at paatage sig Arbeidet, mod at erholde, hvad St. Olaf havde lovet. Derhos betingede han sig ogsaa, at St. Olaf ei maatte nævne ham ved Navn, om han kunde faae det at vide. Da St. Olaf nu kom i Knibe med Hensyn til sit Løfte, søgte han at komme paa Spor efter Troldets Navn. Ved Midnatstid seilede han derfor ud langs Hladehammeren og da han kom til det Sted, som endnu kaldes Kjærringa, hørte han et Barn inde i Fjeldet at græde og Moderen at stille det tilfreds ved at love det Himmelens Guld: Solen, naar Tvæster kom hjem. Glad ilede Olaf tilbage til Staden og kom just til rette Tid, thi Spiret kneisede allerede og Troldet var netop ifærd med at sætte den sidste gyldne Knap paa Fløien. St. Olaf raabte nu: «Tvæster! Du sætter Fløien for langt i Vester.» I det samme Øieblik Troldet hørte sit Navn, styrtede han død ned.

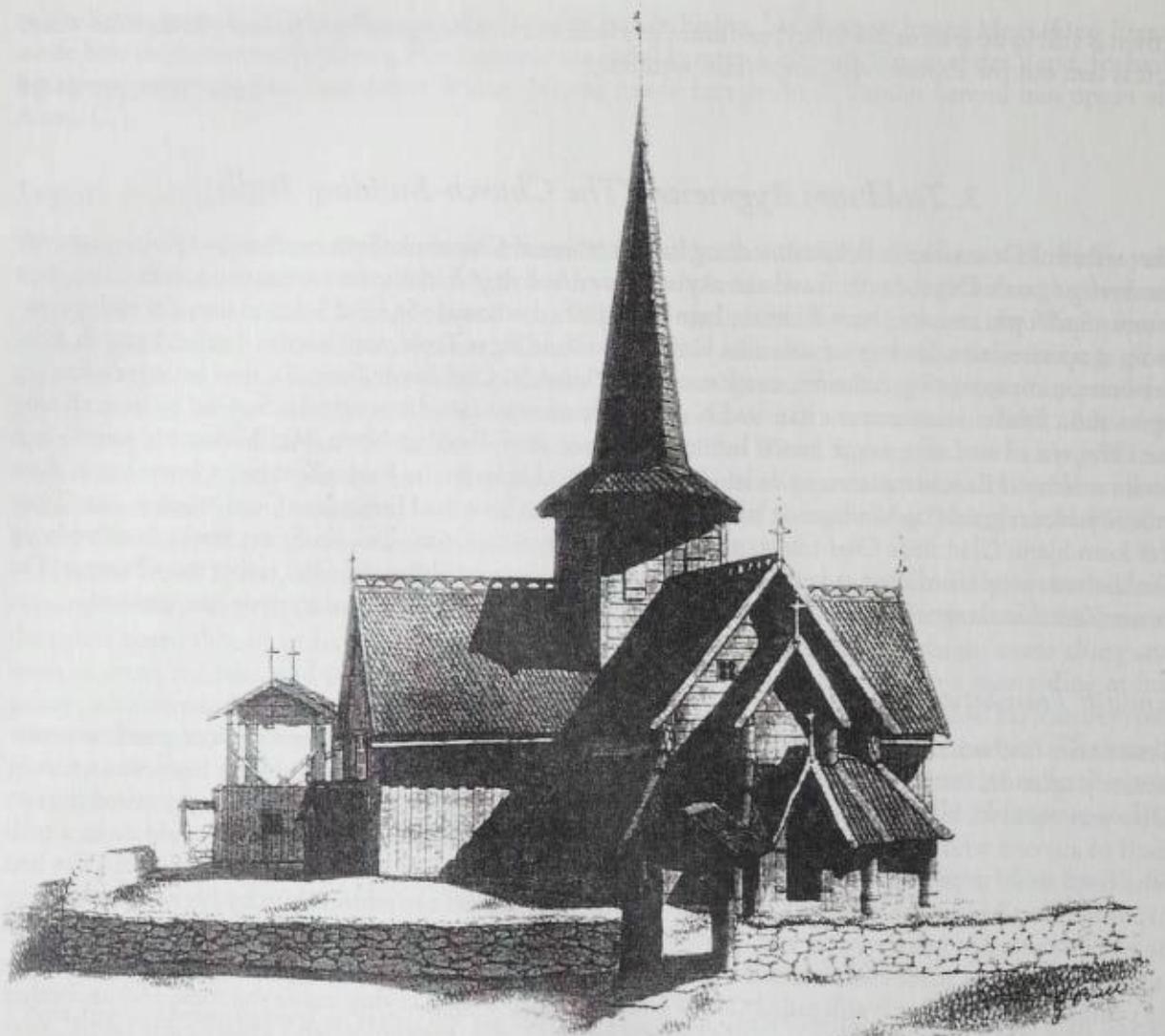
#### *English Translation*

Trondheim Cathedral is known far and wide as one of the finest churches in Christendom, and it was particularly splendid in the old days, when it had its sky-high spire. Building the church itself was a task St Olav was equal to, but to set a spire on it was beyond his skill. In his perplexity St Olav promised the sun itself to anyone who would undertake to raise the spire. As no man dared to do it, or could do it, a troll who lived near by inside Hlade Cliff offered to undertake the work if he would receive what St Olav had promised. In addition, he made it a condition that St Olav should not address him by his name, assuming he could manage to learn what it was. Now since St Olav had got himself into a fine scrape by his promise, he tried to find some clue as to the troll's name. So at midnight he sailed along Hlade Cliff, and when he came to the place that is still called Old Woman he heard a child crying inside the rock, and its mother hushing it with the promise that it would have 'Heaven's Gold (the sun) when Tvæster came home'. Joyfully Olav went back to the town and got there in the nick of time, for the spire was soaring high in the air and the troll was just fixing the last gold knob on the weather vane. So St Olav shouted: 'Tvæster! You've set the vane too far to the west!' The very instant the troll heard his name, he toppled down dead.

Faye, 1844, p. 14

