Finally, some reviews of recent charms studies are presented, and the sessions on charms organized by the ISFNR Committee on Charms, Charmers and Charming during the International Medieval Congress in Leeds described.

I wish to give cordial thanks to all the authors of the research articles, with whom I was corresponding since the spring of the 2014; your goodwill and your adherence to the deadlines made the editing of this wonderful issue possible. I am also immensely grateful to the reviewers of the articles and to the editorial board of the journal for wise suggestions and pointed comments. Special thanks to Jonathan Roper for his advice on editing the journal.

This issue of *Incantatio* will hopefully reveal the broad scope of research presented at the symposia organized by the ISFNR Committee on Charms, Charmers and Charming as well as its perspectives, while enriching the readers with new knowledge and giving them share joy of discovery.

Daiva Vaitkevičienė, guest editor

MATERIAL ARTEFACTS IN ORAL TRADITION: NOTES AND FAMILY LORE ON THE OWNERS OF THE SANDVIK MANOR MAGIC ART MANUSCRIPTS

Åsa Ljungström

This article aims to provide an overview of the owners of (and other persons who have handled) three eighteenth century magic manuscripts over the course of nearly three hundred years. The presumed writer, a learned vicar with a library founded by his father, kept secret the magic part of his studies and writings in the forests of southwest Sweden. His son, however, the local doctor, became known as "a great sorcerer". During the periods of the succeeding owners, the manuscripts were kept secret, forgotten, lent out to be copied, hidden away, and reappeared. The manuscripts are from Sandvik Manor in the joint parish of Burseryd-Sandvik in the forest of southwest Sweden. The original of one of these manuscripts, the so-called Black Book, BB, is in the University Library of Lund, the original of another, the so-called Red Book, RB, is in the Cultural History Museum in Lund, while a copy of the third, the Sandvik Notebook, SN, is in the Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet (Department of Dialectology and Folklore Research), Uppsala.

Key words: narratives, biographical notes, oral history, sorcerer, books/manuscripts on magic art, clergyman, doctor, healer, freemason

This article aims to establish the context of our chosen texts by tracing the owners of three 18th century magic art manuscripts originating from Sandvik Manor, county Småland, Sweden. The purpose is to survey a history encompassing the (possible) writers and other people handling the manuscripts, their families, homes and environments, and thus to recreate the history of the manuscripts over a period of nearly three hundred years. An overview is given of the manuscripts and their various fates and the traces that can be found of the personal conditions are followed. Having studied the vicissitudes of two extant manuscripts on magic, and having found a third, related to the first two (Ljungstrom 2014a-b), I find myself in the position to survey biographical notes, oral tradition and family lore of the succeeding owners' and other people dealing with the manuscripts – partly in secrecy. It is a cultural heritage.

Two of the manuscripts are well known to the field of research: the original manuscript of the so-called 'Svarta boken' (The Black Book', BB from here onwards) and the so-called 'Röda boken' (The Red Book, RB from here onwards). (Any bound manuscript with a cover is called a 'book' in Swedish.) Their names refer to the colours of the covers, dyed with coal and lingonberries or cranberries, respectively. The third manuscript is a group of papers lacking a cover, but partly sewn together, called 'Sandvikshäftet' (The Sandvik Notebook', SN from here onwards). The SN was inherited in 1967 from Sandvik Manor, county Småland in southwest Sweden, by my mother-in-law, Margareta (1905–1999), keeper of the family tradition and my key informant (Ljungström 2014a; Ljungström 2014b).

The theme of, and narratives generated about, artefacts lost and reappearing – whether in the distant past or while stored in a museum – have recently been analysed by Lotten Gustafsson Reinius (2013). The missing artefacts have agency in the interplay of materiality and narrativity: they are active in their absence (Gustafsson Reinius 2013: 137). At this point, the role of theory is to open an analytical entrance into the story of the original authors and owners of the manuscripts, the Revs. Gasslander. The sociologist of science John Law argues that the vacuum left by something missing requires recognition. What is missing belongs in context, and could be included in the concept of materiality (Law 2004: 157; Damsholt 2013: 73).

The perspective presented here is inspired by studies of narrativity applied to the family lore and the oral tradition of the local parish, codified in print, of materiality regarding the relations between man and artefacts in chains of agency – even the void, in what might be referred to as an 'agnotology', a study of unwanted knowledge, i.e. the suppression of the manuscripts. From the wider perspective of how knowledge is created or lost, the historian of science Robert Proctor raises the questions of how knowledge is suppressed or allowed to disappear by launching the concept of *agnotology* (2008). Knowledge kept secret, censorship and suppression are possible modalities in a history of manuscripts on magic. Proctor supposes that there may be traces left of narratives that we no longer have, and that they might be reconstructed. The idea provides the potential to analyse the consistency between the family lore of magic, missing manuscripts on magic art, overlooked and forgotten manuscripts and their suppressed narratives, a kind of knowledge recurring within the framework made by new generations during the 20th century.

The folklorist Amy Shuman analyses the process of family narratives saying that certain memories are honed into 'tellable' narratives, starting with the available narratives. Beyond what is available we may imagine a set of narratives that we do not have. In addition, there will be untellable narratives, those that it is impossible to tell without causing damage. In order to make the small story interesting outside the world of the family, there has to be a link to the larger context, i.e. a master narrative. For whatever narrative is told, the prerequisite to understand it will be the shared experience (Shuman 2006: 149–162). The narrative of magic art curing sickness or bad luck has constantly followed human beings through the archives and museums into the Internet of today. Once in a while most people dream of a miracle of magic beyond real life.

Sources – apart from the three manuscripts on magic art – are the family Bible of Rev. Petrus Gasslander (1680–1758), with family notations and other notes included when restored in 1953, and a series of small day books 1756–1791, kept by his son and successor as a vicar, Johannes Gasslander (1718–1793). The funeral sermons of both Reverends seem to be partly built on the autobiographies in this Bible. Furthermore, there is a local oral tradition published by a local historian (Carlsson 1901) concerning the subsequent generation, Johannes' son Sven Peter Gasslander (1754–1833), a wealthy local doctor who in 1812 bought Sandvik estate, as well as the subsequent owners of Sandvik, among whom is my key informant (with her family traditions pivoting on grandmother Lundeberg and Sandvik Manor). Grandmother Lundeberg's first husband, Petter Lindgren, appears in a short story (1892) by the writer, doctor and folklorist August Bondeson (1854–1906). Members of the Gasslander family also figure in the novels of local writer Anna Lorentz (1906–1988), who used to listen to her grandfather, born in 1826.

