

ABSTRACTS

**The Legend of William Lamport:<sup>[17]</sup><sub>[SEP]</sub>  
An Irish Rebel and Precursor of Mexican Independence  
Carla Almanza Gálvez (Independent Researcher)**

William Lamport (1611-1659), the son of wealthy Wexford merchants, was an Irish Catholic adventurer, soldier, mystic poet, pirate, spy and revolutionary who ended up being burned at the stake by the Spanish Inquisition for fighting for the independence of New Spain (colonial Mexico) from the Spanish Empire. The image of this Irish immigrant as the protector of the oppressed led to his portrayal as a hero and legendary figure by writers, comic book artists and filmmakers. It is even believed that the Spanish American fictional hero known as Zorro was inspired by the extraordinary life of this seventeenth-century Irishman.

In this context, the paper seeks to analyse Lamport's contribution to the development of ideals of freedom and equality resulting in indigenous uprisings throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The study also aims to foreground the importance of his poetry and political writings, which constitute an exemplary manifesto that advocates the equality of races and the equal distribution of privileges between the nobility and the indigenous population. Lamport's work was a denunciation of the unfairness experienced by the Mexican people under Spanish rule. The ultimate purpose of the paper is to show how Lamport's political thought continues to be relevant to today's debates about social injustice and human rights.

**Semiotics of Outlawry in Medieval Icelandic Literature  
Joonas Ahola (University of Helsinki)**

This paper discusses the ways in which the concept 'outlawry' appears in medieval Icelandic literature and what these appearances may reveal of the concept's semantics. Outlawry was a central factor in medieval Icelandic legal system, a fundamental sanction of serious offences in society that had no central authority nor an executive power. There are precise descriptions of different forms of outlawry and legal procedures involved in the law texts as well as in other texts. The significance of this legal status in medieval Icelandic society is demonstrated by the frequency in which it appears in law texts as well as in history-based saga literature of the period. Whereas the appearances of outlawry as a specific legal status is limited to texts depicting medieval Icelandic society, the concept 'outlawry' in a related but wider sense seems to reflect in other texts of the period as well, including mythology and heroic narratives. It may be argued that ideas surrounding banishment from the society and spatial detachedness accompanied by solitariness are represented and conceived in the Icelandic texts as related to the familiar concept 'outlawry'. Therefore, these uses may be seen to reciprocally contribute to its semantic field. In this paper, I intend to sketch a model of this semantic field on basis of medieval Icelandic texts.

**'Captain Moonlite': Australia's Gay Irish Bushranger  
Barbara Barclay (National Museum of Ireland, Country Life)**

Outlaw and bushranger Andrew George Scott was a contemporary of the infamous Ned Kelly Gang in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Australia. Whilst Ned Kelly's working-class family hailed from Co Tipperary, Scott, born in Co Down, was an educated son of a clergyman. However, his criminal activities, and ultimately the murder of a police constable, led to his death by hanging in 1880.

Scott's creation of his 'Captain Moonlite' persona sits well within the narrative of bushrangers as folk heroes in Australia's colonial history. This paper will examine how Scott's memory in popular tradition has been enhanced by the discovery his death-row prison letters, and the revelations they shone on his relationship with fellow outlaw, James Nesbitt. This paper will also reflect on the gap between the oral histories of Australian bushrangers such as 'Captain Moonlite', and the largely forgotten victims of their crimes, in particular the members of the police force. The impact of Scott's life and death in current Australian popular culture will also be considered.

**How Luis Pérez Became a Bandit**  
**Don. W. Cruickshank (University College Dublin)**

This paper deals with Calderón's play *Luis Pérez el gallego* (1628–29). Set in Galicia in 1588, the play examines how Luis, a peasant farmer, becomes a lawbreaker and a bandit because of his anxiety to aid two friends who have acted honourably in their eyes (and in Luis's), but who are regarded as criminals by the authorities. Unlike some bandit plays (and other literary sources) which deal with real-life characters, Luis Pérez has a protagonist who appears to be fictional: there are no records of a historical bandit of this name. However, Luis Pérez has characteristics in common with these historical bandits, some of which Calderón apparently used as models. It was not unknown for real-life bandits to be granted conditional pardons, and this seems to be the only realistic outcome for Luis. However, although the closing lines promise a second part, Calderón never wrote one.