### 4. *Hedals Kirke i Valdars (The Church in the Woods)*

Ogsaa i Valdars afsidesliggende Fjelddale rasede den sorte Død med frygtelig Vælde. Mangen Gaard og enlig Dal mistede alle sine Beboere, tilvoxte med Skov og blev aldeles forglemt af de tilbageblevne Indbyggere og ubekjendt for de indvandrende Nybyggere. Paa disse fordom beboede, men da øde Steder vandrede for flere Aarhundreder siden en Skytte for at skyde Ryper. Da han afskjød sin Piil efter en Fugl, som sad i et Træ, hørte han Pilen støde an mod Noget, der gav en forunderlig Klang fra sig. Nysgjerrig nærmede han sig Stedet og stødte til sin store Forundring paa en gammel Kirke. Ifølge den gjengse Tro, at saadanne Ting strax forsvinde, hvis man ei kan tilintetgjøre Trolddommen eller Forblindelsen ved at kaste Staal over det Fundne, greb han flux sit Ildjern, og kastede det over Kirken. Paa det Sted, hvor dette faldt ned, blev siden bygget en Gaard, der til Minde om denne Begivenhed, den Dag i Dag kaldes Eiljøinstad eller I l d j a r n s t a d. Efter at denne Forsigtighedsregel var anvendt, besluttede Skytten at undersøge Kirken. Nogle stod i Kirkedøren, som var halv aaben. Midt paa Gulvet stod en stor Klokke, og ved Alterets Fod havde en stor Bamse taget sit Vinterhie. Denne blev fældet af den raske



G. Bull: Hedalen stave church. Drawing, 1853.  
Riksantikvaren (The Directorate for Cultural Heritage), Oslo

Skytte og dens Skind blev til Minde om denne selsomme Tildragelse ophængt i Kirken, hvor Levninger af en stor Bjørnefeld endnu findes. I Kirken skal han blandt andre Ting have fundet nogle Billeder, en lille Messingkirke, samt 4 store Klokker og en liden. Mod en af disse havde Skyttens Piil stødt an, og derved foraarsaget den Klang, som gjorde ham opmærksom. Den lille Klokke bruger man endnu, naar Nogen har forvildet sig i Skoven; thi da troer man, at den Forvildede stedse kan høre Klokkeren, og saaledes igjen komme paa ret Vei. Af de øvrige 4 vilde man føre den største til Hovedkirken; men, da den skulde føres til et Vand, faldt den i samme, «og ei kunde andet ventes, naar man vilde skille den fra dens Søskende.» I klart og stille Veir kan man endnu see den i Vandet; men at faae den op er fast umuligt, thi dertil udfordres 7 kjødelige Brødre, der under Arbeidet ei maae tale et Ord. Engang gjorde 7 Brødre et Forsøg og havde allerede faaet den op paa Baadkanten, da en af dem udbrød: «Gud skee Tak, nu har vi den da;» men i det samme Øieblik dumpede Klokkeren atter ud i Vandet.