As part of the 19th century national romanticism movement, folklore scholars were intrigued by the suggestion that a clergyman might have worked on the manuscripts in question, that the BB and the RB might be written by the clergymen Gasslander, father and son. The manuscripts themselves were located and borrowed from Sandvik Manor in 1874 by an eager collector of old books, Ludvig Palmgren (1844–1915), another clergyman, identified by Nils-Arvid Bringéus (1967). In time, Palmgren became a vicar and in 1878 a corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Antiquities, History and Literature. The Revs. Gasslander were already known to the scholarly sphere of the romantic movement for an early folk life description (1774) and a handwritten glossary of the local dialect, dated 1766 – a century ahead of the boom for dialectology studies. The BB and RB were borrowed by Palmgren to be copied by one of the leading folklorists of the time, the gentleman scholar Nils Gabriel Djurklou (1829-1904). He returned them to the broker Palmgren in 1876. They then disappeared, the BB until 1924 and the RB until 1991. As they could not be found, a joint selection from the copy was published, Salomoniska magiska konster: utdrag ur en Westboprests svartkonstböcker (The Solomonic Magical Arts: Excerpts of a Clergyman of Westbo) 1918 (Bringéus 1967).

Nils-Arvid Bringéus identifies the writer of *Salomoniska magiska konster* (1918) – containing both the BB and RB – as vicar Johannes Gasslander, thus establishing the connection to Sandvik through four local informants who supplied prescriptions for the RB. Bringéus finds one of these informants, Måns Månsson, in the church register of inhabitants, he having moved to the parish in 1793, the same year when the vicar Johannes Gasslander passed away, indicating that this informant Måns talked to the vicar's son Sven Peter (1967). But I find this same Måns Månsson on the payroll of Johannes Gasslander in 1788 (Gasslander daybook 1788). I also recognise the place name of the domicile of a second smallholder informant, Johannes from Nordgärde in Sandvik parish, in the daybook of grandmother Lundeberg from 1892 (DFU 40059).

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The nature of the BB's content is hidden behind the uninformative title *Diwerse Saker* (Various Things) in reversed mirror script. The RB is entitled *Salamoniska magiska konster* (The Salamonic Magical Arts). In the introduction of the joint 1918 publication the manuscripts are characterised as natural magic as well as black magic to heal and destroy man and beast (Salomoniska 1918: V). Both the BB an RB seem to be copied from one or more previous manuscripts, sometimes with local additions, especially in the RB. There is no organisation system as the prescriptions seem to have been collected one after the other over time. The handwriting of two or more people can be discerned.

The BB

The BB consists of 168 pages of 361 paragraphs and signatures in black (brown) ink on handmade paper in 4:0 format bound in a black paper cover with a leather spine. Pagination, some titles and underlining's were made in red ink. There is a register over six pages of "all the animals, birds, insects and herbs and oils notated in the book". There is also an alphabetical register of twelve pages, a printed runic calendar for 1755, a Hebrew alphabet and a key to some of the symbols used in the text. The text is printed in the German style with numerous so-called *Wittenberg* letters.

Bringéus shows that many of the BB prescriptions were copied from continental books of magic and housekeeping, of the *Kunst- und Wunderbuch* type, most of them from a 17th century book called *Wolfgang Hildebrandi Magia Naturalis...* first published in 1610, and in Sweden in 1650.¹ These publications were copied and spread in Germany and Sweden over the centuries, and thus partly included in local folklore. Bringéus mentions one Cabbalistic formula along with several medieval incantations, numerous allusions to the Virgin Mary, Pater Noster and one Latin invocation of Apollonia to cure toothache. Bringéus correlates the BB with the Swedish surveys of superstition collected in the 18th and 19th centuries by Leonard Fredrik Rääf and Johan Nordin (Rääf & Wikman 1957; Nordin 1946). Bringús recognises the handwriting of the clergyman Johannes Gasslander. He makes it clear that the prescriptions of the BB corresponded in only a small range to the folk beliefs of the district where the Revs. Gasslander studiously worked in the vicarage (Bringéus 1967). Thus it cannot be regarded as a source of Nordic folk magic. In my opinion this goes for the RB as well. Notwithstanding this, the RB requires more study, to which I hope to return.

The RB

The title of the original RB manuscript, Salamoniska magiska konster, is the only title that mentions magic. As previously mentioned, the RB was not available between 1876 and 1991. The RB consists of 70 pages, with 92 paragraphs, some of theme repeated. The hard paper cover was originally red, dved by lingonberries or cranberries with a leather spine. It is smaller than the BB, probably later as well, no older than the first half of the 18th century according to Djurklou, who personally copied the text between 1874 and 1876 as well as the emblem of the Skull and Crossbones of the title page (Salomoniska 1918: XIV; Bringéus 1967: 20). This emblem is followed by a circle divided into twelve sections. The next page has two columns of twelve numbered parts. Number 5 has the text "Mefistophile befall (command) and an illegible word, Kraft (power) or *Präst* (clergyman) (?)." On every page there is a thin line framing the text. Pagination is made on the upper outer corners. Small pictures and Wittenberg letters are drawn in the margins or horizontally over the page. The text is densely written in German style, often underlined (Ljungström 2014a). Two or three different handwritings can be discerned.

The content is in part of the same kind as the BB, in part more diabolic, relating to black magic. On presenting his finding Bringéus concludes that the person who originally made the selection of the solomonic magic art must have been male. In addition, he finds it comprehensibly that the BB and RB were spirited away, that Nils Gabriel Djurklou never disclosed their owner (1991: 91). Thus suppressed, it is what Robert Proctor would name a piece of 'unwanted' knowledge (2008). Any such talk would harm the good name of the owner, master sergeant and country squire P. W. Lundeberg (cf. Shuman 2006) – but for the man who was already known as a drunkard, of whome more below, i.e. the family scoundrel Petter Lindgren who frittered away the wealth and the

forests of the estate by drinking and gambling – once with the local healer 'Wise Bölen' (http://runeberg.org/bondeson/4/0273.html Kloke Bölen).

Prescriptions for hunting, fishing, shooting, toothache and snakebite mingle with prescriptions for how to bed a woman, win any fight, at court of justice or in the back yard, become invisible, get rich, be loved, win the confidence of mighty men, get a career or free oneself from the sword or from rats and how to keep bees. In the middle of the manuscript there is a passage named "Om den naturliga svartkonsten och dess beskaffenhet" (On the True Nature of the Natural Black Magic) (RB: 45–58). This part especially seems to be copied from a previous manuscript on how to win a magic helper, a spirit, and what he can do for his master in 16 numbered paragraphs. In a previous article I touch upon the connection to the western Scandinavian and German tradition of Clergymen educated in the Devil's Black School in Wittenberg (Ljungström 2014a; Gunnell 1998).

I believe that Johannes wrote most or part of the RB as well as the SN and that his son completed these manuscripts (Ljungström 2014a). Thus, Sandvik Manor is the uniting bridge backward to the writer Johannes and forwards to the succeeding owner families. My mother-in-law inherited the aforementioned notebook, the SN, from her uncle Ernst Lundeberg (1879–1967) born at Sandvik Manor (Ljungström 2014).