**History in Pursuit: The Outlaw Cycle in Irish and Romanian Film**  
**Cristina Diamant & Fergal Twomey**  
**(Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj Napoca, Romania/ National University of Ireland, Galway)**

Cinematographic representation of the unique national instantiation of outlawry reconstructs folk memory as an ideological matrix. The raparee in Ireland and the haiduc in Romania have both emerged as politically significant screen characters, subtly evoking the aesthetics of the spaghetti western, but subjecting its protagonists to an ironic treatment that renders them tragically or comedically caught in the midst of powerful social and political trends, rather than monolithically removed. We compare the features of contemporary and historical discourse that have molded the image of the outlaw in the popular culture of Ireland and Romania, contrasting the post-apocalyptic sensibility of the anti-hero in *Black 47* (2018, Lance Daly), the first production of its kind, and the carnivalesque Balkan spirit of Anghel Saptcai ("Seven Horses") in *The Week of the Madmen* (1971, Dinu Cocea), the last of the immensely successful state-funded series *Haiducii* (1966-1971). The motivation of the outlaw draws attention to the boundaries between individual autonomy and social emancipation, as well as the counterposed pulls towards omission or remembrance in the cultural archival of imperialism in neoliberal societies favouring a permanent present.

**Outlaw Gypsies in Subcarpathian Agriculture**  
**Roland Doszpoly (University of Debrecen, Hungary)**

The study is based on anthropological, folklore empirical field research in a Transcarpathian settlement, Izsnyete, where agricultural work still plays an important role in the daily livelihood of the locals, as it provides them with an important source of additional income. There are certain traditional elements in the working habits of the inhabitants of the rural settlement belonging to the district of Munkacs, as well as the entrepreneurial habitus in the modern sense. The traditional Hungarian large family formations are characterized by cooperative work between family members and the sharing of work tasks so that each family member fulfills the function in which he or she is most competent. In a local village, agricultural activity plays an important role in the life of every family, even though no household can make a living today.

Hungarians represent a 70% majority in the settlement, compared to the minority position of the state-forming Ukrainian ethnic group of 30%. The third ethnicity is the Gypsies, who are completely outside the life of the settlement, out of the laws, the state, yet they have many ties to the inhabitants of Izsnyete. Work connects with them. The Hungarians and the Ukrainians both label Gypsies as outsiders and as outlaws.

In exchange for day jobs, Hungarian and Ukrainian farmers pay Gypsies around 80 hryvnia per day and provide them with food. The Gypsies living on the farm, although they could not even lay the foundations of a mixed farm, could at most produce some livestock, were bound to agriculture by countless fibers. In particular, women, old people and children left in the village appeared on the labor market as day laborers and temporary workers.

The study introduces the lifestyle of a Transcarpathian Gypsy community who live in segregation, outlaws, disregard the rules, lend or steal, but try to integrate, connect with the inhabitants of Izsnyete, and help farmers, especially for Hungarian families.

**From White Gloves to Bloody Hands: Wales and its Bandits**  
**Dewi Evans (University College Dublin)**

Nineteenth century Nonconformist Wales liked to portray itself as 'Gwlad y Menig Gwynion' ('The Land of the White Gloves') in reference to the custom of bestowing visiting judges with a pair of white gloves when they had no court cases

to preside over. Whatever substance there was to this self-portrayal in particular localities at specific times it is very far from being a reflection of Wales's turbulent past, during which a large number of rebels, outlaws and lawbreakers has made a mark on the country's history and folk tradition, the most famous or infamous among them having had tales composed and embellished about their exploits.