#### *English Translation*

Even in the remote mountain valleys of Valdres the Black Death raged with terrifying force. Many farms, and even whole valleys, lost all their inhabitants, and were quite forgotten by the survivors and



Theodor Kittelsen's impression of The Church in the Woods.  
Drawing in his book *Svartedauen*, Kristiania 1900

unknown to the new settlers who arrived in the region later. Many centuries afterwards, a hunter who was out shooting grouse went wandering through these deserted parts which once had been inhabited. As he shot an arrow at a bird perched in a tree, he heard his arrow strike against something which gave out a strange clang. Curious, he approached the spot, and to his amazement found himself before an ancient church. Obeying a common belief that such things will vanish at once unless one can break the spell or illusion by throwing steel over what one has found, he quickly snatched his fire-steel and flung it over the church. A farm was later built where it fell, and to this day it is called Eiljøinstad, from *Ild-jærnstad*, i.e. Fire-steel-stead, in memory of this event.

The key was still in the church door, which was half open. In the middle of the floor stood a great bell, and at the foot of the altar a huge bear had made its winter lair. It was killed by the brave hunter, and in memory of this marvel its pelt was hung up in the church, where the remains of a large bearskin can still be seen. It is said that the man found various paintings in the church, among other things, and a small model of a church in bronze, and four big bells and one little one. It was one of these that his arrow had hit, thus causing the clang which attracted his attention.

The little bell is still used when anyone is lost in the forest, for people believe that a lost man will always hear it and so get back on to the right path. Some people tried to carry off the biggest of the other four bells for the cathedral, but when they had to cross a certain lake it fell in. 'What else can you expect', people said, 'when they were wanting to separate her from her sisters?' In clear windless weather one can still see the bell in the lake, but to get it up is almost impossible, because to do so would require seven brothers, who must not speak one word during the work. Once, seven brothers did make the attempt; they had already raised it to the water's edge when one of them exclaimed, 'We've got it now, thank God!' but at that very moment the bell plunged back into the lake.

### 5. Rypa i Justedalen (*The Justedal Grouse*)

Dypt inde i Sogn, høit tilfjelds, ligger en eensom Dal, som kaldes Justedal. Da den sorte Død begyndte at grassere i Norge, droge mange af de rigeste og fornemste Folk i Sogn op til denne øde Dal, hvor de nedsatte sig og byggede sig Gaarde. De gjorde tillige den Aftale, at Ingen af deres Slægt og Venner maatte komme op til dem, saalænge Pesten varede; men de som vilde skrive skulde lægge deres Brevskaber under en stor Steen ved Indgangen til Dalen, hvilken Steen endnu kaldes Brevsteinen, og her skulde de igjen finde Svar. Ikke destomindre kom Pesten derop og anrettede frygtelig Ødelæggelse. Alle Dalens Beboere døde med Undtagelse af en eneste liden Pige paa Gaarden Birkehaug. Da Folket var uddød, søgte Qvæget tilskovs og kom siden flokkeviis til Nabosognet Vaage, hvis Indbyggere bleve forbausede ved Synet af de fremmede Kreaturer, som ingen Eier eftersøgte. De toge imidlertid Qvæget i Forvaring, og da de frygtede for, at det ei maatte staae vel til i Justedal, droge Nogle derhen. Hvor disse nu kom, fandt de Folket uddød og Husene tomme. Efterat de havde besøgt de fleste Gaarde, men ingensteds funden nogen Levende, opgave de Haabet om at træffe Nogen og vilde begive sig paa Hjemveien, da de uformodentlig i Birkehaugskoven fik Øie paa et Pigebarn, der ved Synet af de Fremmede havde søgt tilskovs. De raabte hende an; men bange som et opjaget Stykke Vildt flygtede hun dybere ind i Skoven for at skjule sig. De besluttede nu om muligt at fange hende, og efter megen Anstrengelse lykkedes det dem. Hun var imidlertid sky og vild som en Fugl, hvorfor man ogsaa kaldte hende Rypa. Hendes Tale kunde de ligesaa lidt forstaae, som de kunde gjøre sig forstaaelige for hende. De tog Pigebarnet med sig til Vaage, hvor hun blev opfostret og skikkede sig vel. I nogle Aar blev Justedalen ubeboet, indtil nogle Nordfjordinger droge derhen og opryddede de gamle Enge og Agre. De første Gaarde, som paa ny bleve optagne, skal have været Faaberg og Myklemør. Da Rypa var kommen til Aar og Alder, drog hun til sit Fødested, hvor hun giftede sig og levede lige til sin Død. Hun efterlod sig en gjev Æt, der gjennem Aarhundreder efter hende blev kaldet Rypeslægten og stod i stor Anseelse i hele Dalen.