The SN

When the RB is neatly written up, the prescriptions of the SN seem to be taken down one by one over time when the chance presented itself. It is written on the same kind of paper and in the same format as the BB (but not the RB), although there is no binding or cover. The sheets are folded in 4:0 format and partly sewn together. One sheet is separate, filled with stars, seals, codes, signs and *Wittenberg* letters. There is no black magic in the SN, rather there are means to cure man and beast and prevent any harm to cows, horses and human beings. There are remedies against consumption, falling sickness, toothache, snakebite, fever, scurvy, and burn injuries. Safeguarding rifles is important. Hunting birds and foxes seems to be of great interest, whereas fishing is not. There is a charm to find coins or treasure buried in the ground, and a way to cure an alcoholic by means of a snake in the bottle. Interwoven with traditional folklore there are remedies from the pharmacy and descriptions of how to catch foxes and extirpate wolves.

The most complete incantation is referred to in the article "The Missing Books of Magic from Sandvik" (Ljungström 2014a). Gout is mentioned, and was thought to be caused by 'the little ones' underground. They were 'the wetta', a supranormal collective being that could cause several diseases, among them rickets. The means to fight the wetta was to cut a grass turf and place it on top of the head of the sick person, reading the Pater Noster and spitting three times.

At Läsa bort Wetta

Du lea stygga <u>Nitta</u>, som lofte den, N.N: at /han hon/ intet skulle få bätter än / han hon/ har, men nu har /han hon/ fått jorden på sig och Vatten unders,

Så spottas <u>3ne</u> gr. N.D.: Pat fil et. Spzant. (?) Detta läses <u>3ne</u>e gångr.

En torfva skiäres up med en knif, Denna uptages och läges på bart . hufvud, under Läsningen, Sedan den liggat på hufvudet sättes den på en gärdesgs Stafver at torkas

Af <u>Måns Måns Son i Li</u>da

är = gickt

To Drive Away The Wetta

You mean and nasty gout, who promised nomen nescio /that he/she would not prosper than he/she has, but now he/she has got the soil over him/her and the water under

So spit 3 times..N.D.: Pat fil et. Spzant. [Spiritus Sanctus] This is to be read 3 times.

A turf is to be cut by knife. It is lifted up and placed on the bare head, during charm reading. After being laid on the head it is to be placed on a fence-pole to dry

By Måns Måns Son in Lida

is = *gout* ("The Sandvik Notebook", no. 46, my enumeration)

The formula appears twice in the SN with reference to an identified informant, Måns Månsson in Lida. I believe that Johannes took it down both times. In addition, it was copied into the RB towards the end, probably by his son Sven Peter. (Ljungström 2014a: 77; 2014b).

THE LIVES AND STUDIES OF THE REVS. GASSLANDER IN BURSERYD VICARAGE IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Johannes Gasslander was born in 1718 in the vicarage of Burseryd and Sandvik as the eldest son of vicar Petrus Gasslander, from his second marriage to Regina Christina Roos af Hjelmsäter. Petrus was himself a learned man, known for his library and his writings, according to his funeral sermon (Likpredikan, vol. 4: 264ff).

In 1774 Johannes had a book published in the name of his father Petrus Gasslander, *Beskrifning, om allmogens sinnelag, seder, /.../*(Description of the

Peasant Mentality, Customs...in Jönköping County and Västbo Hundred by the Reverend Gaslander in Burseryd). Ever since then there have been questions about who actually wrote the book. Did Johannes edit his father's manuscript or was he the author, or were they both the authors? Would the name of the deceased father be of less risk to the author? Johannes was reproached by the bishop (Ljungström 2014a: 75). This uncertainty is a good reason to start with the father, Petrus.

Petrus Gasslander 1680-1758

Petrus Gasslander, born in 1680, was the son of an elderly couple from the farm of Gasslanda Norrregård, county Småland, southern inland Sweden. The father was almost 70 and the mother 50, the reference to Sara in the Bible is clearly spelled out in Petrus' autobiography in the family Bible and his presumed funeral oration. The son Petrus was originally destined to become a clergyman, but when the father died and the mother remarried, she could no longer support his studies. He therefore took up a position as a private tutor to the sons of better-off families, such as the foreman Sigfrid Gahm's four sons in Växjö, professor J. B. Munster in Turku 1704 and for five years the assessor (deputy judge) Joakim Riddercrantz in Turku. Petrus is described as a charming, intelligent person. Between 1705 and 1710 he had a scholarship at Academia Aboensis, the first university in Finland.² He was examined in 1707, 1708 and 1709 and confirmed a magister in 1712 in his absence. In May 1710, during the Great Nordic War, an approaching Russian attack forced him to leave Turku (Gaslander, Ms 4:o 542: 24–44).

Back in his old school town, Växjö in Småland, he was ordained in December 1712, and in January 1713 took up the post of curate in the western outskirts of Småland, in the joint parishes of Burseryd and Sandvik. Today the parishes are mostly forest. Sandvik has few inhabitants except in summertime. Burseryd did get a railway and some industry long after the time of the Gasslanders, father and son. There were farms in their time (Burseryd 1981; 2012). The topography being dramatic, with ranges, rifts and ravines with streams at the bottom, the area seems better for breeding livestock than growing crops. Breeding draught animals, i.e. oxen, might have been profitable as the need for oxen was great in the southern landscapes. Trading oxen from Småland to Scania used to be a profitable business before the motorised era. Just some fifty years before Petrus Gasslander arrived after the Great Nordic War, the southern landscapes belonged to Denmark. The narrow stripe, Halland county, between Sandvik and the sea was Danish until 1645, Scania county until 1658. Sandvik parish was at the very frontier with constant raids back and forth over a local

stream long into the 19th century. This frontier had been defended since the Middle Ages by the nobility of Sandvik estate (Burseryd 1981; Sandvik 1987).

In the old days the clergymen had to earn their living as farmers. They were also expected to, if need be, marry the widow or the daughter of their predecessor – so-called 'conservation'. Thus Petrus did marry the daughter, a widow with four young children. Two more daughters were born, but in less than two years his wife died. He also had to live through the loss of the cow barn and a year's crops in a fire after the harvest seemed to be secured (Gaslander, Ms 4:0 542: 24–44; Carlsson 1901).

Petrus remarried, this time to Regina Christina Roos af Hjelmsäter, born in Stettin (1694–1773), a noblewoman living modestly with her mother. Being a widow her mother had been forced to leave her estate for a smaller place. Attached to them is the narrative legend that the father and his friend escaped from a Turkish prison and rode across the continent with king Charles XII from Bender to Stralsund in 1712. If one of them was killed the other was to sell the horse and saddle and bring the money to the widow. This legend is widespread around the army of Charles XII but has no bearing on this mother and daughter, although it may refer to Regina's uncle. Her father died from the plague 1711 (Lindmark no date).