From Owain Glyndŵr to Dafydd ap Siencyn, from highwayman Dic Siôn Cati to the mysterious 'Gwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy' ('the Red Bandits of Mawddwy'), this talk will give an overview of some figures who gained a reputation for being outside the law and who became figures to be feared and/or admired in Welsh legend.

**Grazia Deledda and her Sardinian Bandits  
Ursula Fanning (University College Dublin)**

This paper will consider the (appropriately) marginal figure of the bandit in two of the 'novels' by Grazia Deledda (who won the Nobel prize for literature in 1926, and was the first Italian woman writer to do so): her 1915 *Marianna Sirca*, and her posthumously-published autobiographical work, *Cosima* (1937). The bandit is an intriguing, recurring, object/other in Deledda's work, generally viewed from the perspective of her female protagonists as an object of erotic fantasy (very daring for the time, and especially in the Sardinian context – it helped Deledda to earn a negative reputation in her own locality, and within her own family); she was a bandit of sorts herself (a 'thief' and a decidedly liminal figure), and identified, to some extent, with the hypermasculine figures she portrayed in these works. There is an intriguing ambivalence about the figure of the bandit in her representations, which is worth exploring.

**The real Maid Marion:  
Women as Outlaws and the Companions of Outlaws in Fourteenth-Century Ireland  
Aine Foley (Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool)**

The fourteenth century was the age of the outlaw in England, correspondingly the court records for later medieval Ireland reveal that Ireland also had a problem with outlaws. The Tyrels of Kildare and the le Poers of Waterford were notorious outlaw gangs in early-fourteenth century Ireland. Less is known about women who were outlawed, though there is evidence for them in the sources. For example, in 1305 Agnes Otyr, a Gaelic Irishwoman, and the unnamed wife of Henry Scallard of the Cruagh were outlawed and it is possible that they were associates of the Tyrel gang, who were outlawed on the same day. A decade later, in 1316 Amice Louyn of Kildare was outlawed for her part in the murder of John Canoun. The reasons why women were outlawed will be explored in the paper. As well as being outlaws, women could also be the companions of outlaws and it is difficult to establish if these women were associated with them of their own free will, or if coercion was a factor in these relationships. This paper will assess the surviving material and examine the nature of these liaisons.

**Bandit as Buffoon on Philippine stage:  
Counternarratives in W. Nepomuceno's Impressionist Acts  
Felicidad P. Galang-Pereña  
(University of Santo Tomas, Manila, Philippines)**

Using the lens of phenomenology, this paper intends to surface how the outlaw and bandit legend, though historically associated with violence, can be appropriated by the performing arts, and thus in a humane and pacifist, nay even comic way, fight tyranny and oppression. In particular, this paper will focus on the impressionist acts on stage by contemporary Philippine artist Willie Nepomuceno, whose comically satirical depiction of political figures may be perceived as counternarratives to the established order, a tradition that dates back to the Philippines' colonial past. This paper hinges on the historical roots in Philippine literature of this counter narrativity from the *awit* and *komedya*, drawing from the plot of medieval Spanish ballads the metrical tales which are considered strong indictments of oppression by Spain, to the *zarzuelas* which set the standards for Filipino allegorical political drama that continued the fight against the Americans and the *bodabils* which helped transcend the savagery of the Japanese occupation during World War II.

By making use of an existing narrative framework in the culture and history of his country, Nepomuceno may be considered the celebrated outlaw who, in the concept of Erik Hobsbawm's 'social banditry' called out the abuses of those in power. Nepomuceno's art, deeply etched in the psyche of his country, which has endured a dictatorship for 14 years (1972-1986), is a rich repository of the collective memory of the Filipinos who have a long history of fighting tyranny and oppression. His parodies of politicians are the bow and arrows of a Robin Hood in buffoon's clothing, who leaves us with

a portrait, which Highet calls “a beating heart within and which, when we look into its eyes, seems to be a reflection, distorted with pain, of our own soul.”