#### *English Translation*

High in the mountains of inner Sogn there is a lonely valley called Justedal. At the time the Black Death began to ravage Norway, many of the richest and most important inhabitants of Sogn moved up to this desolate valley, where they settled and established farms. They all agreed that so long as the plague lasted none of their relatives or friends would come up there to visit them; however, whoever wanted to write to them was to place his letters under a large stone at the entrance to the valley, which to this day is called the Letter-Stone, and here he would receive their answers. Nevertheless, the plague spread (to the valley) and caused terrible ruin. All of the inhabitants died, with the exception of a single little girl, from the Birkehaug farm. After the people had all died, the cattle wandered into the forest, and began appearing in groups in the neighbouring parish of Vaage, whose inhabitants were surprised to see the strange animals, which went unclaimed by any owner. They took care of the animals for the time being, and since they feared that all was not well in Justedal, some of them went there (to investigate). Wherever they went they found the people dead and the houses empty. After visiting most of the farms and not finding anyone living, they gave up hope and were about to return home when they accidentally spied in the woods at Birkehaugen a girl-child, who at the sight of the strange men fled into the woods. They shouted to her, but she fled deeper into the forest like a hunted animal, to hide. They decided to capture her if possible, and with great difficulty they succeeded. She was, however, as shy and wild as a bird, which is the reason they called her „The Grouse“. They were no more able to understand her speech than they were able to make themselves understood by her. They took the girl with them to Vaage where she was raised; she grew up to be very well-behaved. For several years Justedal remained unpopulated until some people from Nordfjord went up there and cleared the old fields and meadows. The first farms which were reclaimed were said to have been Faaberg and Myklemør. When „The Grouse“ was older, she moved to her birthplace, where she married and lived until her death. She left behind her a distinguished family that through the centuries was called the Grouse-kin, and stood in great respect in the whole valley.



Forfatteren Jan Faye Braadland arbeider med et omfattende biografiprojekt om presten, historikeren og folkeminnesamleren *Andreas Faye* i form av et prosjektstipend på kr. 40.000,- fra D



Denne skriftserien er et resultat av mer enn 5 års grunnforskning fra dette arbeidet, og flere av de første store folklorist. Mange av resultatene historiske funn som er avdekket, vil trolig ha verdi både for forskere og privatpersoner, men lar seg vanskelig gjengi i sin helhet i selve biografien. En del av dette grunnlagsmaterialet vil derfor utkomme som fortløpende, nummererte skrifter i begrensede opplag. Noen av skriftene kan bli revidert og utkomme i nye utgaver, mens andre igjen vil bli bearbeidet som artikler eller delvis gjengitt i biografien.

*Skrift nr. 3* er et faksimilisk opptrykk av en engelsk artikkel i *Jahrbuch der Brüder Grimm-Gesellschaft, Band V, Kassel 1995*. Artikkelen gir et kort biografisk portrett av Andreas Fayes liv og virke beregnet på et internasjonalt publikum og behandler spesielt den innflytelse brødrene Grimms arbeider hadde på Faye som folkeminnesamler og sagnutgiver. Videre avsløres eventyrdikteren Hans Christian Andersen som litterær tyv, og det dokumenteres for første gang at Simon Olaus Wolff er forfatteren bak en flengende anti-kritikk av Peter Andreas Munchs negative anmeldelse av Fayes sagnsamling i 1833.

Forespørsler om skriftet kan rettes til **Tekstforlaget**, Postboks 5269 Majorstua, 0303 OSLO.



*Jan Faye Braadland*, f. 1958 i Oslo, har tidligere utgitt romanene *Mannen i månen* (1982) og «*SINNSSYKEASYLET*» (1984), samt tekstantologien *Skrik fra et rustent hjerte* (1990, 1992). I skriftserien om Andreas Faye foreligger utgitt fra før *Skrift nr. 1: Kort beskrivelse av Fayes autograf-samling i Aust-Agder-Arkivet, Arendal, februar 1995* og *Skrift nr. 2: Andreas Fayes brevveksling med Adam og Christiane Oehlenschläger, juni 1995*.

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