There were eight children in this second marriage, and six from the first wife. Johannes was the second eldest. The family grew fairly wealthy. Petrus owned at least six farms when he passed away. The church was built anew in his time and he himself paid for its embellishment. He composed a hymn beautifully written by his own hand in the family Bible and there is a note of his interest in the spiritualist theology of Emanuel Swedenborg. His handwriting is fluent, elegant, easily recognised. His health was weak: he was consumptive and inclined to fainting. The household grew even more extensive as one daughter was widowed and moved back home with four children and her mother-in-law. Another daughter died giving birth and her son was raised by the grandparents and by Johannes, who paid for his studies in law in Uppsala and Stockholm (Likpredikan; Day-book of Johannes 1756–1791). All together, nineteen children were raised in the vicarage.

Johannes Gasslander 1718-1793

Johannes began his studies at the university of Lund in 1738, was ordained a clergyman 1744 but returned to Lund in 1747 to defend his dissertation. He became a curate for his father and succeeded him as vicar. Although in good health, from 1788 onwards he used to have a curate, his biographer remarks, seemingly somewhat astonished (Lundell 1892: 319; Virdestam 1931). He is

said to have become a very wealthy man, owning most of the parish (Wieselgren 1845). So what did he do? Perhaps learned studies, writing, attending the farms he owned all over the parish, doing business, lending money, buying books, visiting Scania county for the University of Lund or attending the Masonic lodge in Kristianstad, another small town in the southern landscape (Gasslander day books 1756–1791). These are a few suggestions coming up when surveying twenty five tiny notebooks, day books kept by Johannes Gasslander 1756 – 1791, in Gothenburg University Library (Signum H 1957/13, Heh 8:o 19.).

The day books have the character of the work journal of a farmer with only a few clerical missions, like burying a colleague in a neighbouring parish or attending a special church service. There is never a remark on the ordinary church services, never a sermon mentioned. There is no allusion whatsoever to any intellectual activity, no relation to the magical books or the glossary of the old local dialect by his hand that is known for sure (1766). Once there is a clue to his worldview when he makes a small 'freemasonry' drawing of the pair of compasses and the setsquare and notes the distance of the sun from the earth in the year 9520, the diameters (sic!) of the square and flat earth from every corner 1200 Swedish miles (Day book 1756, last page, H 1957/13, Heh 8:o 19). This is a reminder of the worldview and the chronology of the earth – before the theory of evolution.

During the first two years of the day books, he is curate for his father, Petrus, still alive. He gets his letter of attorney half a year after the death of his father. That same year there is a remark that Peter has a pain in his chest. It need not refer to the father but to a young son. Two sons were born. They are not mentioned again until he pays for their studies and lodging at university.

Every notebook starts with the costs of postage for correspondence, quite substantial costs. He sends something to distant recipients – letters, books, money? The last page of every book is for the salaries of farmhands and maids. There is usually a comment on the weather – grey, misty. The daily work of the two farmhands and two maids are noted. He keeps track of three cows and their calves, one he calls "mother's cow". In spring he marks the return of the migratory birds. Once, in May he catches 20 eels. In other summer months only one or two eels were caught. Fishing is never mentioned, although the big lake in the joint parish Sandvik is known to render a good income from fish. Instead, Johannes makes a note of selling oxen for 56 Rd (Riksdaler, old coinage unit) at the market in the nearest town Varberg on the coast some 70–80 kilometres to the west (Day book).

There is a list from 1758 of what was sold at Varberg market: 5 red hens, draught oxen, oxen to be slaughtered, 2 cows, a mare. In Varberg he orders a wig of silk that costs 12 Rd. Another one from Scania county costs him 15 Rd.

The journey to Scania is only 6 Rd and he also sells oxen, cows and two salmon (Day book).

From the day book of 1777 it seems certain that he lends money for promissory notes and charges interest. To his son, Sven Peter, studying in Lund, he sends 1000 Silver Rd. Three years later he sends 50 Rd specie and 3 Silver Rd to his second son, Harald, studying in Lund. He makes a note of which books he can order from a bookseller in Gothenburg and buys *Swea Rikes Statskunskap* (Political Science of the Swedish Kingdom) by Swen Lagerbring upon publication in 1784. In addition, he buys spices and medicine from Gothenburg. That same year he makes notes of what can be had from the bookseller in Stockholm: portraits of the Royals, calendars, a book on the treatment of gout, another on the honest art of lying and the address of a doctor of medicine in Marstrand (Day book). Potatoes were new in 1787. Two kinds seem to have been available, imported by Kongl. Vetenskapsakademien (Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences) in Stockholm. He will try to get them in Gothenburg intending to plant them (Day book).

The day books give the impression of the activities and all-round interests of a man who wants to keep up with what is going on in society. They show that he seems to be busy as a private banker, lending money at interest. There is no mention of learned studies or of writing manuscripts, but his editing of the father's manuscripts is known from other documents in Växjö Stiftsbibliotek (Forssanders samling, Gaslander, Ms 4:o 542: 24–44).

SECRET KNOWLEDGE

The genre of farmers' day books is that of a journal of work, manifesting facts. Even if Johannes had kept a more private romantic diary there would hardly be a clue about any work with solomonic magic wisdom. Solomonic means that it is supposed to be secret. As mentioned above, the bishop severely disapproved of the publishing of *Beskrifning, om allmogens sinnelag, seder /... /* (1895/1774) (Description of The Peasant Mentality, Customs...in Jönköping County and Västbo Hundred) in 1774. Books of magic art would have been worse. The parishioners talked for two centuries of Johannes collecting copies and burning them. The book became rare, a case of censorship and suppression (Proctor 2008; Carlsson 1901; Ljungström 2014a: 75). People must have talked of the books and the writings in the vicarage. The bishop would not approve of any support to the narrative tradition of the Devil's Black School in Wittenberg. This west Scandinavian and German tradition was known in the area, just across the previously Danish border, eighty kilometres from the coast. The Wittenberg students, educated to become clergymen, were each given a book of black

magic by the Devil. As late as 1928 a woman told the old story of a clergyman in Burseryd parish who restored stolen goods in Sandvik church (Ljungström 2014a: 76; VFA 1801: 14–16; Edsman 1962; Gunnell 1998).