The final output of this study will be an interrogation of Filipino collective memory as the researcher believes in the imperative of creating a space where our people can locate their identity, created by the impressionist artist mirroring the political milieu that frames his testimony in the performing arts.

**Once Upon A Time Escobar Was Robin Hood**  
**Catalina Jaramillo (University of Edinburgh)**

Pablo Emilio Escobar is a legendary drug trafficker, and in many ways, he has been categorised as a Robin Hood figure. Escobar as Robin Hood is a controversial icon who represents the debate concerning the social contract between the individual and the government. Robin Hood often overrides governmental legality by taking on governmental functions illegally, motivated by good social intentions. Nevertheless, these good social intentions are still outside the law and, in some ways, represent illegality and the desire to break and change the existing laws. This paper examines the frontier of illegality as a deviance and asks how Robin Hood shapes a different way of thinking by constructing chaotic forms that change the order of society. Perhaps, ‘the world is reversed’. Thus, illegality embraces a way of truth, which is represented in a bandit or, better, a hero. The bandit can then be interpreted as an illegal hero, a chiaroscuro. It is then a nationalist dilemma that interlaces peace and charity. In this paper, I will explore Escobar’s representation as Robin Hood in the media. This study will focus on the newspaper, *Medellin Civico*, which Escobar was involved with in the 1980s.

**The Lady and the Tramps:**  
**The Collision of Homosocial Bandit Culture with the Outlaw’s Wife**  
**Sarah Harlan-Haughey (University of Maine)**

One of the famous problems of the medieval outlaw material is its overwhelming machismo. Though we know women were bandits in the real world, and that real women’s lives were drawn into those of male outlaws, few literary outlaw narratives spare time for women—the outlaw code focuses on male homosociality to the exclusion of female points of view. If women are featured in narratives, they are often made butts of jokes or parodied in festive transvestitism. Literary bandits engaged in a kind of masculine performance still legible to us today, which relies on conspicuous consumption, violence real or simulated, and a preoccupation with rank and prestige. But in a few narratives, the outlaw couple serves as a discursive exemplum exploring the dynamics of marriage in a way that no fabliau or romance can. The figure of the outlaw wife navigates the greenwood and interrogates the frat-boy sensibility of the outlaws obliquely. This paper will discuss several female characters in late medieval outlaw narratives (in particular *The Wallace*, the *Geste*, and *Clin of The Clough*) which render the “toxic masculinity” of these bandits especially visible and problematic. It will then briefly discuss the ramifications of this visibility for early audiences.

**The ‘Truth’ about Lorca’s Gypsies**  
**Philip G Johnston (University College Dublin)**

Federico García Lorca was a Spanish/Andalusian balladeer *par excellence*. His *Romancero gitano* (*Gypsy Ballad Book*) of 1928 is composed of 18 *Romances* (*Ballads*) peopled, for the most part, by gypsies. Account will be given of the *Romance* form.

Why did Lorca – an upper-class native of Fuentevaqueros, Granada – choose to write about gypsies? In this paper poems will be analysed showing the behaviour and significance of Lorca’s gypsies and exemplifying the positive and negative sides to their collective personalities. Their predilection for banditry and outlawish conduct will be adduced, but so will an opposite side to their character (involving *inter alia* innocence, bravery, positive gay icons, and throwing lemons).

There will be a challenge to the widely held view that Lorca wrote about gypsies because he knew himself to be a sort of “poster boy” for the oppressed.