In the 16th and 17th centuries science would be the key to gain knowledge of the secret agency of nature, *Magia Naturalis*, that would unveil the wisdom of God according to the sixth and seventh books of Moses, believed to be lost. The clerics were able to translate books of wisdom written in Latin and Greek. In the 16th and 17th centuries there was still little difference between wisdom and secret magic (Bringéus 1967: 26; Edsman 1962: 88). Nature's wonder would be no problem to clergymen, but invoking the Devil's magic art seems more problematic (Oja 2005). This was, however, done in the RB, probably of more recent date than the BB. Since the Middle Ages the peasants had turned to the vicar and his wife with their domestic or medical problems. If they could not help, people would turn to the wise men and women. Clerical and medical learning – including the secrets of nature where magic belonged – seems to be reason enough for comprehensive studies, part of which the BB and RB seem to be. However, there is no answer to how it was possible for men of the cloth to deal with the diabolic part of the RB.

Quite a few of the spells and instructions of RB can be recognised from other vernacular collections. They might have been in use, at least people used to think about these things. For a few incantations there are references to informants by name in the parish. There are commonly known spells of how to keep the horse lively, make the newly bought cattle happy at home, even how to keep the bees, to get good shooting, catch fish by hand and protect the gun from evil magic by enemies. There are many devices to unveil a thief and bring back stolen property, one of them is the incantation of Sator-Arepo-Tenet-Rotas.

Not so commonly known are the incantations to damage the field so that the corn will not grow, to ruin the crops of corn and flax, or how to spoil the gun of an enemy. All the devils and angels should be invocated if you want to make a horse lame by forging a copper nail on a Thursday morning before sunrise. Worse, if you want to hurt the thief, blow out his eye, even kill him by making an idol to be hurt by an awl in the body, followed by a magic copper nail.

There are hardly any Christian spells of blessing in RB, the invocations of the Devil, Belsebub, Lucifer and Belial are so many more. Also there are incantations using the secret Wittenberg letters and signs to be spoken out loudly or written. Things for magic use are to be loaded with power on the altar for three days, like the gold bladder of a frog, or for thirty days, a water mouse.

The spells with Wittenberg incantations seem to be copied from a previous source o tradition. This is the impression of certain sequences of RB instructing the reader on how to obtain a helping spirit by use of a small round stone. The Devils presence is obvious in the RB as is his crew, the assisting spirits in the afore-mentioned "The True Nature of Black Magic". The spirit would enable his master to become invisible, to walk on water, or to be carried home instantly from any distant place. Terry Gunnell writes about these motifs of the Scandinavian and German tradition (Gunnell 1998; Ljungström 2014a). Furthermore, the RB teaches: If you want to fight by sword or sable you will always win. The sable can be taught to make ever so deep wounds. You will win any fight on the ground or a law suit in court, never be arrested. A gambler will win any game, be wise and beautiful and get good shooting, catch the fish with his bare hands and have a virgin as a friend at night. No witness will ever say anything against you at court. No man will ever win a dispute over you, No one will ever say no if you demand anything. RB is not a collection of good will but of black magic in order to promote the owner while hurting the other. This could be a plausible reason to keep the RB secret, so protecting the good name of the owner.

As suggested in the article "The Missing Books of Magic from Sandvik", the mere imagination of the black books of Wittenberg might have lead someone to create such a book. Like Linda Dégh analyses the mummery of Halloween ghosts, sorcery can be used in earnest to obtain something but it also possible to play with other people's beliefs, tease and deceit, make fun of people (Dégh & Vászonyi 1983). Be the ghost – or the book of magic – ostensively created, in earnest or deceitfully, such an ostensive book would have to be diabolic to be accepted as the authentic work of the Devil (Ljungström 2014: 78).

The Revs. Gasslander probably collected their sources from elsewhere, but it is quite possible that one or both of the vicars copied Hildebrand's book of wisdom, *Magia Naturalis* ..., first published in 1610 in Darmstadt, Germany, and in Swedish in 1650, as mentioned above. The vicars were learned men, having a substantial library.³ Nils-Arvid Bringéus recognises the handwriting of Johannes in the BB. As for the RB, Johannes clearly wrote the last part, although I am less certain of the first part. Towards the end there is even an addition in a younger hand, which might be by the son Sven Peter. At times I believed that Sven Peter rewrote all of the RB, but following Johannes' handwriting over time makes me think that he wrote most of the BB and SN, during various periods of his life. The first part of the RB was probably copied from a previous work – but by whom I could not tell (Ljungström 2014b).

The handwriting of Johannes varied during his life. At twenty it is small and elegant, with initials elaborated when he signs his name in a book, for example a hymnbook from his teacher Johannes Baas. The day books are written in small handwriting, growing bigger as the author gets older. It is often somewhat crowded, as in the glossary of local dialect words from 1766 (UUB R593). In the

SN it gets bigger and becomes tremulous. Before studying the day books, which cover twenty-five years, I believed that there could be up to four hands in the SN, although I no longer believe this: Johannes wrote most of the SN and his son Sven Peter added a few rational prescriptions using pharmacy ingredients.

THE LOCAL HISTORY AND FAMILY LORE OF SANDVIK MANOR IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Johannes Gasslander passed away in 1793. It is said that he owned most of the parish but not the estate Sandvik, which was on the former border with Denmark. Not until 1812 did his son Sven Peter (1754–1833) buy the estate that lends its name to, and unites, the BB, RB and SN manuscripts. Sven Peter Gasslander studied medicine at the university of Lund. Curiously, while this medical doctor was excised and forgotten in the family lore, he was cast in the lead role in the local community tradition about manuscripts and magic arts. There are layers of interviews, narratives, written annotations and records from the 18th century to the 1980s in books of local history. Sven Peter was known as a local doctor, healer and inventor of mechanical devices, like a system of wooden plumbing from the fountain spa on the hill, a sawmill, a machine for generating electricity. In addition, he kept a pharmaceutical garden and produced his own medicines. People seem to have been sure that he was a freemason. In a local history book from 1901 the site where his mansion was situated was called the Hill of Ghosts, on which a murdered child was seen (cf. Shuman 2006 for tellable and not tellable stories).

The whole legend complex of freemasonry seems to revolve around this Sven Peter, like another form of belief in magic arts (cf. af Klintberg 2010). He was known as a clairvoyant, and for prophecy. People knew for sure that he had books on black art, although they were not sure of the kind of magic nor would they use the words of magic, but called them 'stenkolsböcker' (books of coal, of jet) (Carlssson 1901). For his own funeral – in 1833 – he had prophesised lightening and a terrible thunderstorm, and so it happened. According to legend, it caused his widow to collect his freemasons' insignia and his books of magic art in a chest, which was sunk in the lake outside the church. This story was to be read in the local sear-print on the history of Småland county at Christmas 1901 (Carlsson 1901; Rosengren 1914), which was widely spread through the parishes. The author was the vicar C.O. Carlsson, who most certainly talked to the owner Lundeberg of Sandvik at the time, the grandparents of my key informant, born in 1905. The same story appears in a family chronicle (Lindmark n.d.)