**Validity of a Folklore Text:  
Problems of Intertextuality, Plagiarism and Palimpsest  
Nikita Koptev (National University of Ireland, Galway)**

In this paper I am going to discuss three phenomena which make life of a folklorist rather difficult, though, in different ways. These are intertextuality, plagiarism and palimpsest. If the first two are more or less famous, the latter one is a technical term used by scholars working with manuscripts which however acquired the second more general meaning suitable for my work, i.e. something that has been modified or reworked but still bearing traces of its original form. However, while intertextuality is an inevitable part of folklore caused by its social nature, plagiarism and palimpsest are not common phenomena to be discussed featuring folklore materials. While belief in research integrity and common sense allows us to deal with texts collected by adult folklore collectors without much of a doubt, this cannot and should not be applied to the Schools' Collection, a unique archive within the National Folklore Collection of Ireland, which stores texts collected by children and teachers. As my research showed, some teachers, children and probably parents were not entirely honest in their attempts to collect folklore. This raises a question of validity of texts in the Schools' Collection and its implications for the research.

**A Highway Robbery in the Midst of Revolutionary Chaos:  
The Murder of Jacobo Rameh in Yucatán, 1915  
Michele McArdle Stephens (West Virginia University)**

In 1915, in the midst of the chaos borne by the Mexican Revolution and its arrival in Yucatán, a young woman named Juliana May stood accused- along with her domestic partner Mateo Arceo- of the robbery and murder of an itinerant merchant, Jacobo "el Turco" Rameh. The victim was a resident of the small Yucatecan town of Baca, and the viciousness of this crime shocked locals, who knew the deceased and his family rather well. These small-town crimes were not particularly rare for this unstable period in Mexican history; but female killers generally were uncommon. This case is somewhat notable for its brutality, the in-depth nature of the investigation, and the links to the dominant henequen economy of nearly all participants and witnesses. Several things are apparent when examining this case. First, female participants in the legal system were more common than one might imagine, as assailants, witnesses, and of course victims. Second, Yucatán was far more ethnically mixed, as the presence of Jacobo Rameh, his family, and other residents attested. Finally, if we focus on crimes that occurred outside of the capital city of Mérida, nearly all instances of violent crime occurred on or near henequen haciendas. Thus analysis of criminal cases provides much more information about society than simply the functioning of the law.

**'No Maid in History's Pages':  
Betsy Gray – The Female Rebel 'Hero' in the Irish Ballad Tradition  
Thérèse McIntyre (National University of Ireland, Galway)**

'Little survives the role played by women...yet a number of ballads contain fleeting references to their courage and sacrifice'. This paper examines the representation of the female rebel 'hero' within the Irish ballad tradition through the use of a pattern of heroic biography that was developed during the course of post-graduate research. Female characters within song and ballad usually are relegated to the 'sought-after maiden' of the love song genre, or, are represented as various incarnations of 'Ireland' from maid to mother to old woman, a figure present mainly in the Irish language tradition of the *aisling*, or 'vision' poem/song. The characteristics of the 'hero' are applied to two versions of 'The Ballad of Betsy Gray', Lyttle's and Moylan's, in an attempt to determine whether or not the representation of Betsy Gray within the two songs depict her as a true 'hero' in the same manner in which male heroic figures are portrayed throughout the tradition. The analysis will show that, unlike Dianne Dugaw's 'Warrior Women', an emphasis on Betsy's femininity underscores her unique position within the song tradition as a woman who is afforded the status of 'hero' without having to hide her gender identity.

**Eating Custard in the Greenwood:  
Medieval Outlaw Romance in Diane Carey's *Under the Wild Moon*  
Kristin Noone (Irvine Valley College, California)**

Valerie Johnson, discussing medieval outlaws in popular culture, suggests that Robin Hood tales find echoes in genres which celebrate the outlaw hero, citing superhero comics, action films, and romance novels as influential but often-overlooked texts—"outlaw" texts themselves—which form a shared experience of popular medievalism that finds real emotional resonance with audiences. Diane Carey's Robin Hood novel *Under the Wild Moon* (1986) exemplifies the "tipping-point" that Sarah Frantz Lyons and Eric Selinger locate in popular romance, at which the "sensual historical novel was beginning to prevail over the true bodice-ripper," moving away from scenes of bodices and bosoms and toward lavish historical detail. Hsu-Ming Teo, reading this shift in terms of intersectional feminism, proposes that historical romances demonstrate one way in which feminist romance writers turned to the past in order to critique the present, and the forces that shape female desire. *Wild Moon*, in this context, rewrites the legend of Robin Hood to emphasize the outlaw's ability to provide for a community when the society in which he appears is failing to do so, as Carey's outlaw and his men become sources of nourishment and refuge—and romantic love—for the dispossessed heroine and the new greenwood community.