The sinking in the lake of the sorcery utensils would have taken place in 1833. The son of the deceased freemason kept up the pharmaceutical garden

producing medicines for sick people. There is no telling of him using sorcery. He married that same year 1833, and died in 1841. The wife Petronella became known in the family tradition as well as in the local legends as the 'evil lady' of Sandvik. She and her husband appear as minor characters in a novel by the local writer Anna Lorentz (1975). As a child, the writer Anna Lorentz used to listen to her grandfather, born 1826, and to the neighbours' gossip around the coffee tables. As a writer, Lorentz is free to construct the character Petronella along the lines of legends about 'the evil lady': mean, lazy, full of self-importance, a poor housewife, harsh towards the maids; and she has an affair with the farmhand Petter Lindgren (Lorentz 1975). Petronella did remarry the farmhand Petter Lindgren. In the family lore, he is given the role of the scoundrel who squandered the resources of the estate, gambling away large tracts of forest during nights of drinking (Lindmark n.d.; Schéle n.d.; Carlsson 1901; cf. Proctor 2008; cf. Shuman 2006). Actually, among the family notes I found the receipt of the sale of the forest.

The reputation for drinking followed Petter Lindgren. He appears in one of the folklife books by a renowned folklorist writer, August Bondeson, in which the main character, a healer by the name of *Bölen*, having lost his own book of magic, is incapable of sorcery but is told that there is a black book of magic art at Sandvik. He goes there, meets Petter Lindgren, is allowed to read the book when they are drinking together. This book of magic – BB? – was left at Sandvik after the old doctor Gasslander died, the folklorist writer August Bondeson tells us (http://runeberg.org/bondeson/4/ Kloke Bölen). This Bondeson story was first published 1892, when Petter Lindgren had been dead for twenty years and the old doctor, Sven Peter Gasslander, for sixty years. The reputation of the doctor and his books still prospered.

Oral tradition leads its own life. Parts of local history, i.e. the old doctor and freemason Sven Peter Gasslander, stay with the local place while family lore, i.e. the vicars Gasslander, follows the memory keepers. In Sandvik manor the familiar Gasslander faces of the portraits were material reminders on the walls of the dining room. When later the estate was sold the portraits were brought along to new homes. As there is no portrait of the grandson Sven Peter his memory is eradicated in the family. Instead he is remembered where he belongs as the local spokesman, old doctor Gasslander. Both the family lore and the local history are codified in print by a local historian. The doctor certainly was a remarkable man: the local spokesman, surrounded by legends (Carlsson 1901). The farmhand Petter Lindgren, of whom more below, lead a life in which he rose and fell. His father was Måns Månsson (according to the family Bible of Petter Lindgren), who, as mentioned above, recited the charm against the wetta to cure gout. Petter Lindgren's life was spectacular enough to drive narratives, and with no heirs to protect his name, his reputation suffered. He left behind no one but his second wife, the housekeeper, Clara Schéle (i.e. grandmother Lundeberg, of whom more below). Her son in law pronounced Petter Lindgren the family scoundrel. This was all the family knew of Petter Lindgren. The story told by August Bondeson about the healer Bölen and his visit to Sandvik would not have been found, if not for the Internet in 2014. The writer August Bondeson collected the story, not known to the family, which had moved out of the province in the 20th century.

The Lundeberg family began moving in the 1880s to the military drill ground where grandfather Lundeberg took up a post. The furniture and the family portraits were moved, but there was no portrait of doctor Sven Peter, so he was not included in their daily life. As a fourth cousin he was hardly regarded a relative and was forgotten outside his home parish (cf. Proctor 2008; Shuman 2006).

A chain of inheritance – ending up with the Lundeberg family leaving Sandvik

Petronella, the wife of the last Gasslander of Sandvik, died in 1863 leaving the estate to her second husband, Petter Lindgren, who remarried the housekeeper, Clara Schéle (1837–1914). In her second marriage, to P.W. Lundeberg – after Petter Lindgren had died - Clara Schéle Lundeberg had three children and became the grandmother of my key informant, Margareta. Her darling son, Ernst, told Margareta that the first marriage was never consummated, a stipulation made by Lindgren on his death bed to prevent Sandvik from being taken over by Petronella's family. Margareta was not pleased when I found out that they had been married for five years. Through this marriage, the housekeeper Clara Schéle, from Värnamo, a small town nearby, inherited the Sandvik estate. She in turn remarried, to Per Wilhelm Lundeberg (1840-1906), who was a vicar's son, actually a descendant of Petrus Gasslander's daughter. He was known to be nice rather than bright. At school, all of his marks were below the pass standard (Ljungström collection). In time he became a country squire and master sergeant in the regiment of Jönköping. The family moved to a local drill ground, Skillingaryd, where they built a copy of the new manor house at Sandvik, which they had had built in 1878. They carried on farming up to 1892, when Sandvik was sold to the state. In August 1892 the Lundeberg family gave a farewell party for their neighbours, staff and the crofters from the estate (DFU 40059, Lundeberg day book 1892). Ernst Lundeberg, then around thirteen years of age, left the party to climb the cherry trees at the old house on Ghost Hill. There he saw a woman in an old-fashioned dress. Scared, he ran to his mother who answered that this was the late servant. Beata. In 1947

he related his personal experience narrative to his niece, Margareta, and her young children on an picnic to Ghost Hill. When finished, he and Margareta turned and saw a woman pass in an old-fashioned dress. Margareta, my mother in law, was always a bit startled when talking about this sight. Her son refuses to accept it as a supernatural experience, but she seemed to be consoled when I found the name Beata (1811–1879, deaf) among the old servants (Gasslander Family Bible; Sandvik 1987: 239). It is still a personal experience narrative that follows the family, but not the place (cf. Shuman 2006).

In 1904, the Lundeberg daughter, Sigrid, married an energetic master sergeant, Carl Gustaf Lindmark. Lindmark would become a lieutenant in time and it was he who settled the role of scoundrel on Petter Lindgren. However unpopular Petter was for ruining the resources of the estate, he was the first husband of grandmother Clara Lundeberg. Without him the family would not have had the estate. As the son-in-law he could hardly blame his father-in-law, so it is only consistent that Petter Lindgren is blamed, more distant in time and relation, lower in rank and status. The epithet 'farmhand' is never left out. On the other hand, the children were never told the local gossip that Petter Lindgren was found drunk and drowned in the lake at Sandvik (personal communication, Svante Ljungcrantz 3-10-2012). That would have been an untellable narrative that would have hurt the reputation of the family (cf. Shuman 2006).

INVENTORIES OF THE 1870S ROMANTIC MOVEMENT – THE FAMILY MOVES OUT OF THE PROVINCE

In the 1870s the romantic movement inspired inventories of the life of the peasants, local history and of old books were undertaken. Ludvig Palmgren, a young clergyman and an eager collector of old books, found out that in Sandvik there were two manuscripts of magic arts, although they were not easily accessible. However, Palmgren wrote to the folklorist Nils Gabriel Djurklou hinting that he would find a way to acquire them (Bringéus 1967). He courted the sister of P.W. Lundeberg, now the owner of Sandvik, marrying her in 1878 (Lindmark n.d.: 5; Rosengren 1914: 1060). In 1874 he brokered the loan to Djurklou of two "manuscripts" of magical art from *Sandvik*, The Black Book and The Red Book. Djurklou copied and returned them to Palmgren, although Palmgren never returned them to Sandvik (Bringéus 1967). They disappeared, and could not be located when there were plans to publish them. Eventually, a joint copy was published (1918). As a brother-in-law Palmgren was at liberty to visit the library of Sandvik, loading a carriage full of books. "'Plain theft', my father said", said Margareta. "My father considered that Palmgren a real villain" (28-9-1984). As for the missing BB manuscript, requested by a professor in 1895 (letter from J.A. Lundell to P.W. Lundeberg 22-11-1895), grandfather Lundeberg knew that Palmgren never returned them. This extraordinary event, a professor asking for the manuscripts and a portrait, caused an intermittent talk of frustration between parents and grandparents during Margareta's childhood (Lundeberg to Lundell 2-12-1895; Ljungström 2014a; Ljungström 2014b). Without the inquiry of the professor I doubt that the void would have caused any talk of the books (cf. Gustafsson Reinius 2013). It might have been forgotten. The professor asked for just one book, the BB. It is possible that the RB was already made to slip away quietly.

In the house, there were four oil portraits of Petrus Gasslander, his wife Regina Christina, the son Johannes and a grandson. The paintings were incorporated as manifest parts of the family life. In 1911, at the age of six, my mother-in-law grabbed the poker from the fire, climbed on a chair and hit the lady in the face because she looked unkind (cf. Gustafsson Reinius 2013). The repair is visible but there was no punishment. The portraits and the talk of the missing book were essential during the 20th century to keep up the family memory of the past, of Sandvik and of Margareta's childhood. There were no active memories of the Revs. Gasslander as they lived too long ago. The stories were read in the chronicles and the published local history, once told by the grandparents Lundeberg around 1900 (Lindgren n.d.; Schéle n.d.; Carlsson 1901).

Per Wilhelm Lundeberg died in 1906. Two of the children died young, leaving only one son, Ernst (1879–1967). The eldest son died in 1905 at thirty, the daughter died in childbirth, leaving three young children in 1913. Grandmother Clara Lundeberg died in 1914. Moving house several times, Ernst Lundeberg preserved the remaining utensils, such as pewter dishes, engraved glasses, silver tankards, books and papers. When in need of money he would open a chest of beautiful things to sell, for instance take out a silver rococo coffee jug, as a lady who used to know him as a child remembered. He was employed as a clerk at his father's firm (personal communication with Gunnel Langkilde, Värnamo 11-9-1985).

After the death of her uncle Ernst Lundeberg, Margareta returned home with the SN, a bunch of folded sheets of handmade paper, sewn together but possible to rearrange sheet by sheet. It contains some 70 prescriptions to cure livestock and human beings, some rational, some magical according to modern thinking. As described above, there are a few charms, twice the one 'Against the Wetta', others on how to become invisible, how to collect a treasure buried under ground. There are many more to cure medical and domestic problems, and especially for safeguarding rifles. The ones using ingredients to be bought at the pharmacy seem to be written by doctor Sven Petter Gasslander, but the for the rest the author may well have been her father Johannes (Ljungström 2014b). The family viewed the papers as a curiosity, read a few headlines and folded them away in an envelope. I was not ready to take on the interpretation. When the writer Anna Lorenz visited Margareta I was happy to take notes of the conversations for future work.

OUT OF OBLIVION

Nils-Arvid Bringéus established the connection between Sandvik and the Gasslander manuscripts of magical arts. The BB was bought for the University Library in Lund in 1924 at a book auction. It can be traced back to the vicar Ludvig Palmgren (Bringéus 1967b: 19ff). In 1955 the RB was donated to the Museum of Cultural History in Lund, by a son of Ludvig Palmgren. It was recognised as the missing manuscript, although in those days researchers' interests lay elsewhere (Bringéus 1991). The neat binding with a cover was more interesting as an artefact of magical art to be shown in exhibitions (cf. Gustafsson Reinius 2013). In 1991 Bringéus found the original RB in museum storage (1991), although then ethnologists in Sweden were still occupied with quite different fields of research.

Not knowing the accession number of the RB I went to the museum asking for 'The Red Book'; however, I did not get the original manuscript bound in a red cover. Instead, on mentioning Ludvig Palmgren, I was given a handwritten copy of the RB in modern language as regards spelling and choice of words. It had been acquired for the university library in 1925, most likely at the same book auction as the original BB. Up to this visit in 2009 the Palmgren copy was unknown to the sphere of research (Ljungström 2014a: 74).

How did he think, Ludvig Palmgren? What were his intentions? His love for old books and manuscripts is a known fact (Virdestam 1934: 354; Pleijel 1968). He sold a great collection of old books to the town library of Gothenburg, later to become the library of Gothenburg University (Pleijel 1968). However, he kept the BB and RB manuscripts. The BB might have been difficult to transcribe, while the RB was shorter. Did he intend it for publishing? Such an intention can be traced in his letters to Djurklou. He writes that the two manuscripts of magic had been used by a great sorcerer, i.e. Sven Peter Gasslander, the grandson of the renowned Petrus Gasslander (Palmgren to Djurklou 1-2-1874, after Bringéus 1967: 16f). There was still an extensive library at Sandvik Manor. Later on Palmgren used to visit his brother in law Lundeberg to collect books by horse and carriage, which might have served to preserve the books, certainly his hands upon the BB and RB served this purpose, whatever his intentions were. Apart from Palmgren's love for old books and manuscripts, Bringéus points out that Palmgren planned writings of his own (1967: 15).

As a vicar, Ludvig Palmgren became known as a great joker. His biographer describes him as an "*Ulspegel*", the main character in many narratives (Virdestam 1930). Palmgren had a desire to be known as a sorcerer who could restore stolen property – among other talents (Salomoniska 1918: XV; 300f; Pleijel 1968: 10). He did not seem to fear an allegation of using witchcraft, an allegation that was levelled at his predecessors, the Revs. Gasslander, who worked secretly. Eventually, he was charged with sorcery before the cathedral chapter by some farmers and suffered persecution by his parishioners. With his academic correspondents he simply ignored the matter (Salomoniska 1918: VX; Virdestam 1934: 354). This desire to make himself known as a sorcerer may be part of the answer to my question of why he kept the BB and RB to himself, even making a personal copy of the RB in modern language, perhaps learning it by heart.