**The Bandits who 'Stole' our Place-Names  
Brian Ó Doibhlin (Queen's University, Belfast)**

Despite likely attempts to remain at large in their day, many bandits and outlaws have found themselves immortalised in Irish place-names, as have the stories of their crimes and misdemeanours. Take for example the place-name Cloghagaddy in Fermanagh; while we may not know the identity of the bandit behind the name *Cloch an Ghadaí* "stone of the thief", we know that they did enough to warrant a place-name in their honour. Unlike names whose referents are remaining features of the landscape or saints who are celebrated in ecclesiastical documents, many of the people and stories behind these names disappeared with the lost generations who held these previous tales as part of the oral tradition. For place-name researchers today, this presents a particular methodological problem in uncovering the meanings behind these names. This paper presents some interesting place-names associated with bandits and outlaws; and explores how we might still exploit local tradition and lore to uncover the stories behind these place-names and contribute to the wider folklore narrative of Ireland.

**(Female) Outlaws, Bandits, and Ballads in Popular Tradition: A Damned Species?  
Rita O'Donoghue (National University of Ireland, Galway)**

There are rich histories of social banditry across communities and cultures worldwide, historically and traditionally. The outlaw hero, as representative of an oppressed group's struggle against discrimination and injustice by a ruling class, whether ethnic, national, gendered, or communal, has become the stuff of legends, for example, Ned Kelly, Robin Hood. The figure of the social bandit, almost always male and invariably charismatic, fitted neatly into a patriarchal worldview and mindset. However, bravery, courage are ingredients of a sense of outrage in the face of injustice and oppression, and not necessarily gender-specific. Any analysis must take account of societal norms, and how these condition our responses to behaviours and actions within a gendered framework.

My presentation today focuses on a selection of narratives pertaining to or written by women, drawn from the archives of the NFC (National Folklore Collection, 1935-71). They detail instances in which women highlighted 'the misuse of women' in a variety of ways, whether in albeit in covert or overt forms. They serve to broaden our understandings and perceptions of those females who confronted injustice and oppression within their community.

**'Outlawed Bards': Filí na hochtú haoise déag agus an guth ceannairceach  
Ciarán Ó Gealbháin (University College Cork)**

'The bards of Ireland' a deir Hardiman, ag scríobh do in 1831 faoi fhilí na hochtú haoise déag, '... were a proscribed and persecuted race, their very language interdicted, and yet from those outlawed bards, and in that denounced language, do we find specimens of poetic talent, which would do honour to any country'. Dála 'bandits' Hobsbawm (1969), ba é dán na 'méirleach fileata' seo – Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill, Donnchadh Rua Mac Conmara, Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin agus filí eile nach iad – [to] remain with peasant society ... considered by their people as heroes, as champions, avengers, fighters

for justice, perhaps even leaders of liberation, and in any case as men to be admired, helped and supported'. Seasann a gcuid filíochtan mar thuairisc bhuan ar imeachtaí a linne féin, agus freagraíonn sí, ar bhonn analógach, do ghníomhartha ropairí Hobsbawm, ag cur in aghaidh 'the disruption of an entire society, the rise of new classes and social structures, the resistance of entire communities ... against the destruction of its way of life'. Ag tógaint ar an tuiscint seo, dob fhéidir na cúirteanna filíochta féin a léamh mar athrach údaráis, mar imirt Raibiléiseach ag magadh faoin údarás Gallda, nó mar institiúid shóisialta inar tugadh aitheantas arís don údarás dúchais, nó seanúdarás sinseartha na bhfilí, mar a mbeadh iúistís is ceartas le fáil an athuair ag an bhfile.