CONCLUSION

The perspective started from the control of knowledge manifested in the master narrative of books of magic. As manuscripts went missing, the vacuum may be acknowledged as belonging to the context, conceptualised as part of materiality pointing to relations of artefacts in the hands of learned men and localised to Sandvik Manor, the place that bridges time back to the life of the Revs. in Burseryd vicarage. The missing manuscripts – and the familiar faces in the portraits – made the owners tell the available family lore, sometimes reconstructing untellable narratives.

There is reason to believe that the original BB and RB manuscripts were written up in the vicarage of Burseryd parish, in the middle of nowhere in southwest Sweden where today the forests are vast on ridges and in rifts. In 1967 N.-A. Bringéus identified the BB as mostly a copy of *Hildebrandi Magia Naturalis*. It is not known if the origin of the BB, *Magia Naturalis*, was brought from Academia Aboensis in Turku by Petrus Gasslander, or from the University of Lund by his son, Johannes Gasslander, nor is it known from where the original material for the RB was collected. In the vicarage in Burseryd parish, Småland, the two men of the cloth, father and son Gasslander, seem to have kept up their propensity for study. The father, Petrus, is particularly known for his books and his writing. The son Johannes kept track of what books he could buy from Stockholm and Gothenburg, eager to take part in the innovations of politics and agriculture and maintaining a wide correspondence with substantial costs in postage. His handwriting is the main testimony of who held the pen when writing most of the BB and at least one part of the RB, as well as the majority of the SN, three manuscripts of magic art united by their connection to Sandvik Manor.

In 1812 Sven Peter Gasslander, the son of Johannes, bought Sandvik estate. He worked as a local doctor, an inventor and a local inspector of taxes. In addition to his inventions, rumour had it that he was 'a great sorcerer'. People knew for sure that he was a freemason and had black books of magic art. A note with more modern handwriting in the RB may be by his hand. He is likely to have added some prescriptions to the SN. When his son died in 1841, there followed a chain of remarriages and deaths, with the estate being willed to new owners. The Sandvik story can be summed up thus: Harald Gasslander, son of the sorcerer Sven Peter, married Petronella who remarried the farmhand. who remarried the housekeeper Clara, who remarried P.W. Lundeberg, who moved out and sold Sandvik to the State. The SN followed the Lundeberg family as no one cared about a collection of scribbled notes. In 1967 it ended up with my mother-in-law, grandchild of the former housekeeper and owner of Sandvik, Clara Lundeberg. The BB and RB were borrowed from Sandvik in 1874 by Ludvig Palmgren and never returned. After they were copied by the gentleman scholar N.G. Djurklou, Ludvig Palmgren kept them to himself, making a modern copy of the RB. In a book auction after he died, the BB was bought by the library of the University of Lund, and the Palmgren copy of the RB by the Museum of History and Culture, in Lund. In 1955 the original of the RB was donated by a son of Palmgren to the museum, and recognized by N.-A. Bringéus in 1991.

In research collections of folklore studies can be revisited. It brings back into circulation the works of the predecessors in fields that seemed to be complete, closed to problematising approaches. The unexpected appearance of the manuscript SN and my access to the family Bible and its notes, family portraits and lore, is rendering an opportunity to return to the field of sorcery studies, expanding it to the people handling the manuscripts, their family life and the environment. The establishment that the BB, RB and SN emanate from Sandvik Manor allows further tracing to the vicarage in Burseryd so recreating the history of the manuscripts. In his daybooks, the main writer Johannes Gasslander gives an impression of the environment of a wealthy farming clergyman with scholarly interest but there is no hint whatsoever of the manuscripts of magic – must not be.

The manuscripts were kept secret but people seem to have known anyway, at least during the time of his son, Sven Peter, the doctor. There were more periods of suppression and rumours of untellable stories, eventually published as local history. The scholars' frustration around 1900 at missing manuscripts, the BB and RB, highlights their search for the learned clergymen working on secret manuscripts in the faraway forest during the 18th century. The magic may well have been part of a larger picture of clerical and medical learning that included the secrets of nature. We will never know to what extent the farming people actually believed in or practised the incantations but we may deduce their worries from the incantations, because the hope for a miracle is in the human mind. However, what really matters about a book of magic, of sorcery, is that people believe that there is one, that they believe in the possibility of a miracle.

NOTES

- ¹ I. Collijn, Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet. Bidrag till en bibliografisk förteckning I (1942–44) sp. 385 f. After Bringéus 1967.
- ² Until 1809 Finland and Sweden were the same country.



Figure 1. Painting of Gasslander. Photo by C. V. Angert, 2015.

³ A list of some 237 books in Swedish was preserved after the death of Sven Peter Gasslander in 1833 as well as a few books bearing their signatures, a hymnbook, a book of the law and a book in German of exotic travel, all of them privately owned (Ljungström collection).

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INTRODUCTION

The fourth issue of the journal *Incantatio* continues publication of the research articles based on the presentations at the Charms Symposium of the 16th Congress of the ISFNR (in Vilnius, June 25-30, 2013), supplementing them with other research articles. The main topics of the current issue include oral and written charming tradition, transmission of charms and their social functioning, as well as social and ethno-medical aspects of charms. The issue starts with papers dealing with the Baltic region and analyzing materials from Sweden, Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus. In her article, Åsa Ljungström discusses charms' manuscripts compiled in Sandvik Manor, Sweden, during the eighteenth century Sweden, together with the life stories of the manuscripts' owners; the article reveals the biographical and social background to the written charms. The article by Daiva Vaitkevičienė is focused on the social functioning of verbal healing charms and presents the results of the fieldwork carried out by the author in 2010–2012 in the Lithuanian community of Gervečiai, Belarus. The regional problematic is further dealt with by Tatsiana Volodzina, who has, upon special request from Incantatio, submitted a paper on the unique disease kautun (Plica *Polonica*), which is well-known across the cultural area comprising Lithuania, Belarus, and Poland. The article is amply illustrated by authentic narratives recorded by the author during her fieldwork and which describe the curing of this disease by charming practice in contemporary Belarus. Aigars Lielbārdis in his turn introduces two sides of the Latvian charming tradition: the oral and the written, giving special attention to the written books of the Latvian charms Debesu grāmatas ("Books of Heaven") and tracing the route of their spread in Latvia. Continuing the theme of written charms, Laura Jiga Iliescu introduces the Central European analogue of the Latvian 'Books of Heaven' as they exist in Romania; her article focuses on the apocryphal "Legend of Sunday", also known as "The Epistle Fallen from Heaven", one copy of which was carried along by a soldier during the First World War. Last but not least among the research publications of this issue is a broad and exhaustive study by Haralampos Passalis dealing with "The Sisinnios Prayer" and discussing oral and written aspects of this interesting narrative in the Greek tradition with special attention paid to the oral tradition.