**The *banditti* of Upper Ossory and the 'Boys of Galmoy' 1824**  
**Pádraig Ó Macháin (University College Cork)**

In 1824 six men were hanged for the killing of a local landholder in Galmoy, Co. Kilkenny. The executions were the culmination of years of agrarian unrest among people, characterised as *banditti* by the authorities, in a border area (Upper Ossory) traditionally considered as outlaw country. This paper will give an account of this event, and will focus on the contents and the fate of a ballad composed at the time.

**Rebels and Outliers:  
Popular Representations of Dacoits in Indian Folk Literature and Mass Media**  
**Maxine Mathew and Srijia Sanyal**  
**(Indira Gandhi National Open University, Delhi/ University of Delhi)**

Dacoity is widely used to define bandits and came into popular use during the 19th century colonial India due to the rise of banditry, especially in Bengal and the Chambal valley. While dacoity has mostly been curbed in India by now, these notorious outliers have become legends in the Indian popular imagination, not just as figures to be feared but also as rebels fighting against the discriminatory power structures. Biographical films like *Bandit Queen* and *Paan Singh Tomar* posit their outlaw subjects as marginalized victims who have been failed by the law and were thus forced to take up arms to fight against the dominant hegemonic systems. The proposed paper intends to analyze the hegemonic power structures that led people to take up dacoity by looking into the empathetic popular representations of dacoity in India whether through mass media like films or through folk oral literature and cultural memory. The paper further intends to compare the mythical figures of the dacoits like Bishe *dakat* of Bengal and Madho Singh of Chambal valley created by the folk and popular imagination with official accounts of their circumstances to gain a thorough understanding of why they acquired a cult status among the masses.

**Michael Collier: 1780 to 1849 as Folk Hero *Robbing from the Rich...***  
**Fionnuala Carson Williams (Independent Researcher)**

Despite enormously changed times from the emergence of the first named outlaws until the nineteenth century when Michael Collier 'the Last Robber' died he can be seen as one in a procession of folk heroes. The amount of evidence about his life does not appear to have diminished the amount or kind of folklore about him. The *Dictionary of Irish Biography* describes him as 'charismatic' a trait which, no doubt, helped mould him into the Robin Hood-type figure cemented in folk history. Like Robin Hood, the lore about Collier is, to a certain extent, positive. He, too, is said to have 'robbed from the rich to give to the poor' and we can find plenty of oral material about this. Other aspects of outlaw lore which I would wish to explore are physical prowess, horsemanship, associated personal and placenames and phrases.

**From ‘Atrocious Bandits’ to ‘National Heroes’: *Zeibeks* in Anatolia**  
**Şahin Yıldız (Central European University, Budapest)**

My paper will focus on the *Zeibeks*, social bandits (Hobsbawn, 1959), who dwelt in the mountains of Western Anatolia for around 500 years, and how once as bandits and enemies of the state, they were turned into national heroes within the Republic of Turkey. During their peak, in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, *Zeibeks* were seen as heroes by the people. However, because of their attacks against Ottoman administrators and the rich, *Zeibeks* were regarded as “state enemies”, despite occasionally being welcomed as “mercenaries” in battles on the side of the Ottoman state. However, their inclusion in the 1919 Independence War, the Turkish people changed their status from “bandits” to “heroes”. *Zeibeks* were used as a national symbol for the new Turkey and their unique dances were regarded as the national dance of the Turkish Republic. Even the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk, was named “*Zeibek* the Blonde”. In this paper, I will analyze the changing official Ottoman-Turkish conception and public opinion of *Zeibeks* between 1900 and 1925, by comparing the perceptions of two “bandits”, the first, Demirci Mehmet (1885-1961) regarded as a hero, the second, Çakırcalı Mehmet (1872-1911) seen as a bandit. In this context, Selim Sırrı Tarcan’s (1874-1957) attempts at creating a new national and folkloric “*Zeibek*” image will also be discussed.